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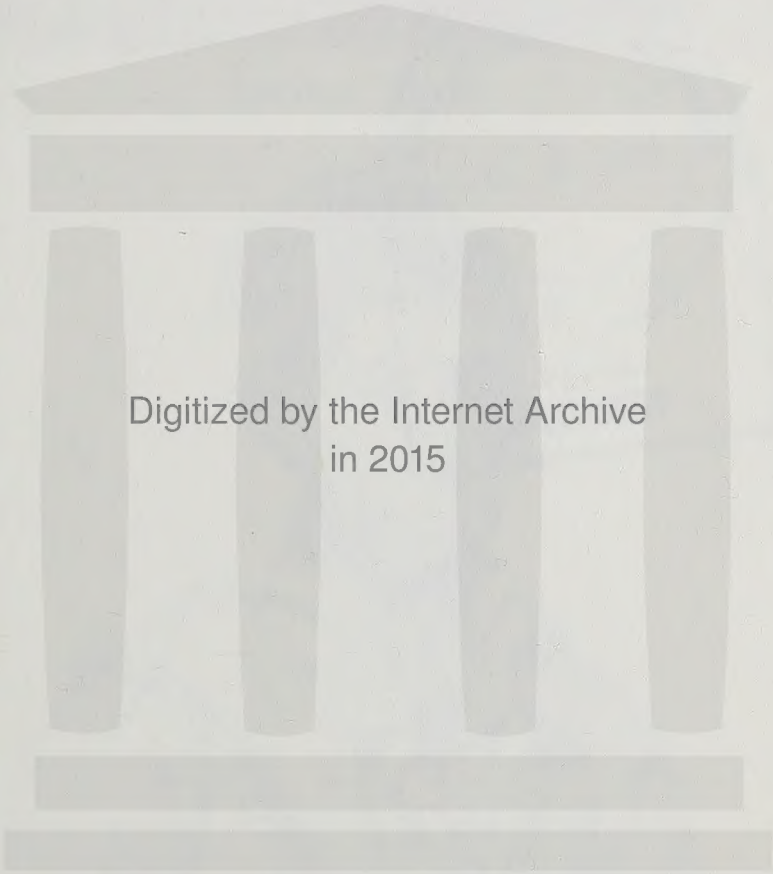
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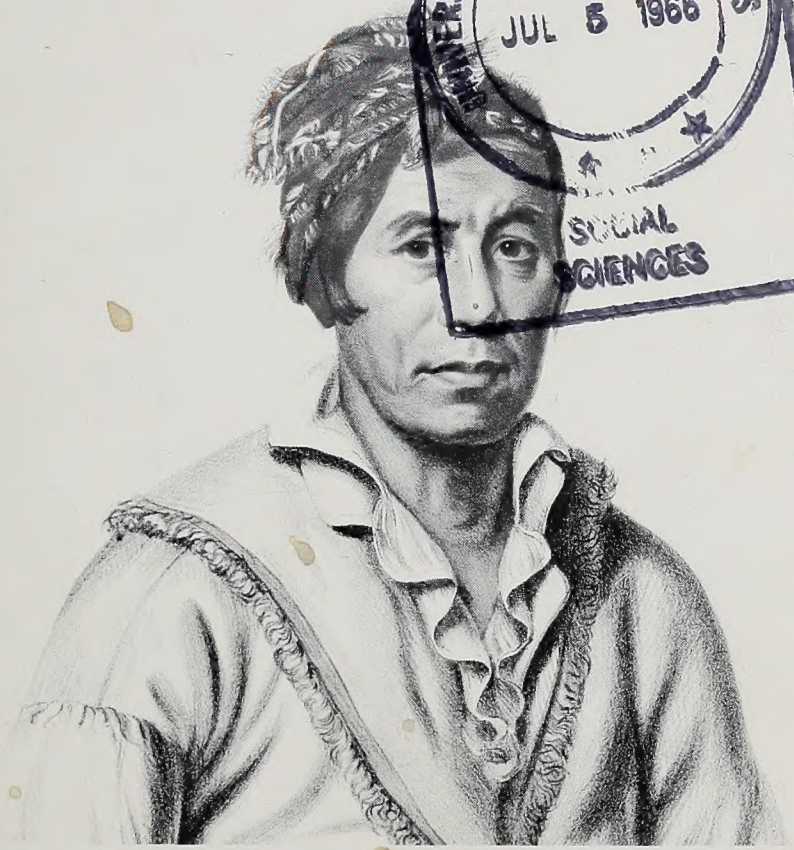

SPRING FROG,
Cherokee

Volume XLIV Number 1

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*Cover*: Portrait of Spring Frog, a Cherokee known as "Too-an-tuh," from *History of the Indian Tribes* by Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, Vol. II (Portfolio of Portraits of Indian Chiefs, Published by Rice and Clark, Philadelphia, 1842). Brief biography of this noted Cherokee naturalist and notes on his gravestone in Briartown Cemetery, Muskogee County, Oklahoma are in this issue of *The Chronicles*.

## SPRING FROG

*By T. L. Ballenger*

In arriving at the correct facts about the prominent Cherokee leader, Spring Frog, one must remember that there are several Spring Frogs on record in Cherokee history. This may lead to confusion unless close attention is given to the references to each one.[1]

A Spring Frog was speaker of the Cherokee Council May 2, 1862, when the creation of the Confederate bills was authorized. But this could not be the one with which this article deals. At least three fullblood Cherokees by the name of Spring Frog are listed on the Cherokee roll of 1835. This roll was drawn up preparatory to the removal of the Cherokees from the eastern states to the Indian Territory.

According to the Bureau of American Ethnology, Spring Frog's Indian name is Too-an-tuh, more properly Dùstù, and means a "species of frog." He was born on the north side of Chickamauga Creek, at the edge of Lookout Mountain, near Chattanooga, Tennessee. Historians commonly fix the date of his birth as 1754. He was a contemporary of Sequoyah. They were born about sixty miles apart. The log cabin in which Spring Frog was born stands today in the wildlife sanctuary of the Chattanooga Audubon Society, though it has been repaired and improved somewhat. A brick chimney, for instance has been added. The logs are hewn flat at the ends instead of being notched as white pioneers usually made them.[2]

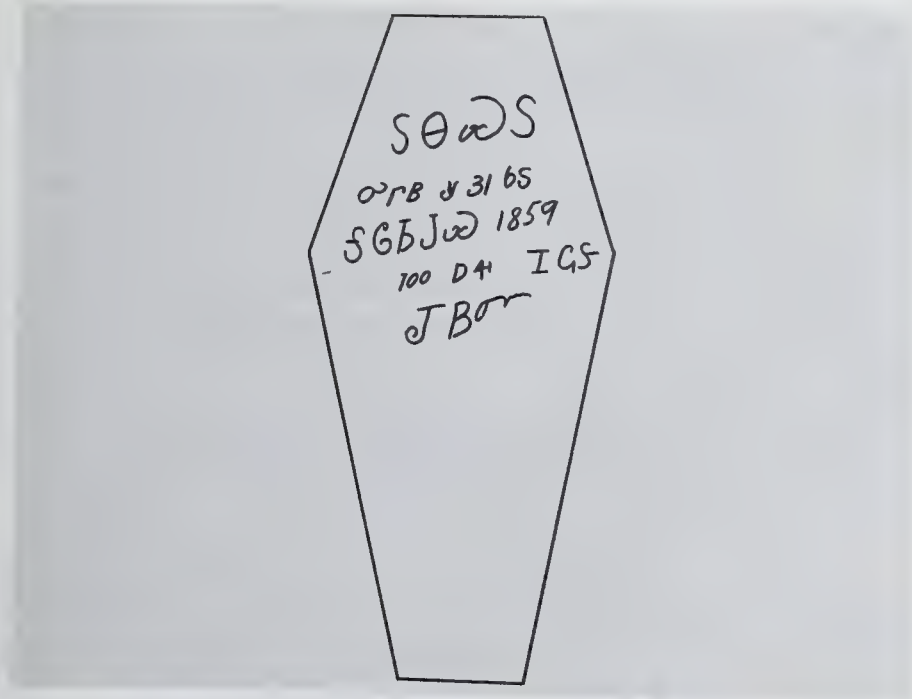
Spring Frog was a prominent sportsman and naturalist among the Cherokees and was a man of great influence. He was noted for his skill in trapping and hunting, and for his success in the athletic sports of his people, ball playing in particular.[3] He commonly advocated peace and kept his people out of many wars. Although a strong advocate of peace, he was quick to avenge a

---

[1] Dr. T. L. Ballenger of Tahlequah is the well known genealogist and historian of the Cherokees. His contribution here, after research and study establishes the fact of the unusual gravestone with its inscription in Cherokee at Briartown, Muskogee County, as that of the noted Cherokee naturalist, Spring Frog, who lived in this part of the old Cherokee Nation until his death in 1859. The correct translation of the gravestone inscription is important since another interpretation was given in WPA days that is found in the compiled "Indian and Pioneer" volumes in the Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. Tennesseans as members of the Chattanooga Audubon Society, a number of years ago, sought to remove this gravestone from Oklahoma to be a part of the memorial to Spring Frog in the Elise Chapin Wild Life Sanctuary near the City of Chattanooga.—Ed.

[2] *Flower and Feather* (Chattanooga, Tenn.), IV, No. 3, p. 32.

[3] *Ibid.*, V, 3-5.




Facsimile of Inscription on
Spring Frog Gravestone

Spring Frog's Grave
Gravestone in Briartown Cemetery,
Muskogee County

wrong. He fought under General Andrew Jackson against the Creeks in 1813-1814 and received high praise from the American officers for his outstanding services in the battles of Horseshoe Bend and Eufaula. He was with the Cherokees that came to western Arkansas in 1817 and 1818, and later lived with the group in the Indian Territory commonly known as the Old Settlers. The first law that the western Cherokees passed at Dardanelle Rock in 1820 providing for the appointment of a Light Horse company to preserve peace and order was signed by Spring Frog as one of the "Chiefs, Headmen and Warriors of the Cherokee Nation."[4]

In 1818 he was leader of a Cherokee band against the outlaw Osages, and punished them severely. After coming to the Indian Territory he settled on a farm near Briartown. Here he spent his declining years in agricultural pursuits.

Spring Frog died in 1859 and was buried in the cemetery at Briartown. His monument is a huge coffin-shaped stone lying flat on the grave, with the inscription in Cherokee. Several people, versed in the Cherokee language, have visited his grave and studied the inscription. Lewis Gourd and the late Mr. and Mrs. Richard Wilkerson of Tahlequah and Omer L. Morgan of Newhall, California are some of these. They agree that the name is not written in correct Cherokee characters, hence is difficult to translate with certainty. But, from the part that can be read and from other applicable evidence, it is their opinion that this is the grave of Spring Frog. Old-timers in that vicinity, like the late Bill Starr say that they have been told from childhood that this is the grave of Spring Frog.

As nearly as the inscription can be translated, it reads:[5]

Spring Frog
Died 31st August month 1859
100 maybe age about

or, couched in clearer English:

Spring Frog
Died August 31st, 1859
Aged about 100 years.

---

[4] *Flower and Feather*, July, 1948; *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 30, Part 2, p. 784; McKenney and Hall.

[5] *Flower and Feather*, July, 1948; *Bureau of American Ethnology*, Bulletin 30, Part 2, p. 784; McKenney and Hall. *History of the Indian Tribes.*

# PREHISTORIC CHERT QUARRIES IN KAY COUNTY: A REPORT

*By Otto F. Spring*

## Foreword

The original manuscript of this report on "Chert Quarries in Kay County," by Otto F. Spring is in the Joseph B. Thoburn Collection of manuscripts in the Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society. This report was brought to light in the preliminary filing of manuscripts in the Collection made by Mrs. W. H. Holway, of Tulsa, and her sister, Miss Clare Kerr, their work having been generously contributed and continued at intervals recently, for more than three years.

Joseph B. Thoburn was director of the Marland Archaeological Expedition of 1926, financed by Mr. E. W. Marland of Ponca City, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Exploration work in the field was in charge of Otto F. Spring of the University of Oklahoma and Harry ("Doc") Robertson of Phillips University.[1]

Excavation was carried on at the ancient Caddoan village sites in the vicinity of Deer Creek, on the west side of the Arkansas River in Kay County. The village site at the mouth of Deer Creek had special interest in the historical field, with its evidences of the site of a French trading post in the objects brought to light including articles of copper and brass, iron implements and parts of guns besides gun plates with designs known in the French trade of the early 18th Century also gun "flints"—small squares of chert or flint of local origin.[2] Dr. Thoburn pointed out that this trading post was apparently that known as *Ferdinandina,* the name unknown or long forgotten in the records of America yet shown on old maps made in England, and Scotland and in Europe.

Dr. Thoburn prepared Otto Spring's *Report* with an introduction for publication in *The Chronicles* in the summer of

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[1] Joseph B. Thoburn, "Oklahoma Archaeological Explorations in 1925-26, *"Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. IV, No. 2 (June, 1926), pp. 143-4.

[2] "Exhibit of Objects Discovered by the Marland Archeological Expedition in 1926." *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Notes and Documents, Vol. XXIV, No. 4 (Winter, 1946-47), pp. 491-4; George H. Shirk, 'Oklahoma Reclaims Its Past," *The Daily Oklahoman,* Magazine Section, September 30, 1956 Leslie A. McRill, "Ferdinandina: First White Settlement in Oklahoma," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XLI, No. 2 (Summer, 1963), pp. 126-59.

1926.[3] He also had made a special map showing the location of the chert, or flint quarries near Hardy. This unpublished *Report* along with his introduction and the map printed for the first time follows:

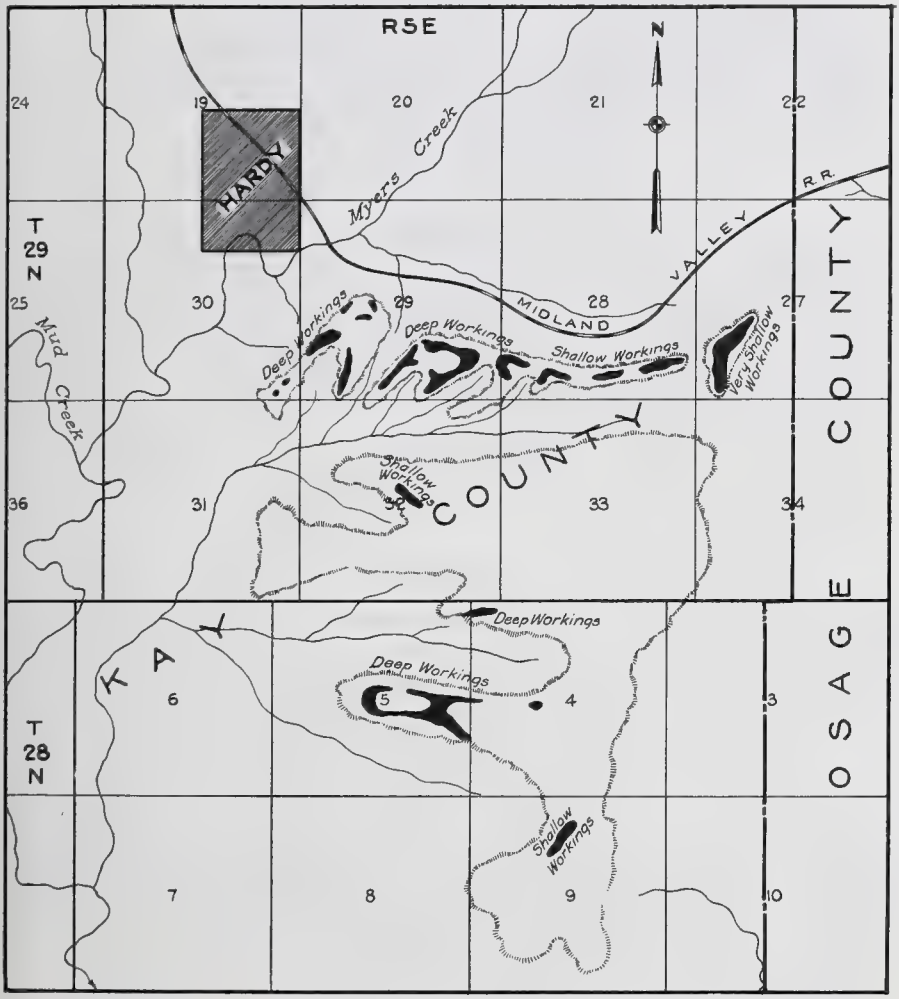
—(M.H.W., Ed.)

### *Editorial Introduction*

During the months of May, June and July of the current year, a small archaeological field party has been operating in Kay County, under the patronage of Mr. E. W. Marland of Ponca City, and under the direction of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The first two weeks were spent in exploring and investi gating the quarries of chert, or flint, which were worked by the primitive inhabitants in prehistoric times. These are located in the northeastern part of Kay County, in the vicinity of the village of Hardy. The primitive stone weapons and tools of prehistoric man are more or less of common occurrence in all parts of Oklahoma, though few people ever pause to consider where the stone age man secured material which he fashioned into the various designs and shapes to suit his several purposes. Other quarries of chert, or flint, are to be found elsewhere in the state.[4] Such quarries are not always readily recognized and understood by everyone who sees them even t hough it may be evident that they are the result of artificial excavation. Hence one sometimes hears them referred to as "old Spanish mines," though most of them antedate by hundreds of years the arrival of the first Spanish explorers. As the work in Kay County is being done co-operatively the specimens secured by the Marland Achological expedition are to be divided, part of them placed in the museum of the Oklahoma Historical Society and part of them in the newly projected historical museum which Mr. Marland plans to establish at Ponca City. The results of the work that

[3] Joseph B. Thoburn had served as secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society from 1919, and was elected as Director of Research by the Board of Directors of the Society in its meeting held February 2, 1926. Otto Spring's *Report* on the summer's archaeological work on the chert quarries in Kay County, prepared for publication in *The Chronicles* was not published because stress was laid on the use of articles and notes relating to history with the recent change in the position of secretary and editor. Spring's Report was laid away, and remained unpublished.

[4] Joseph B. Thoburn, "The Northern Caddoan Peoples of Prehistoric Times and the Human Origin of the Natural Mounds, So Called, of Oklahoma and Neighboring States," unpublished manuscript, The Oklahoma Historical Society, 1930. An ancient quarry on the Peoria lands in Oklahoma (in present Ottawa County), 7 miles northwest of Seneca, Missouri, is reported by William Henry Holmes under the title *An Ancient Quarry in Indian Territory* published by the Smithsonian Institution, Bur. Ethnol. (Washington, 1894).




MAP SHOWING
FLINT QUARRIES
*near*
HARDY, KAY COUNTY, OKLAHOMA

has been done elsewhere in Kay County will be described in subsequent issues of this publication [*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*].—J.B.T.

## Chert Quarries in Kay County, Oklahoma

In the vicinity of Hardy a formation of resistant light colored limestone caps the higher hills, and its hardness causes it to stand out, the hill sloping steeply away from it below and the hilltop being nearly level and smooth. This limestone contains nodules of chert, some of the beds being as much as one-third chert. These nodules, seem for the most part, to have been formed around fossils as nuclei and in many are to be seen very perfect fossils. These are usually species of fusilina and nummulites. Nearly all of the nodules have an agate structure and many of them are beautifully banded. The colors are usually white shading to yellow, banded with darker colors, rarely showing shades of red. The red material seems to be more fossiliferous than that of other colors.

Along the edges of the hills the limestone is broken up by weathering and it appears in the form of slabs of limestone interstratified with earth and the chert nodules. In these places the material is quite loose.

In places the silicious nodules are of a grade of chert suitable for manufacture of primitive stone implements. In this locality are many pits along the edges of the hills dug by prehistoric man in search of chert. Evidently not all of the material thus found was suitable for his purpose as, in some places, only one or two pits have been dug as if, in prospecting, it had been found unsatisfactory, while in others all of the hill-top over a considerable space has been turned over to a depth of several feet. In most places the excavations are generally located along the edges of the hills as, apparently, only there was the stone so broken up by the processes of weathering that they could be worked by the crude methods known to the primitive quarrymen.

These pits were seldom if ever over four feet deep, the depth of the workings being limited by the depth to which the stone is loosened by weathering. They are generally not over twenty feet wide and extend usually some sixty feet back from the edge of the hill. Rarely a pit has been worked much farther, extending a hundred feet or more. Evidently the distance they could be worked from the edge of the hill was limited by the extent to which the rocks were weathered.

The usual method of working seems to have been by starting a pit at the edge of the hill and working back into the hill. The larger pieces of rock were usually thrown to each side or carried

(Photo 1926)
Flint Quarry, Northwest, Near Hardy,
Kay County

(Photo 1926)
Flint Quarries, Northeast. Near Hardy,
Kay County

to a central dumping place; the smaller debris was thrown to the rear, thus partially filling the pit behind. Most of the pits were carried more or less straight but some are very crooked even making complete circles. Some of the pits parallel the edge of the hill. In several places the whole hill-top has been worked over by means of a series of pits. In these places the larger rocks seemed to have been carried to central piles and these are of considerable size.

It is evident that nodules of chert were broken up and roughly shaped around or near the pit, as many crude and imperfect implements and flint chippings are to be found there. Much of the rough chipping seems to have been done on the points of the hills as also flint chippings are numerous.

It seems that the partially shaped implements were carried to more desirable camping places before finishing them. All of the bottom land along Myers Creek a distance of several miles of its course in the vicinity of the workings, is well covered vestigia of the old camps. These consist of such things as cup-stones, muller stones, broken corn mortars, mussel shells, flints, etc.

The great number of chert chippings and broken or imperfect artifacts of the stone from the workings indicates that, in the camps of these bottoms, most of the finishing of the implements was done. The greatest camp seems to have been in the bottoms around a large spring about a mile south of Hardy. This spring, which flows out of a cleft in a rocky cliff that forms the east valley wall of the creek, has a strong flow of clear, cold water. The surrounding bottoms being suitable for camping and the abundant supply of good water thus afforded in a region where springs are comparatively rare, probably made this a coveted camping place in pre-historic times.

The old workings seem to have been in three main groups. Two of these are about a half mile apart and about a mile southeast of Hardy, the third is about three miles on farther south. Around each of these for some distance small pits and prospect holes are to be found wherever the chert bearing ledge is exposed to weathering.

The old workings have made it possible for elms and other trees to live on the hill-tops and the quarries usually have trees growing in or about them, while all other hill-tops in this vicinity are bare of all vegetation except that which ordinarily grows on the prairies.

The chert secured from these quarries seems to have been suitable only for the manufacture of rougher implements. It appears to have been utilized chiefly in making hoes, skin-scrapers, rough axes, etc. However, a "four-bladed pen-knife"

was found on one of the camp-sites near the workings that is of very good workmanship and made of the chert from these workings. Several small arrow-heads of this material and of good workmanship were found on camp-sites elsewhere.

Other than the above all implements found were of poorer and rough workmanship as already stated, and consisted of skin-scrapers, hoes, rough knives, picks, wedges, etc. Chert from these quarries seems to have been carried over a wide territory, throughout adjacent portions of northern Oklahoma and southern Kansas.

As a result of recent excavations on camp-sites within a few miles of these quarries, it has become evident that there was a primary contact between the stone age man with European culture (French) less than two hundred years ago, chert implements from material quarried near Hardy being found on such sites interspersed with vestigia of iron, copper and brass.[5] It is therefore evident that these quarries were worked down to within two centuries of the present time.

—Otto F. Spring

[5] This "primary contact" of the French mentioned here has reference to similar articles of French trade found on the site of Ferdinandina on the west side of the Arkansas River, less than 15 miles southwest of the old quarries near Hardy, in the same County—Kay.

# COLONEL RANALD S. MACKENZIE AT FORT SILL

*By Jean L. Zimmerman**

The Southern Plains Indian campaign of 1874-1875 ended for Colonel Ranald Slidell Mackenzie when he reported to Brigadier General Christopher C. Augur in San Antonio. Augur, commanding the Department of Texas, informed the Colonel that his successes in the fall of 1874 were producing results. Each day more of the Kiowas, Comanches, and Southern Cheyennes were moving back to their reservations. Augur also told Mackenzie that Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan was stationing the Fourth Cavalry at Fort Sill in Indian Territory, where the Colonel, as its commander would overlook the affairs of the nearby Kiowa-Comanche Agency.[1]

At the close of the conference, Colonel Mackenzie left en route to his new post. He was about to enter one of the most interesting and yet a most unusual period of his life. Although his prowess as an Indian fighter formed the basis of his reputation, Mackenzie led not one expedition against the Indians during the months he commanded Fort Sill. Yet this was not an atypical period. The vigor and determination characteristic of his campaigns against the Indians were now displayed in equal measure in his concern for them.

Fort Sill was located on the Kiowa-Comanche reservation on the southern side of the Wichita Mountains. Sheridan selected the site during his visit to the area in the winter of 1868-1869, and named it for a West Point classmate, Joshua W. Sill, killed in the Civil War. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency was situated only three miles away, facilitating the co-operation necessary between the military and the Indian agent.[2]

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*Jean L. Zimmerman contributes this article on "Ranald Slidell Mackenzie" adapted from her thesis for the M.A. degree, prepared in the Department of History under Prof. Donald J. Berthrong, the University of Oklahoma. Miss Zimmerman is a graduate of Iowa State University (1963), received her M.A. degree in history in January, 1965, and her Master of Library Science degree in June, 1965. She is now a librarian, Iowa State Traveling Library, Historical Building, Des Moines, Iowa.—Ed.

1 Lieutenant General Philip H. Sheridan to Brigadier General Christopher C. Augur, Chicago, Ill., November 10, 17, 1874, Records of the War Department, United States Army Commands, Military Division of the Missouri, Letters Sent, National Archives, photocopy in the Donald J. Berthrong Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library.

2 Wilbur Sturtevant Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1943), pp. 75, 84, 100; Grant Foreman, "Historical Background of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* XIX (June 1941), p. 136. Brigadier General Joshua W. Sill, United States Volunteers, was killed at the Battle of Stone River, Tennessee, on December 31, 1862.

Chosen because of his reputation as a strict disciplinarian, the fort's new commander believed not in brute force, but in "moral restraint, respect for the laws," and "enforcement of discipline." As one of his lieutenants later wrote, " . . . he was never tyrannical or unjust. Firmness and justice were his ruling characteristics. He wanted results — things accomplished."[3] And now he was coming to Fort Sill, a place where things needed to be accomplished.

Basically three problems faced Colonel Mackenzie when he arrived at Fort Sill: the surrender of the Indians still off the reservation; the poor administration of the Office of Indian Affairs; and the depredations of white thieves in Indian Territory. It was the first, however, which most urgently required his attention as he assumed command on March 27, 1875.[4]

Unlike the other Comanche bands, the Quahadi[4a] still refused to surrender and live on the reservation. Late January when the Kiowa chief, Big Bow, brought in his band he reported that the Kiowas and Comanches were anxious to follow.[5] And so they did —all except the Quahadi.

In early April Colonel Mackenzie received word that the Quahadi were coming in, but when the band arrived on the eighteenth he discovered the majority still to be missing. Two days later he sent Dr. J. J. Sturms and Sergeant John B. Charlton with two Comanches onto the plains with a message for these Kwahadis. Sturms, married to a Caddo woman and considered a friend of the Indians, was to inform them that, if they

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[3] Robrt Goldthwaite Carter, *On the Border With MacKenzie, or Winning West Texas from the Comanches* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1961), pp. 536-37.

[4] Post Return of Fort Sill, I. T., March 1875, Office of the Adjutant General, Records of the War Department, Letters Received, National Archives, on microfilm in the Leckie Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library.

[4a] *Quahadi* is the spelling of the name that has been used consistently in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* when referring to the noted band of the Comanche that surrendered at Fort Sill in 1875, of which Quanah (Quanah Parker) was the leader well known in history. The spelling of the name of this band of Comanche is given *Kwahari*, a Comanche word meaning "antelopes," in the *Handbook of American Indians* (Bur. Amer. Ethnol., *Bulletin* 30). The form *Quahadi* is generally used by historians for this band though variations are found in some publications spelled *Quahada* or *Quohada* (forms that probably involve typographical errors in the printing). The spelling *Kwahadi* given by Miss Zimmerman in her paper on Colonel Mackenzie has been changed to *Quahadi* in her published article here, following the form found in *The Chronicles* through the years.—Ed.

[5] J. M. Haworth to Edward P. Smith, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, I. T., January 29, 1875, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Kiowa Agency, National Archives, microcopy in the Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library (hereinafter cited as Indian Affairs, Kiowa LR).

surrendered, the Government would care for them. If they did not, "Bad Hand," Mackenzie's Indian name, would pursue them to the end.[6]

Soon word came that the Quahadi were moving toward Fort Sill. On June 2, 1875, Quanah Parker, their chief, and 425 of his followers arrived at the fort where they surrendered to the military authorities. Eleven days later, Mackenzie turned the Indians over to J. M. Haworth, the Indian Agent for the Kiowas and Comanches, enabling him to report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington that "all the Indians belonging to this agency are now in."[7]

Colonel Mackenzie was at Fort Sill during the years of President Grant's peace policy when religious denominations controlled Indian affairs. The Quakers, having suggested the plan assumed jurisdiction over the tribes located in the Indian Territory and Kansas. Lack of experience in administration and insufficient appropriations from Congress often made the agent's life an unhappy one. The Indians, discontented when their food allotments failed to arrive, created problems for both the Indian agent and the local military officials. On the Kiowa-Comanche reservation, Agent Haworth and Colonel Mackenzie worked together to alleviate the situation.[8]

In September, 1875, the supplies for the fall issue failed to arrive at the agencies on time. At the Cheyenne Agency the acting agent removed the Indians twelve miles away, seemingly for sanitary reasons, but actually because his supplies were exhausted.[9] At the Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Haworth notified his superiors in August that the supplies were low, and the new

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[6] Lieutenant Colonel John W. Davidson to Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of Texas, Fort Griffin, Tex., April 5, 1875, in *ibid.;* Robert Goldthwaite Carter, *The Old Sergeant's Story: Winning the West from the Indians and Bad Men in* 1870 *to* 1876 (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1926), p. 113. During the Civil War, Mackenzie lost two fingers from his right hand, which led the Indians to call him Bad Hand.

[7] Haworth to Smith, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, I. T., June 14, 1875, Indian Affairs, Kiowa LR.

[8] Rupert Norval Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement: A Century and a Half of Savage Resistance to the Advancing White Frontier* (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1933), pp. 324-26; Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie to Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of the Missouri (hereinafter cited as AAG, Dept. Mo.), Fort Sill, I. T., June 6, 1875, Fort Sill Collection, Letters Sent, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library (hereinafter cited as Fort Sill Collection, LS).

[9] Captain Wirt Davis to MacKenzie, Cheyenne Agency, I. T., September 14, 1875, Fort Sill Collection, Registry of Letters Received, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library (hereinafter cited as Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry).

issue was badly needed. Writing to Enoch Hoag, Superintendent of the Central Superintendency, he warned that the Indians were losing confidence in the "civil arm of the government." He also reported that "Mackenzie will let me have all I need, provided the Interior Department will settle with the Military. . . . he has a large amount in store which the Indians understand . . . [but] they can't see why as all belong to Washington, soldiers as well as Indians, why I don't get it from him when I am out."[10]

On the twenty-fourth Mackenzie received word authorizing him to turn over to the Kiowa-Comanche the Cheyenne-Arapaho, and the Wichita Agencies such supplies as he could spare. The agents were notified and for the time being the situation was under control.[11]

Again in April, 1876, issues to the Indians depleted the agent's sugar supply. When he sent a request to Mackenzie for a loan of the necessary amount, the Colonel telegraphed the Commander of the Department of the Missouri for permission. Declaring that he did not have the power to authorize such a loan, the Commander stated that he would sustain the action as far as possible.[12]

Mackenzie proceeded to loan the sugar to the agent, following his earlier precedent, but his patience was wearing out. Finally, in June he wrote to his superiors,

> . . . in order to give these people an opportunity to work they must be fed. This is not now properly done . . . It is due to the Indians if we intend to control them and keep them from their old life, to feed them properly; and it is our clear duty to our own people to so control them. . . . It is all very well to say you ought not to run away or behave badly to people who are driven to do so by the pangs of hunger, but it is not likely to be very efficacious. The case is so clear, the duty of the United States so plain, that a long discussion is not needed.

He went on to recommend that the administration of Indian affairs "be transferred to the Army; or that the Army be turned over to the Indian Bureau"; that the Congressional appropriations for the Indians be doubled; and that local army contingents be given more power over law enforcement within their area.[13]

Indian Territory provided a refuge for the murders, thieves, and gamblers from Texas, so that law enforcement presented a real problem. The agent was without power, and restrictions limited the military to action only in the Territory. The United

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[10] Haworth to Enoch Hoag, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, I. T., September 6. 1875, Indian Affairs, Kiowa LR.

[11] General William Tecumseh Sherman to Mackenzie, St. Louis, Mo., September 24, 1875, Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry.

[12] Mackenzie to Haworth, Fort Sill, I. T., April 20, 1876, Fort Sill Collection, LS.

[13] Mackenzie to AAG, Dept. Mo., Fort Sill, I. T., June 6, 1876, in *ibid.*

States Marshal at Fort Smith, Arkansas, possessed jurisdiction over the area, but both distance and cost curbed his effectiveness.[14]

Frequently, Mackenzie sent out detachments to pursue horse thieves who plundered the Indian herds. In October, 1875, he reported that the primary duty of details sent from the post at that time was trailing these thieves, and that no scouts were out after Indians. But the thefts continued.[15]

In early January, 1876, Howea, a Comanche chief, reported that thieves stole sixty six of his horses, and the following month Agent Haworth notified the post of the theft of nineteen additional horses. Each time Mackenzie promptly dispatched details to recover the stolen property, but success was limited.[16]

Finally in May, the Colonel ordered three squads of men on patrol, and instructed them to arrest "any and all parties found on the reservation who have not proper authority for being within said limits." The immediate objective of this detail was the arrest of two men with their followers rumored to be near the Indian encampment. But Mackenzie hoped that with time such a patrol would discourage further thefts.[17] And, although they continued the number began to decrease.

The first year at Fort Sill also brought several other problems to the commander's desk, some which were of importance, others which were nothing more than irritations. One of the latter concerned Andreas Eisenring, a Swiss citizen, sent to Fort Sill in early June, 1875, by Brigadier General John Pope, commending the Department of the Missouri. Eisenring claimed to be able to speak with the Cheyenne Indians in the old Latin and Romansh languages, and Pope asked that Mackenzie send him to the agency and make a full investigation as to the truth of these allegations.[18]

Later that month, Captain Wirt Davis, commanding the

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[14] Haworth to Hoag, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, I. T., February 23, 1875, Indian Affairs, Kiowa LR; J. F. Hagan, United States Marshal, to Mackenzie, Fort Smith, Ark., June 11, 1875, Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry.

[15] Mackenzie to AAG, Dept. Mo., Fort Sill, I. T., October 26, 1875, Fort Sill Collection LS.

[16] Mackenzie to Lieutenant Colonel George P. Buell, Fort Sill, I. T., January 11, 1876, in *ibid.;* Haworth to Mackenzie, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, I. T., February 26, 1876, Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry.

[17] First Lieutenant Wentz C. Miller to Second Lieutenant Stanton A. Mason, Fort Sill, I. T., May 10, 1876, Fort Sill Collection, LS.

[18] AAG, Dept. Mo., to Mackenzie, Fort Leavenworth, Kans., June 4, 1875, Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry. The Romansh (also spelled Romansch) language is spoken in the eastern part of Switzerland.

detachment at the Cheyenne Agency, reported he was certain the Swiss had deceived the Departmental Commander, and was "utterly worthless as an interpreter."[19] Not satisfied with the Captain's statement, Pope ordered Colonel Mackenzie to make a personal investigation. Although the Colonel also recommended Eisenring's dismissal, the pseudo-interpreter continued at the post until October. Finally, however, word came from Brigadier General Pope that Eisenring was discharged, and the Swiss left for his homeland.[20]

The following spring a minor crisis arose when Colonel Mackenzie received the New York *Times* of April 7, 1876. In that issue an article appeared publishing letters which attacked Fort Sill as "a sort of young Sodom," with references to the poor influence of the army in general and this post in particular on the nearby Indians. It was alleged that "the influence of the common soldier is to destroy all morals and to corrupt all with whom he may come in contact."[21] Needless to say, the commander reacted with vehemence. He immediately wrote a letter to the editor protesting that the article did his command, as well as himself, a "great injustice." [22]

The story evidently evolved from the investigations in progress concerning the proposed transfer of the Indian Bureau from the Department of the Interior to the Department of War. The author, who remained anonymous, attempted to show the awful consequences which would be expected if the transfer took place. Accusing the men of "reckless and depraved" conduct, he wrote that they "neither fear God nor regard man. The Sabbath is disregarded entirely . . . The Indians have a great dread of being turned over to the military . . ."[23]

In reply Mackenzie declared that, contrary to the impression left by the article, he did not favor "drunkenness or disorder," nor did he oppose the Christian religion. He informed the editor that he was requesting a "careful investigation" of the allegations with the hope that the guilty individual, be it himself or the correspondent, be punished.[24]

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19 Davis to Mackenzie, Cheyenne Agency, I. T., June 28, 1875, in *ibid.*

20 AAG, Dept. Mo., to Mackenzie, Fort Leavenworth, Kans., July 14, 1875, in *ibid.;* Brigadier General John Pope to Mackenzie, Fort Leavenworth, Kans., October 16, 1875, in *ibid.*

21 U. S., Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *Letter of Colonel Mackenzie Relative to Matters at Fort Sill,* Executive Document No. 175, 44th Cong., 1st Sess., 1876, pp. 2-3.

22 *Ibid.,* p. 3.

23 *Ibid., p.* 2.

24 *Ibid.,* p. 3.

Colonel Mackenzie sent his letter with enclosures through the proper channels so that it finally reached the desk of William Tecumseh Sherman, General of the Army. Sherman forwarded it to the Secretary of War with the recommendation that the letter be submitted to the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives rather than the editor of the New York *Times*. Continuing, he wrote, ". . . Mackenzie is too good an officer to be damaged in reputation by anonymous flings. He has kept the Kiowa, Comanches, etc., quiet now a whole year, a thing never accomplished heretofore."[25]

In the spring of 1876 the Sioux Indians began an uprising on the Northern plains which soon resulted in several defeats for the Army of the United States, including Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer's massacre. Late in July Colonel Mackenzie received orders to proceed to Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory, where he was to assist in putting down the uprising.[26] Four months later, on November 25, 1876, Mackenzie led an attack on a Cheyenne village, which led to the surrender of the Northern Cheyennes.[27]

In the following spring, after much prodding, these Northern Cheyenne Indians reluctantly agreed to move to Indian Territory. There they were to join the Southern Cheyennes on the Cheyenne-Arapaho reservation.[28]

After seeing the Indians on their way, Mackenzie left Camp Robinson, Nebraska, to return to Fort Sill. There on June 30, 1877, he reassumed his command. The recurring raids on Indian herds attracted his immediate attention, and at the end of July he went on the warpath.

On the night of the twenty-second, thieves ran off a herd of ponies from a Comanche named Otter Belt. When the agent notified him, Mackenzie sent a detail in pursuit. The trail led to Denison, Texas, where the soldiers discovered the raiders had sold three of the ponies. When the good citizens refused to give up their purchases, the Colonel, believing that the presence of an

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25 *Ibid.*, p.4.

26 AAG, Dept. Mo., to Mackenzie, Fort Leavenworth, Kans., July 26, 1876, Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry.

27 See John G. Bourke, "Mackenzie's Last Fight With the Cheyennes: A Winter Campaign in Wyoming and Montana," *Journal of the Military Service Institution of the United States,* LIII (November 1913), pp. 343-85.

28 U. S., Congress, Senate, Select Committee on the Removal of the Northern Cheyennes, *Removal of the Northern Cheyenne Indians,* Report No. 708, 46th Cong., 2d Sess., 1880, pp. 224-25.

officer would aid in recovery, dispatched Second Lieutenant James Parker to Denison.[29]

When the men still refused, the acting agent at the Kiowa-Comanche Agency requested that Mackenzie direct Parker to begin civil action. This progressed slowly for, as the Lieutenant later wrote, ". . . 'the law's delays' are many and tedious when public opinion favors procrastination."[30] Disgusted with this inactivity, Mackenzie repeatedly sent telegrams to the sheriff at Denison and the Adjutant General of the State of Texas requesting their co-operation in recovering what rightfully belonged to the Indians. He warned the Adjutant General that this "great wrong" might lead to the "loss of much property, and the lives of many good people in Texas one of these days."[31]

And in this same vein, Colonel Mackenzie instructed Parker to "push it to the fullest extent," which the latter attempted to do so by hiring an attorney to prosecute he case for he Indians.[32] When he forwarded Parker's report to Departmental Headquarters, Mackenzie wrote:[33]

> . . . it is very important to the well-being of the Indians here that the suits against these parties in Denison be pressed by the Interior Department. . . . if thieves are to be allowed to sell stolen horses openly in a considerable town and the parties buying can hold the property, there is an end o any attempt to do anything for the good of these Indians.

Finally, toward the end of September, word came that the Acting Attorney General had instructed the United States Attorney for the Western District of Texas to give the matter his immediate and careful attention,[34] and the Colonel's efforts paid off.

In the meantime Mackenzie received word that the Northern Cheyennes were en route from Fort Dodge, Kansas. First Lieutenant Henry W. Lawton, accompanying them, reported that many were sulky and one chief, Standing Elk, would not come if Mackenzie did not meet them upon their arrival at the Chey-

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29 J.. T. Richardson to William Nicholson, Kiowa-Comanche Agency I. T., August 4, 1877, Indian Affairs, Kiowa LR; James Parker, *The Old Army: Memories,* 1872-1918 (Philadelphia: Dorrance and Co., 1929), pp. 71-72.

30 Parker, *The Old Army,* p. 74.

31 Mackenzie to Adjutant General of the State of Texas, Fort Sill, I. T., July 27, 1877, Indian Affairs, Kiowa LR.

32 Mackenzie to Second Lieutenant James Parker, Fort Sill, I. T., August 3, 1877, in *ibid.*; Parker to Mackenzie, Denison, Tex., August 10, 1877, in *ibid.*

33 Parker to the Post Adjutant, Denison, Tex., August 10, 1877, in *ibid.*

34 S. F. Phillips, Acting Attorney General, to Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior, Washington, D. C., September 17, 1877 in *ibid.*

enne-Arapaho Agency.[35] To this the Colonel replied, "They had best get over it."[36]

On August 3, Colonel Mackenzie left Fort Sill for Fort Reno and the nearby agency. There he supervised the settling of the Cheyennes who arrived two days later. Returning to Fort Sill, Mackenzie was soon confronted with another instance of insufficient rations for the Indians. By mid-September, the Cheyennes began visiting him with complaints of their treatment.[37] Writing Brigadier General Pope, he warned that "unless the Indians have justice in the matter of food from the government, there will be an outbreak within two years."[38]

At the same time the Colonel directed Lawton to investigate the situation and submit a detailed account.[39] In his endorsement of the subsequent report, Mackenzie recommended three reforms, the most important being an increase in rations.[40] But as before the situation failed to improve. In November, disgusted with the lack of response to his earlier letters, Mackenzie wrote once more:[41]

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35 First Lieutenant Henry W. Lawton to Mackenzie, Fort Dodge, Kans., July 11, 1877, Fort Sill Collection, LR Registry.

36 Mackenzie to Lawton Fort Sill, I. T., July 11, 1877, in *ibid.*

37 Mackenzie to AAG, Dept. Mo., Fort Sill, I. T., September 15, 1877, Fort Sill Collection, LS.

38 *Removal of the Northern Cheyenne Indians,* 265. The following summer, Dull Knife, chief of the Northern Cheyennes, led his people in peace, but with determination, away from Indian Territory, across western Kansas and Nebraska, back to their homes in the north.

39 See *ibid.,* pp. 268-76.

40 *Ibid.,* pp. 276-77

41 Mackenzie to AAG, Dept. Mo., Fort Sill, I. T., November 20, 1877, Office of Indian Affairs, Letters Received, Cheyenne and Arapahoe Agency, National Archives, microcopy in the Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library.

Some Cheyennes whom I had known in the north were here some two weeks ago, and still say that they do not get enough to eat at the Cheyenne Agency. The report sent, some time ago by Lt. Lawton, however, covers the entire ground. In this connection I wish to say that the Agent at this place is also out of flour, and has been without a very considerable portion of the time since June last. I have really mentioned these things so often that I do so now more that the Commanding General can understand that the matter of rations for Indians is still not well regulated than in the hope that any permanent good will result from any statement of the case.

This was one of Colonel Mackenzie's last pleas for the Indians around Fort Sill, for soon after, he received orders transferring the Fourth Cavalry to Fort Clark, Texas.[42] During his months at Fort Sill, the Colonel accomplished a great deal on behalf of the Indians. He obtained their surrender, and then fed them and pursued their enemies. Colonel Ranald S. Mackenzie demonstrated to the Indian that, despite his earlier punitive campaigns, he was now sincerely dedicated to their well-being.

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[42] Mackenzie to AAG, Dept. Mo., Fort Sill, I. T., December 12, 1877, Fort Sill Collection, LS.

# THE NEZ PERCE IN THE QUAPAW AGENCY
## 1878-1879

*By Velma Nieberding**

The dramatic and tragic story of the Nez Perce war, and the retreat of Nez Perce warriors led by Chief Joseph in 1877, has been told by many historians. The heroes of the epic retreat were not U. S. soldiers but Indians, and their leader was one of the most remarkable Indians in American history. Military strategists still study in detail this retreat march covering a distance of almost 2,000 miles through hostile territory and made under constant harrassment and attack by larger and better-armed forces. It is a story rich in drama and the lessons of military history.[1]

Less often told is the story of Joseph's Band brought to the Quapaw Special Agency as prisoners in 1878. Whatever the intent of the Government the Nez Perce were held in the agency for almost a year before being moved to a reservation in the old Cherokee Outlet, just west of the Arkansas river. This was on land previously purchased from the Cherokees and later also occupied by Pawnees, Otoes, Missourias, and Poncas.[2]

On July 20, 1878, John McNeil, an inspector for the Indian Department, reported that he had moved the Nez Perce (nearly all invalids) from Baxter Springs to the Agency, and asked for $211 wagon hire. Hiram Jones, Quapaw Special Agent, reported the fact that the Nez Perce while enroute to Indian Territory from their mountain homes, were located on the banks of the Missouri river near Ft. Leavenworth, and during the hot summer of 1877, they were "filled with Malarial poison." Although Chief Joseph was much opposed to making the agency his future home, the Nez Perce had been taken by wagon to the Modoc reservation where they established a temporary camp. Later Jones met with

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*Velma Nieberding well known writer on the Indian tribes of the old Quapaw Agency region in present Ottawa County, has contributed a number of articles to *The Chronicles,* in the past. During special research in the National Archives in the summer of 1965, Mrs. Nieberding found the original "Report of 1879" describing the journey of the Nez Perce — Chief Joseph's band, prisoners of war — from their temporary quarters at the Quapaw Agency, 177 miles west to a reserve of land about 10 miles northwest of present Ponca City, Kay County.—Ed.

1 For a detailed analysis of this military retreat see Louis Morton, "The Great Retreat of Chief Joseph," *Army and Navy Magazine,* December, 1960. The French pronunciation of the tribal name has been Anglicized to "Nezz Purse."

2 Berlin B. Chapman, "How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XV, No. 2, (June, 1937).

the Peorias and Miamis and purchased 7,000 acres of their land as a reserve for the Band.[3]

Shortly after the arrival of the Band, Inspector McNeil, reported that the Nez Perce camp was delightfully timbered in a beautiful grove with a spring of pure water running through it. Spring River, abounding in fish was within three miles and blackberries and wild plums were plentiful. McNeil added, "The well dressed and orderly Modocs at once visited them, even furnishing some half dozen of the teams that conveyed them from Baxter. The Civilized Indians came to their camp with negotiations such as potatoes, corn, tomatoes, etc. to sell. These are object lessons that must have a good effect. While in their camp yesterday I could notice a great improvement in cheerfulness and energy and a much greater one in expression of countenances."[4]

The Modocs, who met the Nez Perce on their arrival in Indian Territory, were part of Captain Jack's Band, brought as prisoners and settled in the agency in 1873, following the Modoc war. From the first they were regarded as models in behaviour and the desire to be civilized. Agent Jones, no doubt, felt they would have a good influence on the Nez Perce. Both tribes were from the Northwest and they shared at least, a similarity of cultures. The camp mentioned above was located about three-quarters of a mile from the present Modoc cemetery and was near the location of the agency. It was called "Modoc Springs" and the Modoc and Nez Perce later held horse races of great interest to all tribes in the agency and much against the wishes of the agent, who deplored the betting and gambling that went on among the Indians.[5]

Later the Nez Perce were moved to lands assigned to them west of the present town of Peoria and in the area called "Warren Springs."

The treatment accorded the Nez Perce after Joseph's surrender to Colonel Nelson A. Miles reflects no credit on the U. S.

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[3] No official record has been found that the Peorias received the money for this land. In 1879 the Modocs complained to the agent that the Nez Perce had camped on their reservation since July, 1878, and were depleting their timber. They asked to be paid for this loss. The next year Milton Drake, a member of the Miami tribe complained that his farm had been taken for the Nez Perce and that he was never paid for it.—National Archives, Microfilm 711 (1871-1880). Letters received by Office of Indian Affairs. (National Archives hereafter in this article referred to as NA; and Office of Indian Affairs, as OIA.)

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] Personal interview, Guy Jennison, oldest member of the Ottawa Tribe. Jennison's father, who attended the races, said the Nez Perce were great gamblers and liked good horses.

Government. Miles had recommended that Joseph and his Band be sent back to the tribal lands in Idaho or Oregon and had promised Joseph this would be done. But General William T. Sherman was by this time in charge of the Northwest, and he proved vengeful to the Indians. No promises were kept and the Nez Perce were sent to die in a Malarial camp at Fort Leavenworth.[6]

Thus, with a sense of betrayal rankling in his heart and grieving for the loss of his people, Joseph was not a contented prisoner and much to Agent Jones' annoyance never ceased trying to negotiate for the promise of Colonel Miles to be carried out. Joseph had wired the Indian Commissioner soon after his arrival in the agency, "I have lost 44 of my people since my arrival here; we would like to visit Washington and have a talk with the President and yourself in regard to our future."[7]

But the Nez Perce future for then lay in Indian Territory. The Commissioner approved the purchase of 20 ounces of quinine at a cost of $11.15 and Jones bought one pound of carthartic pills, one dozen bottles Merrit diarrhea syrup, Spirits of Nitre and citric acid, all for the Nez Perce. The tribal interpreter, Arthur Chapman was in constant disagreement with Jones and his treatment of the Nez Perce and Jones wrote that Chapman was trying to poison the minds of the Nez Perce against him.[8]

On March 24, 1879, Bob Sands, who had moved from Indiana to Baxter Springs and was associated with a mercantile establishment there, wrote to his wife, Tillie, who had not yet joined him in the new Kansas home. The letter follows:[9]

I believe I promised you a letter on my return from the Nation. I was down yesterday and saw the Noble Red Man in all his purity. We started after breakfast and returned about sundown, driving a distance of 50 miles with all ease and had plenty of time to take in all the

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[6] Alvin M. Josephy Jr. *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (Yale Press, 1965). Josephy credits Sherman with giving circulation to the saying that "the only good Indian is a dead one."

[7] N.A. *op. cit.* 270 Nez Perce were ill when they arrived in the Quapaw Agency.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] The writer, Bob Sands, was the grandfather of Mrs. Virgil Cooper, Mrs. George Francis and Jim Fribley, all of Miami. Tillie joined her husband in Baxter Springs a little later. Their daughter, Leila, was four years old when this letter was written. She later married C. J. Fribley, a prominent businessman of Miami.

different tribes. Among them are some historical Indians — Bogus Charley, Scarface Charley, Shac Nasty Jim, Wild Horse[10] and a number of others you have read about — there are several different tribes, the Pawnees,[11] Wyandotts, Quapaws, Peorias, Modocks, Senecas, Cherokees and last of all the Nez Perces, Chief Joseph's band.

They have only been here about 10 months and a great many are still in their blankets. They are a motley crew. We drove into their camp and after some length of time by motions and Jesticulations, I got an old squaw to understand I wanted to see Chief Jo. She pointed out a tall tent or wigwam and on driving up was met by two tall braves in red paint and fancy clothes, jewelry, etc. I very reluctantly shook them by the hand—they pointed to the tent and by motions invited me in. I got out of the buggy, went up to the tent, had to get down on my knees to get in, "straitened" up inside and there sat sat Chief Joseph and his retinue, about 20 dusky braves in a circle smoking the big pipe and holding a general powwow. Joseph rose and extended his hand, a tall, fine looking man but I could see that I was intruding and they were not in the best of humor. After surveying the mystic group I retired—or withdrew—and drove about the camp taking items. Just outside the camp I espied an old squaw taking a hot bath and I will try to give you a description of her proceedings. She had a hole dug about three feet by four and had about two feet of water in it. She had a log fire built and covered with limestone rock. She had a forked pole and would rake about one-half bushels of hot rock into the hole and jump into the hot water, then come out and jump into the creek which was about four feet deep of cold spring water, and never draw a long breath. Would have killed a white woman in twenty minutes.

Sand's letter continues with a description of a visit to the agency where "we stopt at the house and found in a room about the size of our dining room and kitchen, about 70 Indians seated in a circle on the floor and a white woman, Mrs. Tuttle, missionary from Indiana, preaching to them. She had an educated interpreter, who had been taken from the tribe several years ago."[12]

The letter concludes with a mention of visiting the Quapaw Mission school "where about a hundred orphans are being educated by the Government." Sands may have erred in thinking all the children were orphans.

Meanwhile, Joseph was accused of not cooperating with Agent Jones. Rations had been cut off because Joseph refused to sign for them saying that the Commissioners had not instructed him to do so. Apparently, the highly-intelligent Nez Perce leader was trying to deal directly with the Government and ignoring Jones. The interpreter Chapman, wrote that the agent was trying to break Joseph down, and had brought in

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10 All members of the Modoc tribe.

11 The Pawnees were never attached to the Quapaw Agency. Sands may have met some visiting Pawnees.

12 Probably Modocs since they were situated close to the agency. Asa and Emmeline Tuttle were early-day missionaries and teachers in the agency. Two of their children are buried in the Ottawa tribal cemetery.

three Indians from Idaho to help him. Joseph blamed these as representing that part of the tribe that had sold his country, and refused to have anything to do with them.[13]

Chapman also appealed to A. B. Meacham, evidently a friend of Joseph, saying that Jones had told the Nez Perce that the ones who went with Joseph would be sent farther south but those who joined the Quaker church would be sent back to Idaho. Chapman also charged that Jones was starving the Nez Perce mules.[14]

Both Chapman and Jones bombarded Washington complaining about each other. Jones was later investigated and suspended from the Indian Service. Yet in many respects, the accomplishments of this agent were outstanding and there are mitigating circumstances particularly when the conditions at the agency are studied within the context of Government policies concerning Indians at that period. If Jones was harsh with the Nez Perce, he was equally so with the Quapaws whom he was trying to induce to go and live with the Osages. He was harsh with the Senecas, who continued to carry on the "Long House" worship of the Handome Lake doctrine, and with the Shawnees, who persisted in their ancestral Bread and Greencorn dances. Not only this, as if flaunting the Agent's wishes, they held these "heathen" events on Sunday.

The Poncas had just undergone their ordeal of remaining for a year on the Quapaw reservation[15] where some of them starved to death because (it was charged later) the Agent neglected them. Not only this, there were a number of Black Bob's Band of Shawnees in the Agency as were some Citizen Potawatomi in addition to the regular tribes.[16]

Meanwhile, an agreement was finally concluded with the Nez Perce whereby the chiefs promised that they would relin-

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[13] NA. Letters received, OIA: 1871-1880. Jones, admittedly, was trying to break up the Smohalla religion followed by Chief Joseph and many of his people. (See *Smoholla and his Doctrine*—Bureau of American Ethnology, 1896).

[14] Meacham had been Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Oregon and had almost lost his life when General E. R. S. Canby and Dr. Eneasor Thomas were murdered in a trap set by the Modocs in 1869. Meacham later visited the Modocs in the Quapaw agency and some accompanied him on a lecture tour of the United States.—Keith A. Murray, *The Modocs and Their War,* (University Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1959).

[15] The Poncas had arrived in the agency in July, 1876 and were living with the Quapaws until the summer of 1878 when an appropriation was made for their removal to a reserve in the old Cherokee Outlet. (By Act. of May 27, 1878. 20 Statutes, Vol. 63, p. 76.)

[16] An account of conditions in the agency continues through all the correspondence of the period.—N.A.

quish all claims to their lands in Idaho or elsewhere and to settle permanently in Indian Territory. In May, 1879, special agent Haworth had been instructed to buy forty brood mares not to exceed $3,000 for use in transporting Nez Perce from the Quapaw agency to their new home in the Ponca agency. He was instructed to purchase 23,000 pounds of flour to use enroute, also bacon and medicine.

Haworth did take the Nez Perce to the new home with a minimum of time and trouble as shown in the following report sent to E. A. Hoyt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs:[17]

*Report of H. A. Haworth;* 1879

In accordance with instruction and authority, I purchased in open market for and issued to the Nez Perce Indians, forty head of horses (brood mares) and two mules, also issued to them eight head of mules which had been previously purchased for them by Mr. Jones late agent, with the harness and four wagons. I also issued to them twenty wagons and harness which had been purchased for them by your Bureau. I had all the stock, also the wagons issued to them properly branded "ID" in order to guard against loss. Before issuing to the Indians I had the horses mated, harnessed and hitched to the wagons when they were put in charge of Indian teamsters—and driven about for a day to accustom them to the wagons and to each other, as well as to drill the drivers in the use of the reins, to which some of them understand very readily while others were very awkward.

Having completed the outfit for Indian teams by the purchase of the necessary articles and notified Mr.—[copy blurred] with whom arrangement had been made for the necessary teams in addition to those issued to the Indians, to have his teams at the Nez Perce camp on Spring River on Friday morning, June 6, Inst. which being done, camp was broken and the wagons loaded for a start to the Salt Fork country. Owing to many being sick it was found absolutely necessary to get more wagons than had been estimated or arranged for. Thirty-nine two-horse teams in addition to the Indian teams being required to make the removal. Before starting, or loading, I had Mr. Willard call the employed teamsters into line and inform them that anyone who got drunk or behaved himself improperly on the road would be at once discharged and forfeit whatever pay might be due to him up to the time. Also that they must abstain from profanity and vulgarity while on the trip. If any thought they could not comply with the conditions they need not load, otherwise they must bind themselves to obey all orders and instructions on the route.

I appointed Mr. A. I. Chapman train master[18] and employed two white men, or rather one white man and one Indian to accompany the train as artisans, to whom I assigned the duty of assisting in loading the wagons, to examine all the wagons and harness each day after going into camp; see that the wagons were properly greased and everything in readiness for an early start each morning. This precaution I think

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[17] NA. OIA. June 25, 1879. The journal is copied from photostats in possession of author.

[18] Chapman had previously been dismissed by Jones; had been re-instated as Nez Perce interpreter.

was very important and no doubt was the means of preventing accidents on the trip. After five days I found could get along very well with one so discontinued one, with one faithful and efficient and one deserving of mention: Francis King and Thomas Stanley being the persons referred to.[19]

A considerable part of the first day was taken up in preparation, adjusting the loads, etc., so that only a short march was made, our camp being made on the evening of the 6th at Tar Springs about eight miles from the starting place.[20] On the 7th broke camp at 5 o'clock a.m. traveling thirty miles and camping on the west bank of the Neosho river and near Chetopa.[21] On the morning of the 8th we broke camp about half past four a.m. passing through Chetopa before the people were u, traveling 21 miles and going into camp on Snow Creek about 1:30 o'clock PM.

On the morning of the 9th broke camp at 5 A.M. traveling 20 miles, passing through Coffeyville and camping on Fawn Creek, Fawn Valley, Chatuaqua Co. Kans. At Coffeyville had two mules shod also some repairing done to wagons. The camp was made about 1:30 P.M.

Soon after going into camp here an old woman, worn out from malarial sickness and old age died and was buried about sundown after a regular funeral service. About dark a storm came up, the rain from which cooled the air and caused a little mud but not enough to interfere much with the next day's travel.

On the morning of the 10th I called at half past three and had all ready to move before 5 o'clock. We traveled through Canneyville, crossing the Caney River, passing through Peru went into camp about 2 o'clock having made twenty-two miles, passing through some very rough country.

On the morning of the 11th broke camp and was on the march fifteen minutes before 5 o'clock A.M. passing over some rough country and high hills traveling twenty-one miles and going into camp on the

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19 Francis King was a member of the Ottawa tribe. He was married to Esther Wilson, a daughter of Chief John Wilson. His son, John, was the father of Esther King Hart and Billie King Smith, both of Miami. Francis King is buried in the Ottawa tribal cemetery. The present chief of the Ottawas, Clarence E. King, Sr., is a collateral descendant.

20 Tar Springs was on the Quapaw reserve.

21 Chetopa, Kans, was established 18 April, 1857 by Dr. George Lisle, Abraham Ewers, George Ewers and Samuel Steel. It was on Osage ceded land and they had obtained permission from agent Major Dorn to settle there. The town was burned on Nov. 12, 1863 by General Blunt. *(Chetopah Advance,* 100th anniversary issue, April 18, 1957.)

The Nez Perce probably crossed the river at the ford called McGhee's Crossing. Larkin McGhee had located a trading post there. The name is sometimes said to mean "Four Houses" because four chiefs of the Osages believed to be Chetopah, Hard Rope, Pawhuska and Black Dog had established a village where the town was later built. According to Mathews (John Joseph Mathews, *The Osages: Children of the Middle Waters,* University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1961). Dr. Lisle had named the town for an Osage chieftain *Tzi-Topa.* It did not indicate ownership of four lodges as has frequently been written, but the name had been given to the chief as an honor since he had taken four lodges of the *Pawne-maha* during his gens' attack on a Pawnee village (*Ibid.,* p. 634.).

bank of the big Caney River near Cedarvale about 1:15 p.m. On the morning of the 12th did not get started as early as usual on account of the loss of some of the horses which being recovered we were on the move by 6:20 a.m. passing Big Caney; passing Cedarvale we traveled across some very high hills and bad roads—crossing Grouse and Silver creek went into camp near the latter about 3 o'clock having had the hardest days march of the trip up to this time, having made twenty-two miles. At this camp one of the Indian horses was snagged while being driven to water and had to be left behind.

On the morning of the 13th broke camp and were on the road 15 minutes before 5 o'clock A.M. passing through Arkansas City, crossing the Arkansas River on the bridge-passing southwest and going into camp on the headwaters of the Shallato Creek about 1:30 P.M. having made nineteen miles.

On the morning of the 14th broke camp at 4 o'clock A.M. Under the guidance of Mr. C .W. Scott employed by the Gov. of Kansas in Indian work, who kindly offered to show us the road—our continuing due south on a good road between the Bodock and Duck creeks, reaching the mouth of the Shaskaskia River about 2:30 P.M. crossing the Shaskaskia—went into camp having traveled twenty-six miles that day being the ninth day of the trip—having made the distance of one hundred and seventy-seven miles with a train of sixty-five wagons in nine days without accident excepting the one referred to of one horse snagged. On the evening of the 12 at the camp the employed teams were discharged and given seven days to return to their homes at Baxter Springs.

On reaching Arkansas City I sent a messenger to the Ponca Agency to inform Major Whiteman of the time of our arrival and ask him to meet us at the destination with beef and other supplies, which he did but was surprised at our coming, not having been previously advised of it, consequently without any preparation for us.[21]

In accordance with the instructions in telegram of the 29th until I turned them over to the care of Major Whiteman and left them encamped near the junction of the Shaskaskia and Salt Fork. The trip was made with as much dispatch as possible and with comparatively small expense.

The Indians conducted themselves well, there being no complaints of stragglers or annoyance by any one during the entire journey. All seemed in good spirits and cheerful, Joseph taking an active part in all the work, fixing roads, etc. Mr. Chapman as train master did his duty faithfully and efficiently relieving me of much of the labor which without an eficient hand in the place filled by him would have devolved upon me. I believe the entire expedition is entitled to be called a successful one. In addition to the death referred to as taking place on Fawn Creek, a young man who had been sick for some time before starting, died soon after going into camp on the Shaskaskia.

Two mowing machines and rakes should be sent to them at once to prepare hay for winter.

Signed J. M. Haworth
Special U.S. Agent

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[21] This situation seems to have been a common occurrence during Indian removals. Tribes frequently arrived at new destinations unannounced.

In 1882, in a report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, there is a recapitulation of some of the Nez Perce history since their arrival in Indian Territory: They had selected a permanent home a few miles west of the Ponca reservation where the Shakaskia empties into Salt Creek, *viz*: Townships 25 and 26 North Ranges 1 and 2 West, containing 90,710.89 acres. On January 31, 1879, Young Joseph and Yellow Bull, first and second chiefs, had made an agreement where they proposed to relinquish all claims to their land in Idaho or elsewhere to settle permanently in Indian Territory.[22] The bill did not become a law, yet the Indians had been located on the four townships above named and Congress had made annual appropriation for their maintenance and support. He added that Joseph and his band appeared to be the only Nez Perce who had ever engaged in hostility against whites. The band numbered 322 souls claiming that General Miles said they would be sent back to Idaho. The agent suggested that the remainder of the band we sent back to Idaho, since their deep-seated love for their old home and longing desire to leave the debilitating climate of Indian Territory for the more healthful air of the Idaho mountains could never be eradicated.

Chief Joseph became a symbol of the heroism of a people who wanted only peace and a place where they could live as they had always lived. In 1884, largely through the influence of General Miles, all of the band but Joseph were permitted to return to their beloved mountains. Joseph lived on, in exile, until 1904 when he died among the Colville Reservation Indians. Agent Miles had written of him as "the brightest type of Indian I have ever known, very handsome, kind and brave . . . an orator and the idol of his tribe."[23]

The surrender speech of Joseph still echoes across the years: "I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are dead . . . The little children are freezing to death . . ."

His tragedy was to have to fight and even to lead when he wanted only peace. He rose to true greatness and became a legend in his own lifetime. As one of his biographers wrote, "That he did it so well when he suffered from doing it was the secret of his greatness and the keynote to his personal tragedy."[24]

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[22] Act of Congress ratified February 1, 1879 (This Nez Perce reservation was assigned the Tonkawa in 1885, the lands adjacent to the northwest corner of the Ponca Reservation, now in the vicinity of the City of Tonkawa, Kay County.—Muriel H. Wright, *A Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma* [Norman, 3rd. printing, 1965].)

[23] Louis Morton, *op. cit.*

[24] Russel G. David and Brent K. Ashabranner, *Chief Joseph of the Nez Perce.* (McGraw Hill, 1962).

# THE POST OFFICES OF OKLAHOMA

November 26, 1907 — December 31, 1965

*By George H. Shirk*

## Foreword

More than a decade has elasped since the Oklahoma Historical Society published a compilation of all post offices prior to November 16, 1907, the date of Statehood, in what is now Oklahoma.[1]

This cutoff date for the listing was not arbitrary, for it was tied to the arrangement of the records of the Post Office Department. By statute, the Postmaster General is required to maintain in his office a register of all post offices, together with the date of appointment of each postmaster, arranged by State or Territory.

The development of these lists within the office of the Postmaster General followed generally the political development of what is now Oklahoma. At first these lists were maintained separately for each Indian Nation, and as new geographical entities were established within the area of the various nations, the Postmaster General attempted to maintain his records current with the local scene by establishing a new or subdivision within his listing.

Accordingly, it was very plausible and logical that our original list of post offices within Indian Territory would conclude with Statehood, and would be limited to the area of Eastern Oklahoma not within the bounds of Oklahoma Territory. After the organization of Oklahoma Territory in 1890, the Postmaster General maintained a separate listing for the counties, as they were from time to time established within Oklahoma Territory; and so, this development gave logic to the separate publication of a listing of the post offices of Oklahoma Territory down to Statehood and closing on that date.

Thus, the published material at this time includes a record of all post office activity, including establishments, name changes and the closing of individual post offices, occuring prior to Statehood. Because of the format of the records of the Post-

[1] Mr. George H. Shirk has contributed his completed listing of "Post Offices within the Boundaries of Oklahoma," as the third list in the series published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*: the first, under the heading "The Post Offices of Indian Territory," in Vol. XXVI, No. 2 (Summer, 1948), pp. 185-244 the second list, under the heading "Post Offices of Oklahoma Territory," in Vol. XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), pp. 41-104.—Ed.

master General, it would be impractical to have combined these two published lists into one, if for no other reason than that the Oklahoma Territory listing was broken down into counties, whereas the Indian Territory listing was separate as to each Indian Nation.

For many years all of us have recognized the need for a similar publication from Statehood to the present; and the problem has been that of securing the necessary information.

Upon the admission of Oklahoma into the Union, the Postmaster General reorganized his records, closed his previous listings for Indian Territory and for Oklahoma Territory, and established a new index for Oklahoma, arranged by county. He transcribed into this new record-book, county by county, all of the post offices that were then in operation. Thus had an office been established and discontinued prior to Statehood there would have been no entry in the newly established record, only offices then in operation were initially listed. As new offices were established subsequent to Statehood, this was entered in the appropriate county and the Oklahoma index was maintained in routine manner as the same with any other state.

Thus, in compiling the new index at Statehood, the Postmaster General of necessity dropped the former locator designation, such as "Cherokee Nation" or "Day County" but entered each office in the proper county of the new state, as the county location was reported to the Postmaster General by each individual postmaster on a special form provided for that purpose.

This register was maintained by the Postmaster General until 1930. At that time a new looseleaf form of register was adopted, and the former record-book was closed.

Upon establishment of the National Archives this series of records were deposited in that agency; with the result that all records for the individual post offices within Oklahoma from the date of Statehood to 1930 are available in the National Archives.

Upon the publication by the Society of the pre-Statehood information, Dr. Gene Aldridge undertook to bring this up to date by compiling, in somewhat similar form, alphabetical as to the state, all of the post office changes, including new offices and those discontinued, since Statehood. However, without the use of active records in the office of the Postmaster General

he was not able to bring the material to date subsequent to 1930.

Dr. Aldridge completed this listing to 1930 and it was prepared in typescript by Mrs. Mary Jeanne Hansen. However, the Publication Committee of *The Chronicles* believed that this list would serve an infinitely greater purpose if it could be brought current rather than close with an arbitrary cutoff date of 1930; and so, the publication has been delayed until this more recent information was available.

Through the efforts of Senator Monroney, we were able to spend two days in the office of the Fourth Assistant Postmaster General, working with the active indices in current use in his office, compiling on index cards all of the records subsequent to the close out of the record series now in the National Archives. Due to personnel shortages, these records were not posted current past May, 1963; and through the assistance of our own Postmaster, John McCasland, and his assistant, Mrs. Dorothy Lovelace, information from that date to and including December 31, 1965, has been obtained.

Accordingly, we have here compiled into one list all post office activity in Oklahoma from Statehood to the end of 1965. Obviously, no useful purpose would be served by recompiling here any information shown previously on the two heretofore published lists, the one for Indian Territory or the one for Oklahoma Territory.

Presented herewith is a complete check list of all post office data, name changes, new offices, those discontinued, and other pertinent information, that have occurred since the day of Statehood, and that was *not* previously shown in a prior list. In some instances in the prior listings, as a matter of convenience, information of changes that occurred since Statehood was included. These changes, although occurring since Statehood, are *not* re-listed here; and thus there is nothing in the following tabulation that has been published heretofore.

Obviously, because of the manner in which the state was formed, that is being a Union of two separate and distinct territories, three separate and complete listings are needed in order to cover the entire horizon of all post office operation from the beginning of time to the present within the region that is now the State of Oklahoma, two lists prior to Statehood, and one subsequent to November 16, 1907.

With such introduction then, let us see what Part III does contain, and what it is intended to do, and what it does not do. The following guides for using Part III will be helpful:

1. If there has been no change in the status of a post office established prior to Statehood, there will be no entry shown in Part III. All information pertaining to that post office will appear in Parts I or II as the case may be.[2]

2. All county designations shown in Part III are counties of the State of Oklahoma; and they may or may not be different in extent or area than counties of the same name of Oklahoma Territory.

3. If the county only is shown on the line along with the post office name, without a date of establishment nor the name of the first postmaster, that post office was established prior to Statehood, and for information pertaining to it prior to November 16, 1907, the appropriate earlier list must be consulted.

4. If the date of establishing the post office, together with the name of the first postmaster, appears in the present list, such indicates that the post office was established subsequent to Statehood, and there will be no reference to this post office in either of the preceding lists.

5. If data occuring subsequent to Statehood has been heretofore published in either of the two preceding lists, it will *not* be repeated here in Part III. Only information not heretofore shown is contained in this present listing.

6. All three parts or lists should be used together, and either Part I or Part II, depending on the portion of the state involved, should habitually be consulted along with this present tabulation.

7. Errors that have just been discovered in Parts I or II are corrected by an appropriate entry in Part III.[3]

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[2] The references here to "Parts I and II" and "Part III" are retained in this statement for brevity. It should be noted for research references that the compiled list of post offices published several years apart are designated by title only in *The Chronicles* (fn. 1 *supra*). The third list of the series in this issue is "The Post Offices of Oklahoma" as shown.

[3] See fn. 2 *supra*.

| POSTOFFICE | COUNTY IN STATE | DATE ESTABLISHED | FIRST POSTMASTER |
|---|---|---|---|

Abbott ..... Pontotoc ..... 25 January 1909 ..... William F. Shaw
Discontinued effective 15 February 1910, mail to Ada.

Academy ..... Bryan .....
Discontinued 8 March 1920, effective 15 March 1920, mail to Bokchito.

Achilla ..... Bryan ..... 30 June 1910 ..... Lee E. Paxton
Name changed to Achille 5 August 1910.

Achille ..... Bryan ..... 5 August 1910 ..... Lee E. Paxton
Formerly Achilla.

Acme ..... Grady ..... 8 April 1913 ..... Ralph Talley
Discontinued 8 May 1931, effective 29 May 1931, mail to Rush Springs.

Adams ..... Bryan .....
Discontinued 10 August 1910, mail to Platter. On 10 November 1911, an order was issued re-establishing this office and appointing Crockett C. Davis postmaster, but it was rescinded 11 March 1912.

Adams ..... Texas ..... 14 June 1930 ..... Fred W. Rawson

Addielee ..... Adair ..... 24 August 1914 ..... David A. Newlon
Discontinued 18 May 1943, as of 10 May 1943, mail to Westville.

Adel ..... Pushmataha ....
Discontinued 7 October 1954, effective 15 November 1954, mail to Daisy.

Adelaide ..... Comanche ..... 23 June 1909 ..... Herbert E. Bard
Discontinued effective 30 November 1914, mail to Walter.

Adelia ..... Coal .....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1909, mail to Pine.

Agawam ..... Grady ..... 18 June 1909 ..... W. S. Thompson
Discontinued effective 28 February 1918, mail to Ninnekah.

Ahloso ..... Pontotoc .....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1917, mail to Ada.

Ahniwake ..... Cherokee .....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1911, mail to Tahlequah.

Ahpeatone ..... Cotton .....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1916, mail to Walter.

Akins ..... Sequoyah .....
Discontinued 20 December 1943, effective 31 December 1943, mail to Sallisaw.

Albert ..... Caddo ..... 1 September 1910 ... Asa Ellis

Albia ..... Craig .....
Name changed to Todd 9 January 1909.

Alden ..... Caddo .....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1929, mail to Carnegie.

Aledo ..... Dewey .....
Discontinued 21 January 1954, effective 28 February 1954, mail to Leedey.

Alfalfa ..... Caddo ..... 16 December 1908 ... William B. Putnam
Formerly Boise. Discontinued effective 31 August 1962, mail to Carnegie.

Algiers ..... Osage ..... 10 May 1904 ..... John A. Nufflett
Discontinued 31 December 1904, mail to Skiatook. The entry in the previous list is in error.

Alikchi.....McCurtain.....
Did not operate from 30 September 1910, to 7 October 1919. Discontinued 9 November 1931, effective 30 November 1931, mail to Wright City.

Allison.....Bryan.....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1921, mail to Calera.

Alluwe.....Nowata.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1959, mail to Chelsea.

Alpers.....Carter.....15 July 1918.....Daniel T. Strawn
Discontinued 4 November 1931, effective 14 November 1931, mail to Hennepin.

Alsuma.....Tulsa.....
Discontinued effective 15 June 1926, mail to Broken Arrow.

America.....McCurtain.....
Discontinued 11 February 1944, effective 15 February 1944, mail to Arkinda, Arkansas.

Anderson.....Pittsburg.....30 April 1913.....Abe L. Anderson
Discontinued effective 30 December 1922, mail to Haywood.

Anna.....Logan..... 8 March 1905.....Emma Watts
Discontinued effective 28 February 1907.

Anthon.....Custer.....
Discontinued effective 31 May 1922, mail to Custer.

Antioch.....Garvin.....
Discontinued 2 May 1932, effective 14 May 1932, mail to Elmore City.

Apperson.....Osage.....21 October 1921.....Ray E. Whitney
Discontinued 27 October 1953, effective 30 November 1953, mail to Burbank.

Apple.....Choctaw.....11 July 1919.....Joseph R. Van Matre
Discontinued effective 31 January 1924, mail to Spencerville.

Aquone.....
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Ara.....Stephens.....
Name changed to Claud 1 January 1927.

Arbuckle.....Murray.....21 August 1911.....Hugh Craig
Formerly Crusher. Name changed to Big Canyon 2 March 1922.

Arch.....Pittsburg.....15 December 1909.....William C. Williamson
Discontinued effective 15 January 1929, mail to Hartshorne.

Archer.....Mayes.....18 September 1912.....Clem Vann
Discontinued effective 30 June 1916, mail to Pryor.

Archibald.....Pittsburg.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1910, mail to McAlester.

Ark.....Love.....
Discontinued 22 November 1912, effective 31 December 1912, mail to Marietta.

Arkoma.....LeFlore..... 8 April 1914.....William H. Forest

Armstrong.....Bryan.....
Discontinued effective 31 March 1920, mail to Durant.

Arno.....Creek.....11 October 1913.....Arno R. Nauman
Discontinued effective 15 April 1916, mail to Stroud.

Arnold.....Hughes.....22 August 1908.....A. S. Williams
Discontinued effective 15 November 1909, mail to Wecharty.

Arod.....Sequoyah.....17 July 1920.....Pearl Hiner
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Arondale....Osage....15 September 1921..Mrs. Ethel H .Shroder
Discontinued 18 June 1935, effective 15 July 1935, mail to Hominy.

Arpelar....Pittsburg....
Discontinued 9 June 1934, effective 30 June 1934, mail to McAlester.

Artesian....Okfuskee....25 March 1914....Frank P. Hicks
Discontinued effective 15 June 1915, mail to Henryetta.

Arthur....Stephens....
Discontinued 26 September 1934, effective 29 September 1934, mail to Duncan.

Ashley....Mayes.... 6 January 1910....Dee Cope
Discontinued effective 25 May 1911, mail to Delaney.

Asphaltum....Jefferson....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1931, mail to Ringling.

Atlas....Choctaw....
Discontinued effective 30 April 1909, mail to Kent.

Atlee....Jefferson....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1929, mail to Ringling.

Atwood....Hughes.... 3 December 1909...Charles B. Irwin
Formerly Newburg.

Austin....Hughes.... 7 August 1911....Jacob S. Smith
Discontinued effective 15 August 1913, mail to Stuart.

Autwine....Kay....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1922, mail to Ponca City.

Avard....Woods....
Discontinued 14 November 1963, effective 22 November 1963, mail to Waynoka.

Avery....Lincoln....
Discontinued 27 June 1957, effective 26 July 1957, mail to Cushing.

Aylesworth....Marshall....
Discontinued 5 October 1943, effective 15 October 1943, mail to Madill.

Bailey....Grady....
Discontinued 8 September 1932, effective 30 September 1932, mail to Marlow.

Baird....Cotton....
Discontinued 20 June 1932, effective 30 June 1932, mail to Duncan.

Baker....Texas....15 August 1953....Jeff M. Parsons
Formerly Bakersburg.

Bakersburg....Texas.... 5 June 1931....Jeff M. Parsons
Name changed to Baker 15 August 1953.

Baldhill....Okmulgee....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Browning.

Ballaire....Harper....
Name changed to Doby Springs not Daby Springs, as shown in previous list.

Ballard....Adair....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1916, mail to Watts.

Banner....Garvin.... 7 September 1910..Samuel M. Muse
Formerly Elmore. Name changed to Elmore City 4 March 1911.

Banner....Canadian.... 4 November 1911...William E. Niles
Formerly Cereal. Discontinued 1 March 1954, effective 31 March 1954, mail to El Reno.

Banty—Bryan—
Discontinued 31 June 1949, effective 5 July 1949, mail to Bennington.

Banzet—Craig—28 June 1922—Mrs. Edna G. Williamson
Discontinued 10 September 1937, effective 30 September 1937, mail to Welch.

Baptist—Adair—
Discontinued effective 15 November 1912, mail to Chance.

Barber—Cherokee—16 September 1909—George Ballew
Discontinued 11 January 1954, effective 15 February 1954, mail to Welling.

Barnard—Hughes—
Did not operate from 31 May 1907, to 24 April 1912. Discontinued effective 31 December 1912, mail to Lamar.

Barney—Major—
Discontinued effective 15 April 1925, mail to Phroso.

Barnoskie—Sequoyah—15 November 1923—Mrs. Esther Smith
Discontinued effective 28 February 1925, mail to Vian.

Barnsdale—Osage— 6 January 1911—Samuel R. Darter
Discontinued effective 30 January 1915, mail to Avant.

Barnsdall—Osage—22 November 1921—Gaylord S. Clute
Formerly Bigheart.

Baron—Adair—
Discontinued 17 December 1942, effective 31 December 1942, mail to Westville.

Bartlett—Osage— 2 December 1908—Victoria L. Gaylor
Discontinued effective 30 June 1910, mail to Fairfax.

Barwick—Bryan—
Discontinued 30 September 1911, mail to Calera.

Basque—Canadian—
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Battiest—McCurtain—1 November 1928—Alvin J. Akard
Formerly Ida.

Baum—Carter—
Discontinued effective 15 March 1918, mail to Mulkey.

Beach—McCurtain—
Discontinued effective 14 August 1909, mail to Smithville. On 18 January 1919 a post office named Beachton was established at this same approximate location.

Beachton—McCurtain—18 January 1919—James T. Cole
Discontinued 24 February 1930, effective 15 March 1930, mail to Hatfield, Arkansas. On 14 August 1909, a post office named Beach had been discontinued at this same approximate location.

Bear—Hughes— 8 December 1911—Thomas R. Edmondson
Discontinued effective 31 May 1924, mail to Calvin.

Bebee—Pontotoc—
Discontinued effective 15 February 1928, mail to Ada.

Bee—Johnston—
Discontinued effective 15 June 1918, mail to Kenefic.

Beirut—Seminole—23 January 1928—Mrs. Sallie Mae Cooper
Discontinued 7 March 1935, effective 15 April 1935, mail to Bowlegs.

Beland—Muskogee—19 June 1908—Fred O. Ayers
Formerly Chase. Discontinued effective 30 October 1926, mail to Muskogee.

Belle.....Seminole..... 1 March 1910.....Phillip M. Eckals
Discontinued effective 31 December 1913, mail to Wewoka.

Bellvue.....Creek.....25 February 1913.....Ellen D. Dumas
Discontinued effective 31 August 1916, mail to Bristow.

Belmina.....Sequoyah.....11 April 1918.....Rachael Starr
Discontinued effective 30 October 1920, mail to Liberty.

Belton.....Lincoln.....
Discontinued effective 26 February 1895, mail to Partridge.

Belton.....Johnston.....
Discontinued effective 30 January 1915, mail to Tishomingo.

Belva.....Woodward.....
Discontinued 10 March 1960, effective 31 March 1960, mail to Waynoka.

Belzoni.....Pushmataha.....
Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Antlers.

Benge.....Sequoyah.....
Discontinued effective 15 February 1913, mail to Roland.

Bentley.....Atoka.....
Discontinued 8 August 1963, effective 30 August 1963, mail to Atoka.

Berg.....Seminole.....22 March 1912.....John A. Lucy
Discontinued effective 31 March 1915, mail to Wewoka.

Bernice.....Delaware.....12 February 1913.....William R. Stewart
Formerly Needmore. Discontinued 21 July 1960, effective 31 July 1960, mail to Afton.

Bertrand.....Cimarron.....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1918, mail to Delfin.

Berwyn.....Carter.....
Name changed to Gene Autry 1 January 1942.

Bethany.....Woodward.....
Improperly listed previously in Woods County.

Bethany.....Oklahoma.....11 Mach 1913.....Edgar O. Craft

Betkins.....Greer.....
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Beulah.....Rogers..... 9 March 1909.....William T. Taylor
Formerly Sequoyah. Discontinued effective 30 June 1913, mail to Claremore.

Beulah.....Woods.....
Discontinued 27 December 1905, effective 31 January 1906, mail to Avard. The date shown in former listing is in error.

Bickford.....Blaine.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1927, mail to Hitchcock.

Bidding Springs.Adair.....19 October 1912.....Leo Fellows
Discontinued effective 15 June 1928, mail to Stilwell.

Big Canyon.....Murray..... 2 March 1922.....James R. Thompson
Formerly Arbuckle. Discontinued effective 31 May 1961, mail to Sulphur.

Bigcedar.....LeFlore.....
Name changed to Big Cedar 1 December 1929.

Big Cedar.....LeFlore..... 1 December 1929...Mrs. Wesley E. Luttrell
Did not operate from 4 June 1930, to 25 January 1939. Discontinued 25 September 1943, effective 15 October 1943, mail to Page.

Billingslea—Creek—6 December 1922—Carroll W. Holmes
Site moved 2 miles north and name changed to Gypsy 1 May 1925.

Bird—Major—28 May 1909—Charles E. Cluff
Discontinued effective 30 September 1910, mail to Granton.

Bishop—Ellis—30 June 1909—Charles F. Snyder
Discontinued 18 March 1932, effective 31 March 1932, mail to Higgins, Texas.

Bismark—Logan—
Discontinued effective 24 October 1893, "no papers".

Bismark—McCurtain—24 March 1910—Tom Owen
Name changed to Wright 13 September 1918.

Blackburn—Pawnee—
Discontinued 10 March 1960, effective 31 March 1960, mail to Pawnee.

Blackgum—Sequoyah—
Discontinued 29 December 1954, effective 15 February 1955, mail to Vian.

Blackland—Osage—20 January 1911—John D. Hagan
Site moved 3 miles south and name changed to Pearsonia 14 December 1917.

Blackrock—Pontotoc—
Name changed to Steedman 19 January 1910.

Blaine—Haskell—
Discontinued effective 15 September 1919, mail to Keota.

Blake—Greer—
Name changed to Russell 1 November 1934.

Bland—Creek—25 April 1910—Jerome E. Brooks
Discontinued effective 15 May 1912, mail to Olive.

Blocker—Pittsburg—
Did not operate from 31 January 1942, to 20 March 1942.

Bluff—Choctaw—
Discontinued 10 February 1934, effective 28 February 1934, mail to Soper.

Blunt—Sequoyah—
Discontinued effective 31 October 1914, mail to Sallisaw.

Bly—Nowata—28 December 1911—Thomas M. Graham
Discontinued effective 15 May 1923, mail to Coody's Bluff.

Boatman—Mayes—28 August 1922—John W. Bass
Discontinued 16 December 1965, effective 30 December 1965, mail to Pryor.

Boehler—Atoka—24 April 1914—Robert S. Gray
Discontinued 15 March 1948, effective 31 March 1948, mail to Sunkist.

Boggy Depot—Atoka—
Discontinued 19 July 1944, effective 31 July 1944, mail to Atoka.

Bohanan—LeFlore—18 March 1909—Charles M. Thornton
Discontinued effective 31 August 1909, mail to Whitesboro.

Boise City—Cimarron—23 December 1908—John E. Belt
Formerly Cimarron.

Bokoma—McCurtain—
Discontinued 22 April 1936, effective 30 May 1936, mail to Arkinda, Arkansas.

Boktuklo—McCurtain—15 December 1908—Holton Hicks
Discontinued effective 15 September 1921, mail to Golden.

Bomar.....Love.....
Discontinued effective 31 May 1924, mail to Marietta.

Bordeaux.....LeFlore..... 3 March 1910.....R. H. Nixon
Discontinued effective 28 February 1911, mail to Milton.

Boris.....Creek.....17 November 1916...Thomas S. Anderson
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Borum.....Haskell.....27 January 1909.....James H. Borum
Name changed to Floe 27 September 1909.

Boss.....McCurtain.....
Discontinued 23 November 1933, effective 15 December 1933, mail to Idabel.

Bowden.....Creek..... 9 June 1909.....John L. Sharp
Discontinued effective 1 November 1957, mail to Tulsa.

Bower.....Pittsburg.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1920, mail to Russellville.

Bowlegs.....Seminole.....23 April 1927.....Herbert K. Catlett

Bowles.....Love.....
Discontinued effective 15 March 1912, mail to Marietta.

Bowman.....
This office was established in 1891, not 1801 as shown previously.

Bowring.....Osage.....12 November 1923...William C. Dingman

Box.....Sequoyah..... 7 July 1911.....Alvara S. Mathews
Formerly Roy. Discontinued effective 29 February 1928, mail to Blackgum.

Boyd.....Beaver.....
Discontinued 19 March 1964, effective 30 April 1964, mail to Balko.

Braden.....LeFlore.....
Discontinued 14 June 1939, effective 15 June 1939, mail to Spiro.

Brady.....Garvin.....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1929, mail to Wynnewood.

Braithwaite.....Washita..... 7 October 1910.....R. E. Elam
Discontinued effective 31 January 1923, mail to Foss.

Branch.....Muskogee.....26 December 1908...Abe L. Nero
Discontinued effective 15 September 1912, mail to Fort Gibson.

Bray.....Stephens.....24 November 1908...Thomas W. Bray

Breckinridge.....Garfield.....
Discontinued 31 October 1963, effective 22 November 1963, mail to Enid.

Brent.....Sequoyah.....
Discontinued effective 31 May 1929, mail to Sallisaw.

Brinkman.....Greer.....17 June 1910.....Ernest E. Nunnery
Discontinued 9 December 1965, effective 30 December 1965, mail to Willow.

Britton.....Oklahoma.....
Discontinued 15 November 1950 to become Britton Station, Oklahoma City.

Brock.....Carter.....
Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Ardmore.

Broken Bow.....McCurtain.....23 September 1911...Basil G. Thomas

Brooken.....Haskell.....
Discontinued 8 September 1958, effective 30 September 1958, mail to Stigler.

Brooksville—Pottawatomie—18 March 1909—Alfred R. Brooks
Discontinued 17 January 1955, effective 28 February 1955, mail to Tecumseh.

Brown—Bryan— 3 July 1913—Robert H. Brown
Discontinued effective 15 July 1927, mail to Silo.

Browning—Okmulgee—18 June 1908—Sallie E. Phillips
Discontinued effective 15 January 1910, mail to Okmulgee.

Brownsville—Hughes— 8 April 1913—Charity Brown
Discontinued effective 30 June 1914, mail to Wetumka.

Bruno—Atoka—17 September 1910—Martha Keesee
Discontinued effective 31 March 1925, mail to Atoka.

Brushhill—McIntosh—
Discontinued effective 31 December 1915, mail to Pierce.

Brushy—Sequoyah—
Discontinued effective 31 October 1910, mail to Blunt.

Bryant—Okmulgee—
Discontinued 2 July 1954, effective 31 July 1954, mail to Weleetka.

Bub—Atoka— 6 June 1921—Arthur L. Robertson
Discontinued effective 15 September 1922, mail to Farris.

Buckhorn—Murray—
Discontinued effective 15 August 1910, mail to Drake.

Bun—McIntosh—26 February 1912—James Phillips
Discontinued effective 15 August 1913, mail to Hoardsville.

Burbank—Osage—31 December 1907—Lee A. King

Burkhart—LeFlore— 4 October 1910—James B. Maggard
Did not operate from 31 March 1914 to 4 August 1922. Discontinued effective 31 March 1927, mail to Ludlow.

Burns Flat—Washita—28 February 1936—Roy W. North

Burrow—Pontotoc—26 September 1908—Carles W. Sharrock
Site moved to Coal County 4 March 1918. Discontinued effective 15 June 1926, mail to Clarita.

Burse—Bryan—
Discontinued effective 31 August 1912, mail to Boswell.

Burton—Hughes—30 March 1914—Henry H. Loard
Discontinued effective 15 November 1915, mail to Stuart.

Burwell—McCurtain—
Name changed to Ringold, 10 May 1911.

Bushyhead—Rogers—
Discontinued 5 October 1955, effective 15 November 1955, mail to Chelsea.

Byng—Pontotoc—15 December 1917—Edna Lunsford
Discontinued 10 January 1957, effective 25 January 1957, "no office given".

Cabaniss—Pittsburg—
Discontinued effective 15 August 1922, mail to McAlester.

Cade—Bryan—
Discontinued effective 31 October 1915, mail to Bennington.

Cairo—Coal—
Discontinued 13 June 1939, effective 15 July 1939, mail to Coalgate.

Calantric—Bryan— 7 April 1917—Eugene M. Cahoon
Discontinued effective 29 June 1918, mail to Colbert.

Caldwell—Pittsburg—11 June 1913—Daniel Miller
Discontinued effective 30 September 1915, mail to Craig.

Calera—Bryan—21 November 1910—Loyd C. Watkins
Formerly Sterrett.

Calhoun—LeFlore—7 March 1914—Charles P. Wilbanks
Formerly Sutter. Discontinued 30 October 1934, effective 30 November 1934, mail to Shadypoint.

Calloway—Atoka—
Discontinued effective 28 February 1911, mail to Bentley.

Camp—Texas—
Discontinued effective 30 September 1916, mail to Guymon.

Campbell—
The correct date for the name change to Gore is 22 October 1909.

Caple—Texas—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1916, mail to Hardesty.

Carbon—Pittsburg—
Discontinued 11 November 1933, effective 30 November 1933, mail to McAlester.

Carbondale—Tulsa—22 January 1927—Mrs. Ruth Hutchings
Discontinued 31 July 1928, to become a station at Tulsa.

Cardin—Ottawa—28 January 1920—Grover C. Fulton
Formerly Tar River.

Carlton—Blaine—
Discontinued 16 May 1957, effective 30 June 1957, mail to Longdale.

Carpenter—Roger Mills—
Discontinued 14 February 1942, effective 28 February 1942, mail to Elk City.

Carroll—Woodward (Oklahoma Territory)
Discontinued 10 May 1907, effective 15 June 1907, mail to Stockholm.

Carroll—McIntosh—23 March 1911—Frank Davis
Discontinued effective 31 July 1916, mail to Hanna.

Carson—Hughes—
Discontinued effective 30 September 1927, mail to Lamar.

Carter Nine—Osage—14 August 1928—Mrs. Audree E. Griffin

Cartwright—Bryan—25 April 1940—Mrs. Bonnie B. Rind

Cary—Okfuskee—17 September 1908—Jesse A. Henderson
Discontinued effective 31 August 1909, mail to Boley.

Casey—Pawnee—
Discontinued effective 21 November 1930, mail to Maramec.

Catale—Rogers—
Discontinued 21 January 1933, effective 15 February 1933, mail to Big Cabin.

Cathay—McIntosh—
Discontinued effective 15 June 1914, mail to Checotah.

Cayuga—Delaware—
Discontinued effective 30 April 1912, mail to Grove.

Cedar—Nowata—
Discontinued effective 31 August 1918, mail to Lenapah.

Cedardale—Woodward—
Discontinued 23 August 1951, effective 30 September 1951, mail to Quinlan. Incorrectly shown as Cedarvale on previous list.

Celestine—Pittsburg—
Discontinued effective 31 March 1915, mail to Anderson.

Center—Pontotoc—
Discontinued effective 15 February 1928, mail to Ada.

Cereal.....Canadian.....
Name changed to Banner 4 November 1911.

Cerrogordo.....McCurtain.....10 May 1923.....Mrs. Kate B. Medford
Formerly in Arkansas. Discontinued effective 30 September 1958, mail to Haworth.

Cestos.....Dewey.....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1923, mail to Vici.

Chaffee.....Mayes.....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1910, mail to Okoee.

Chagris.....Carter.....
Discontinued effective 27 February 1909, mail to Healdton.

Chambers.....Pittsburg.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1910, mail to McAlester.

Chance.....Adair.....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1914, mail to Westville.

Chaney.....Ellis.....
Discontinued 13 February 1937, effective 15 March 1937, mail to Gage.

Chant.....Haskell.....
Discontinued effective 15 April 1910, mail to McCurtain.

Chapel.....Mayes.....
Discontinued effective 15 January 1918, mail to Tip.

Chase.....Muskogee.....
Name changed to Beland 19 June 1908.

Cheek.....Carter.....
Did not operate from 31 October 1927 to 12 May 1928. Discontinued 15 February 1935, effective 15 May 1935, mail to Brock.

Chetola.....Oklahoma.....
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Chewey.....Adair.....12 January 1915.....Rebecca Crittenden
Discontinued effective 28 February 1929, mail to Watts.

Cheyarha.....Seminole.....12 May 1911.....James W. Bush
Discontinued effective 30 November 1915, mail to Seminole.

Chigley.....Murray.....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1914, mail to Wynnewood.

Childers.....Nowata.....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1915, mail to Lenepah.

Chireno.....Creek.....25 March 1911.....Beatrice Thomas
Discontinued 31 October 1912, mail to Bristow.

Chism.....McClain.....
Discontinued effective 15 September 1930, mail to Byars.

Chloeta.....Delaware.....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1914, mail to Spavinaw.

Chockie.....Atoka..... 3 August 1916.....Tom E. Ferguson
Formerly Rich. Discontinued 31 October 1934, effective 30 November 1934, mail to Wardville.

Choska.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1913, mail to Coweta.

Choteau.....Mayes.....
Spelling changed to Chouteau by order of the Postmaster General dated 3 October 1941, effective 1 November 1941.

Christie.....Adair.....
Discontinued 11 January 1944, effective 31 January 1944, mail to Westville.

Chronister—Cherokee—31 May 1919—Polk Hinon
Discontinued effective 14 September 1929, mail to Park Hill.

Church—Adair—19 October 1912—Sanders Cochran
Discontinued 9 August 1933, effective 31 August 1933, mail to Stilwell.

Cisco—McCurtain—21 May 1913—Roy C. Clements
Discontinued effective 31 July 1916, mail to Idabel.

Citra—Hughes—
Discontinued effective 29 May 1931, mail to Allen.

Civit—Garvin—
Discontinued effective 31 January 1925, mail to Pauls Valley.

Clara—McIntosh—21 April 1910—Jesse Cody
Discontinued effective 15 March 1916, mail to Checotah.

Clarita—Coal—17 January 1910—George W. O'Neal
Formerly Kittie.

Clarksville—Wagoner—
Discontinued effective 30 September 1916, mail to Porter.

Claud—Stephens—1 January 1927—William F. Savage
Formerly Ara. Discontinued 22 July 1947, effective 31 July 1947, mail to Duncan.

Claypool—Jefferson—
Discontinued effective 15 May 1928, mail to Waurika.

Clear Lake—Beaver—
Did not operate from 31 January 1916, to 25 September 1919. Discontinued 11 May 1944, effective 15 May 1944, mail to Logan.

Clebit—McCurtain—7 May 1924—James B. King

Clemscot—Carter—5 May 1924—Mrs. Vella Harris

Cleo—Major—
Name changed to Cleo Springs 3 May 1917.

Cleora—Delaware—
Discontinued 3 September 1954, effective 15 October 1954, mail to Afton.

Cleo Springs—Major—3 May 1917—Pearl E. Hughes
Formerly Cleo.

Cliff—Marshall—
Discontinued effective 31 July 1916, mail to Kingston.

Clonsilla—Latimer—16 December 1916—Hannah Housley
Discontinued effective 1 May 1922, mail to Adamson.

Cloud Chief—Washita—
Discontinued 17 September 1964, to be effective 30 September 1964, but which order was rescinded 1 October 1964. Discontinued 26 November 1964, effective 30 December 1964, mail to Cordell.

Cloudy—Pushmataha—21 October 1911—Isam Perry
Did not operate from 14 October 1922, to 8 July 1925.

Clyde—Grant—
Did not operate from 31 October 1912, to 6 May 1919. Discontinued effective 15 November 1926, mail to Medford.

Coalton—Okmulgee—3 August 1909—Joseph P. Davison
Discontinued 13 January 1941, effective 15 February 1941, mail to Henryetta.

Cobb—Okmulgee—
Discontinued effective 28 February 1910, mail to Morris.

Cody—Choctaw—6 October 1908—Samuel C. Payne
Discontinued effective 15 August 1916, mail to Hugo.

Cogar—Caddo—
Discontinued 8 September 1954, effective 30 September 1954, mail to Minco.

Colcord—Delaware— 1 February 1930—James S. Linam
Formerly Row.

Cold Springs—Kiowa—
Discontinued effective 15 September 1909, mail to Mondamin.

Cold Springs—Kiowa—27 January 1913—Carolyn L. Holt
Formerly Mandamin. Discontinued effective 15 March 1956, mail to Roosevelt.

Cole—McClain— 2 April 1912—Clara Cunningham
Did not operate from 30 June 1932, to 1 August 1934. Discontinued 9 July 1954, effective 31 August 1954, mail to Blanchard.

Coleman—Johnston—10 September 1910—Daniel S. Moran
Formerly Ego.

Commerce—Ottawa— 1 June 1914—Anna M. Sergeant
Formerly North Miami.

Conception—Oklahoma—
Discontinued effective 4 April 1895, mail to Oklahoma.

Concho—Canadian—20 April 1915—Mary G. Garrett

Conditville—Stephens—12 October 1921—Willie M. Condit
Discontinued effective 28 February 1929, mail to Lindsay.

Coneross—Love— 7 June 1915—Andrew A. Cobb
Discontinued effective 5 April 1916, mail to Loam.

Conser—LeFlore—
Discontinued effective 15 September 1919, mail to Hodgen.

Conway—Pontotoc—
Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Stonewall.

Coody's Bluff—Nowata—
Discontinued 22 November 1955, effective 31 December 1955, mail to Nowata.

Cooley—Woodward—
Discontinued effective 30 November 1917, mail to Harmon.

Cooper—Osage—20 August 1923—George M. Messingale
Discontinued 20 September 1939, effective 14 October 1939, mail to Kaw.

Cope—Johnston—
Discontinued effective 31 December 1913, mail to Bromide.

Copeland—Atoka—
Discontinued effective 31 July 1912, mail to Griffin.

Corn—Washita—26 September 1918—Katie I. Thiessen
Formerly Korn.

Corinne—Pushmataha—
Discontinued effective 30 September 1958, mail to Oleta.

Cornish—Jefferson—
Discontinued effective 15 March 1918, mail to Ringling.

Cottonwood—Sequoyah—
Discontinued effective 15 June 1909, mail to Paw Paw.

Cottonwood—Coal— 8 April 1914—Luther G. Spencer
Discontinued 31 December 1914, mail to Coalgate.

Coulson—McClain—
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Rosedale.

Countyline—Carter—29 June 1928—Evert Mundy
Site moved to Stephens County 4 December 1951.

Courtney—Love—
Discontinued 18 July 1957, effective 23 August 1957, mail to Ringling. Prior to 29 April 1926, the site of this office was 3 miles northwest in Jefferson County.

Cove—Delaware—
Did not operate from 30 October 1909 to 5 April 1915. Discontinued effective 31 May 1916, mail to Zena.

Cow Creek—LeFlore—14 September 1912—Sam H. Jones
Discontinued effective 31 July 1913, mail to Hatfield, Arkansas.

Cowden—Washita—
Discontinued 13 December 1907, effective 15 January 1908, mail to Cloud Chief.

Cowlington—LeFlore—
Discontinued 8 October 1953, effective 31 October 1953, mail to Cartersville.

Cox City—Grady—23 March 1927—Austin L. Ramsey
Discontinued 19 March 1964, effective 10 April 1964, mail to Rush Springs.

Coy—Woods—
Discontinued effective 30 June 1930, mail to Coldwater, Kansas.

Craig—Pittsburg—
Discontinued effective 31 March 1919, mail to Haileyville.

Craterville Park—Comanche—4 August 1924—Mary Rush
Did not operate from 19 September 1930, to 1 June 1931. Discontinued 19 August 1933, effective 31 August 1933, mail to Cache.

Cravens—Latimer—
Discontinued effective 15 February 1916, mail to Wilburton.

Crekola—Muskogee—
Discontinued effective 15 February 1921, mail to Muskogee.

Creta—Jackson—
Did not operate from 31 October 1904, to 19 June 1908. Discontinued effective 31 January 1930, mail to Eldorado.

Criner—McClain—2 June 1910—Thomas H. Hatch
Discontinued effective 15 October 1928, mail to Purcell.

Cromwell—Seminole—17 May 1924—William A. Johnson

Cross—Harper—6 Jan. 1910—John L. Cross
Discontinued effective 31 July 1913, mail to May.

Crowson—Creek—
Discontinued effective 15 March 1919, mail to Tabor.

Cruce—Stephens—13 June 1910—Charles B. Angus
Discontinued 29 July 1932, effective 15 August 1932, mail to Duncan.

Crum Creek—Pushmataha—9 February 1916—Benjamin H. Burnett
Discontinued effective 30 July 1927, mail to Stanley.

Crusher—Murray—
Name changed to Arbuckle 21 August 1911.

Crystal—Atoka—5 September 1911—Thomas S. Gray
Discontinued 4 November 1955, effective 31 December 1955, mail to Lane.

Cullakasomma—McCurtain—31 July 1915—W. S. Stephens
The order establishing this office was rescinded 7 July 1916, and the office was never in operation.

Cullie—Rogers—28 May 1909—Charles E. Patterson
Discontinued effective 15 July 1912, mail to Owasso.

Cupid.....Harper.....
Discontinued effective 5 April 1916, mail to Laverne.

Curtis.....Woodward.....
Discontinued 3 October 1952, effective 31 October 1952, mail to Mooreland.

Curty.....McClain.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1914, mail to Lindsay.

Damon.....Latimer.....
Discontinued 21 February 1934, effective 15 March 1934, mail to Wilburton.

Darcia.....Pittsburg.....
Discontinued 16 November 1909, mail to McAlester.

Darlington.....Canadian.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1918, mail to El Reno.

Darrow.....Blaine.....
Discontinued effective 29 June 1918, mail to Homestead.

Darwin.....Pushmataha.....
Discontinued 31 January 1955, effective 15 March 1955, mail to Antlers.

Dawes.....Ottawa.....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1908, mail to Miami.

Dawson.....Tulsa.....
Discontinued 24 October 1949, effective 31 October 1949, mail to Tulsa.

Dayton.....Atoka.....21 January 1909.....C. S. Lewis
Formerly Lewis. Name changed to Tushka 9 June 1909.

Deese.....Carter.....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1919, mail to Ardmore.

Dela.....Pushmataha.....
Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Antlers.

Delaney.....Rogers.....27 October 1909.....Monroe Osburn
Discontinued effective 31 August 1912, mail to Pryor.

Delfin.....Cimarron.....
Discontinued effective 15 September 1926, mail to Clayton, New Mexico.

Delnorte.....
Incorrectly spelled Delmorte in prior listing.

Delphine.....Stephens.....29 October 1921.....Leo P. Cahill
Discontinued effective 31 March 1923, mail to Duncan.

Dennis.....Delaware.....25 March 1914.....Zona Stewart
Discontinued 22 December 1955, effective 31 January 1956, mail to Jay.

Denoya.....Osage.....31 December 1921.....Mrs. Ada Burtels
Discontinued 17 September 1942, effective 30 September 1942, mail to Burbank.

Devol.....Cotton.....30 November 1907.....Jehiel F. DeVol

Dewar.....Okmulgee.....27 April 1909.....Hugh D. Harris

Dewright.....Seminole.....24 June 1931.....Dewey Wright
Discontinued 3 July 1939, effective 15 July 1939, mail to Maud.

Diamond.....Bryan.....25 June 1910.....Florence Franklin
Discontinued 30 June 1912, mail to Kenefic.

Dibble.....McClain.....
Did not operate from 30 January 1926 to 1 August 1953.

Dighton....Okmulgee....13 February 1913....Miles B. Harding
Discontinued 12 October 1949, effective 31 October 1949, mail to Henryetta.

Dill....Washita....
Name changed to Dill City 1 February 1944.

Dillard....Carter....22 November 1924....Edward V. Morton
Discontinued 18 May 1955, effective 30 June 1955, mail to Wilson.

Dill City....Washita.... 1 February 1944....Mrs. Verna Russell
Formerly Dill.

Dilworth....Kay....17 March 1917....Homer S. Chambers
Discontinued effective 30 March 1929, mail to Newkirk.

Disney....Mayes....21 May 1938....Silas E. West

Dixie....Stephens....
Discontinued 20 May 1931, effective 15 June 1931, mail to Loco.

Doax....McCurtain....15 May 1916....Alvin T. Townsend
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Doby....Cimarron.... 8 February 1908....William H. Culwell
Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Boise City.

Doby Springs....Harper....13 January 1908....Samuel N. Rogers
Formerly Ballaire. Discontinued effective 29 April 1922, mail to Rosston.

Dodge....Delaware....
Discontinued 29 July 1941, effective 15 August 1941, mail to Grove.

Doe Creek....Woodward.... 2 October 1916....Bert G. Clift
Discontinued effective 15 July 1918, mail to Harmon.

Dolberg....Pontotoc....
Discontinued effective 14 May 1915, mail to Roff.

Domby....Beaver....
Discontinued 23 February 1950, effective 28 February 1950, mail to Turpin.

Dora....Seminole....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1909, mail to Konawa.

Dora....Sequoyah....11 December 1918....Andrew J. Meadors
Formerly in Crawford County, Arkansas. Discontinued effective 29 November 1919, mail to Van Buren, Arkansas.

Douthat....Ottawa....17 March 1917....Edward T. Washington

Dow....Pittsburg....
Discontinued 16 January 1964, effective 28 February 1964, mail to Hartshorne.

Doxey....Beckham....
Discontinued effective 29 May 1931, mail to Sayre.

Doyle....Stephens....
Discontinued 10 February 1934, effective 28 February 1934, mail to Arthur.

Dragger....Mayes....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Rose.

Drake....Murray....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1920, mail to Sulphur.

Driftwood....Alfalfa....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1959, mail to Cherokee.

Drumright....Creek....28 December 1912....Alexander W. Holland

Dryden....Harmon....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1919, mail to Hollis.

Duland.....Choctaw.....20 November 1919....John L. Cole
Discontinued effective 30 December 1922, mail to Soper.

Dunbar.....Pushmataha.....5 May 1925.....Hezekiah B. Dockum
Discontinued 5 December 1955, effective 15 January 1956, mail to Stanley.

Dunlap.....Harper.....28 August 1913.....Kate McCulley
Discontinued 13 February 1935, effective 30 March 1935, mail to Supply.

Durwood.....
There is no record showing the disposition of the original post office of this name.

Durwood.....Marshall.....11 October 1913.....Willis Henderson
Formerly New Durwood. Site moved 2½ miles west into Carter County 11 January 1926. Did not operate from 15 November 1929 to 21 January 1930. Discontinued 14 November 1932, effective 30 November 1932, mail to Ardmore.

Dwight.....Pittsburg.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1913, mail to Hartshorne.

Dyche.....Major.....8 November 1913....William B. Dyche
Discontinued effective 31 October 1914, mail to Togo.

Eagle City.....Blaine.....4 September 1909..Albert Ross
Formerly Dillon.

Earl.....Johnston.....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Mannsville.

East Enid.....Garfield.....29 July 1913.....David H. Manly
Discontinued effective 30 June 1922, to become University Station, Enid.

East Muskogee..Muskogee.....21 June 1912.....Emma J. Farmer
Discontinued effective 31 July 1924, mail to Muskogee.

Eastman.....Love.....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1916, mail to Marietta.

East Port.....McCurtain.....3 February 1914....Henry D. Prince
Discontinued effective 20 January 1917, mail to Arkinda, Arkansas.

Eaton.....Nowata.....
Discontinued effective 26 January 1928, mail to Wimer.

Echo.....Delaware.....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1909, mail to Needmore.

Echota.....Adair.....8 July 1921.....Benjamin H. Bennett
Did not operate from 15 May 1922, to 12 January 1924. Discontinued 7 December 1937, effective 31 December 1937, mail to Stilwell.

Eddy.....Kay.....
Discontinued 14 January 1957, effective 22 February 1957, mail to Lamont.

Edith.....Woods.....25 June 1920.....William B. Dixon
Discontinued 26 April 1940, effective 15 May 1940, mail to Freedom.

Edna.....Creek.....
Discontinued 15 August 1957, effective 20 September 1957, no office given.

Edwards.....Pittsburg.....
Name changed to Pittsburg 27 August 1909.

Ego.....Johnston.....
Name changed to Coleman 10 September 1910.

Egypt.....Johnston.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1916, mail to Milburn.

Elberta....Stephens....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1908, mail to Duncan.

Elder....Wagoner....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1908, mail to Leonard.

Eldon....Cherokee....20 March 1911....Pearl Dye
Discontinued 11 April 1936, effective 30 May 1936, mail to Tahlequah.

Eli....Cherokee....5 October 1911....George F. Bailey
Discontinued effective 31 July 1916, mail to Hulbert.

Elise....Pontotoc....23 May 1916....William R. Scates
Discontinued effective 15 November 1916, mail to Ada.

Elkins....Haskell....
Discontinued effective 31 May 1912, mail to Cartersville.

Ellendale....Woodward....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1917, mail to Haskew.

Ellerville....Cherokee....25 March 1914....Annie Youngblood
Discontinued 18 November 1954, effective 31 December 1954, mail to Procter.

Elliott....Nowata....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1926, mail to South Coffeyville.

Elm....Custer....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1920, mail to Anthon.

Elmore....Garvin....
Name changed to Banner 7 September 1910.

Elmore City....Garvin....4 March 1911....Samuel M. Muse
Formerly Banner.

Emerson....Cotton....24 January 1908....Ralph C. Hardie
Discontinued effective 30 November 1914, mail to Walters.

Emet....Johnston....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1917, mail to Milburn.

Emma....Beckham....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1910, mail to Erick.

Empire City....Stephens....21 May 1920....George S. Hornbeck
The appointee declined the appointment, and the office did not commence operating until 4 February 1921, with the appointment of Jackson P. Harbison. Discontinued 30 November 1934, effective 31 December 1934, mail to Comanche.

Enos....Marshall....14 June 1915....Claud C. Stokes
Discontinued 26 November 1930, effective 15 December 1930, mail to Woodville.

Enterprise....Haskell....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1958, mail to Quinton.

Enville....Love....
Discontinued 15 December 1934, effective 15 January 1935, mail to Marietta.

Eola....Garvin....12 May 1911....James P. Brown
Discontinued effective 31 December 1927, mail to Elmore City.

Eolian....Carter....
Name changed to Joiner 17 May 1909.

Eram....Okmulgee....10 June 1913....Robert E. Skinner
Discontinued 1 August 1950, effective 31 July 1950, mail to Boynton.

Erin Springs....Garvin....
Discontinued effective 7 August 1915, mail to Lindsay.

Ervin....Choctaw....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1922, mail to Hugo.

Esbon.....Cimarron.....29 March 1909.....August Nelgen
Formerly Bakke. Discontinued effective 30 January 1915, mail to Garlington.

Estella.....Craig.....
Discontinued 24 June 1953, effective 31 July 1953, mail to Vinita.

Etchen.....Nowata.....18 March 1909.....Frank C. Morrison
Name changed to South Coffeyville, 29 April 1909.

Ethel.....Pushmataha.....
Did not operate from 11 September 1901 to 5 September 1911. Discontinued 4 August 1933, effective 15 August 1933, mail to Antlers.

Etta.....Cherokee.....
Discontinued 15 November 1922, effective 15 December 1922, mail to Welling.

Eubanks.....Pushmataha.....
Discontinued 12 April 1934, effective 30 April 1934, mail to Dunbar.

Eureka.....LeFlore.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1916, mail to Poteau. Having been shown prior to statehood as in the Cherokee Nation is not explained.

Evans.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1911, mail to Broken Arrow.

Ezra.....Creek.....17 September 1909.....Ezra Freeman
Discontinued effective 30 September 1910, mail to Bristow.

Fairbanks.....Major.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1921, mail to Phroso.

Fairvalley.....Woods.....
Discontinued 28 January 1948, effective 31 January 1948, mail to Freedom.

Falfa.....Latimer.....6 June 1919.....Katherine M. Goenpelein
Discontinued effective 15 March 1923, mail to Talihina.

Fame.....McIntosh.....
Discontinued 22 April 1965, to be effective 7 May 1965, but the order was rescinded 6 May 1965. Discontinued 17 June 1965, effective 2 July 1965, mail to Eufaula.

Farmers.....LeFlore.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1909, mail to Rock Island.

Farry.....Woods.....
Discontinued 5 September 1952, effective 30 September 1952, mail to Tegarden.

Faulkner.....Woods.....
Discontinued effective 29 September 1917, mail to Winchester.

Fawn.....McIntosh.....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1916, mail to Checotah.

Featherston.....Pittsburg.....
Discontinued 23 October 1957, effective 29 November 1957, mail to Quinton.

Felt.....Cimarron.....16 July 1926.....Thomas G. Begley

Fennell.....Choctaw.....5 September 1911.....Charley P. Winfield
Discontinued effective 15 April 1916, mail to Fort Towson.

Ferguson.....Blaine.....
Discontinued effective 30 April 1920, mail to Hitchcock.

Fewell.....Pushmataha.....4 November 1913.....Benjamin F. Fewell
Did not operate from 31 March 1934 to 11 April 1938. Discontinued 1 October 1943, effective 15 October 1943, mail to Honobia.

Fillmore.....Johnston.....
Discontinued 21 October 1965, effective 31 October 1965, mail to Milburn.

Fisher.....Tulsa.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1912, mail to Wekiwa.

Fittstown.....Pontotoc.....22 June 1935.....Almer P. Isaacs

Flagg.....Woods.....
Discontinued 27 December 1915, effective 31 December 1915, mail to Tegarden.

Flanders.....Craig.....10 July 1913.....Frank J. Pettit
Discontinued effective 31 October 1914, mail to Edna, Kansas.

Flavia.....Sequoyah..... 9 July 1910.....Jackson Griffith
Discontinued effective 31 December 1912, mail to Sallisaw.

Fleetwood.....Jefferson.....
Discontinued effective 21 July 1961, mail to Terral.

Flint.....Delaware.....
Discontinued 6 July 1951, effective 31 July 1951, mail to Siloam Springs, Arkansas.

Floe.....Haskell.....27 September 1909..John M. Russell
Formerly Borum. Discontinued effective 31 August 1911, mail to Gerber. [sic]

Florence.....Grant.....
Discontinued 31 January 1922, effective 14 February 1922, mail to Vining.

Floris.....Beaver.....
Discontinued 17 September 1925, effective 30 September 1925, mail to Forgan.

Fob.....Marshall.....27 August 1919.....Albert T. Powell
Discontinued effective 15 February 1921, mail to Willis.

Fogel.....LeFlore.....25 February 1914.....Carrie L. Fogel
Formerly Howard. Discontinued effective 15 February 1923, mail to Page.

Folsom.....Johnston.....
Discontinued 28 January 1955, effective 15 March 1955, mail to Coleman.

Fonda.....Dewey.....
Discontinued 30 December 1916, mail to Cantonment.

Foreman.....Sequoyah.....
Discontinued 4 August 1936, effective 31 August 1936, mail to Muldrow.

Forgan.....Beaver..... 1 June 1912.....Brenton C. Lewis

Forney.....Choctaw.....
Did not operate from 31 March 1904, to 15 November 1910. Discontinued 29 March 1935, effective 30 April 1935, mail to Hugo.

Forrester.....LeFlore..... 8 June 1915.....George W. Ward
Discontinued effective 14 February 1922, mail to Heavener.

Fort Sill.....Comanche.....
Discontinued effective 15 August 1917, to become Fort Sill Station, Lawton.

Fort Supply.....Woodward..... 1 May 1943.....Mrs. Maud L. Vaughn
Formerly Supply.

Fountain.....Dewey.....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1916, mail to Canton.

Frankfort.....Osage.....12 January 1910.....William W. Syfert
Discontinued effective 15 August 1912, mail to Grainola.

Franks.....Pontotoc.....
Discontinued 15 July 1932, effective 15 August 1932, mail to Stonewall.

Frisco.....Pontotoc.....
Discontinued 10 April 1941, effective 30 April 1941, mail to Stonewall.

Frogville.....Choctaw.....
Did not operate from 31 January 1921 to 17 June 1921. Discontinued 20 July 1933, effective 15 August 1933, mail to Hugo.

Fry.....Tulsa.....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1909, mail to Broken Arrow.

Frye.....Sequoyah..... 5 October 1911.....Pleasant A. Oliver
Discontinued effective 15 April 1914, mail to Akins.

Gabriel.....Cherokee.....13 May 1911.....Lucy A. Ferguson
Discontinued effective 31 January 1921, no office given.

Gaddis.....Stephens..... 2 July 1909.....Marion M. Osborne
Discontinued effective 31 October 1912, mail to Duncan.

Gaither.....Okmulgee..... 6 August 1909.....Harry D. Sweet
Discontinued effective 15 March 1914, mail to Morris.

Galena.....Woods.....
Discontinued 28 April 1936, effective 15 May 1936, mail to Aline.

Garland.....Haskell.....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1914, mail to Stigler.

Garlington.....Cimarron.....14 February 1908.....Oliver M. Lewis
Formerly Jurgensen. Discontinued effective 31 July 1926, mail to Boise City.

Garrett.....Cimarron.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1917, mail to Campo, Colorado.

Gaswell.....Creek.....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1915, mail to Mannford.

Gatesville.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1913, mail to Clarksville.

Gay.....Choctaw.....28 April 1908.....William J. Williams
Formerly Lenton. Discontinued 29 November 1932, effective 31 December 1932, mail to Goodland.

Gee.....Pushmataha.....22 May 1909.....Henry V. Gee
Discontinued effective 30 November 1911, mail to Nashoba.

Gene Autry.....Carter..... 1 January 1942.....Ocie D. Thomas
Formerly Berwyn.

Geneva.....Ottawa..... 1 May 1912.....Margaret Blunt
Discontinued effective 15 August 1912, mail to Miami.

George.....Garvin.....27 May 1911.....Lee E. Stewart
Discontinued effective 15 August 1919, mail to Elmore City.

Gerty.....Hughes.....23 June 1910.....Levi H. Wallace
Formerly Raydon. Discontinued 1 April 1965, effective 9 April 1965, mail to Calvin.

Gibbon.....Grant.....
Discontinued 17 February 1945, effective 28 February 1945, mail to Wakita.

Gibson Station..Wagoner.....
Discontinued 20 July 1933, effective 15 August 1933, mail to Wagoner.

Gideon.....Cherokee.....
Did not operate from 31 July 1929, to 13 June 1930. Discontinued 23 August 1954, effective 15 October 1954, mail to Tahlequah.

Gilmore....LeFlore....
Discontinued effective 15 January 1918, mail to Poteau.

Gilsonite....Murray....
Discontinued effective 27 February 1909, mail to Buckhorn.

Glendale....LeFlore.... 4 October 1910....Ivan N. Lassiter
Discontinued effective 31 July 1917, mail to Howe.

Glenn....Carter....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1922, mail to Springer.

Glenoak....Nowata....
Discontinued 29 November 1932, effective 15 December 1932, mail to Bartlesville.

Glenpool....Tulsa....31 January 1908....Elmer E. Jenks

Globe....Coal....
Did not operate from 31 August 1906 to 6 March 1909. Discontinued effective 31 October 1912, mail to Centrahoma.

Glover....McCurtain....
Discontinued 12 September 1955, effective 31 October 1955, mail to Broken Bow.

Gloriana....Choctaw....18 September 1916....Reuben E. Dennis
The order establishing this office was rescinded 23 February 1917, and the office was never in operation.

Golconda....Haskell....
Discontinued effective 30 October 1909, mail to Brooken.

Golden....McCurtain....13 March 1911....James M. Golden

Goodlake....McCurtain....15 March 1932....John F. Scott
Discontinued 28 December 1934, effective 31 January 1935, mail to Haworth.

Goodland....Choctaw.... 5 April 1915....Samuel B. Spring
Discontinued 24 July 1944, effective 31 July 1944, mail to Hugo. This is an entirely different office than the earlier Goodland, located 4 miles north of Hugo.

Goodnight....Logan....
Discontinued 10 October 1949, effective 31 October 1949, mail to Perkins.

Goodwater....McCurtain....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1959, mail to Haworth.

Goodwin....Ellis....
Discontinued effective 30 September 1916, mail to Shattuck.

Gordon....Adair.... 2 October 1913....Odus Gordon
Discontinued effective 31 July 1917, mail to Stilwell.

Gore....Sequoyah....22 October 1909....J. W. Parker
Formerly Campbell.

Gould....Harmon.... 8 February 1909....John A. Gould

Goza....Stephens....16 June 1926....William R. Beasley
Discontinued 17 August 1932, effective 31 August 1932, mail to Marlow.

Gragger....
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Grainola....Osage....28 March 1910....Samuel R. Iderger
Formerly Salt Creek.

Grand....Ellis....
Discontinued 18 September 1943, effective 30 September 1943, mail to Gage.

Grandfield....Tillman....21 January 1909....Andrew D. Chapman
Formerly Eschita.

Grand Valley—Texas—
Discontinued 15 December 1930, effective 31 December 1930, mail to Hardesty.

Granton—Major—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1921, mail to Fairview.

Gray—Beaver—
Discontinued 19 March 1964, effective 30 April 1964, mail to Balko.

Gray Horse—Osage—
Discontinued 7 December 1931, effective 31 December 1931, mail to Fairfax.

Grayson—Okmulgee—
Discontinued effective 30 April 1927, mail to Hoffman.

Greasy—Adair—29 April 1920—Monroe Spyres
Discontinued effective 15 October 1921, mail to Bunch.

Greenbrier—Mayes—
Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Adair.

Greenleaf—Cherokee—8 December 1910—George W. Sumter
Discontinued effective 28 February 1925, mail to Braggs.

Greenville—Love—
Discontinued effective 31 January 1909, mail to Overbrook.

Griever—Major—
Incorrectly shown as Griener on previous list.

Griffin—Atoka—
Discontinued effective 30 September 1920, mail to Atoka.

Gritts—Muskogee—
Discontinued effective 30 October 1909, mail to Webbers Falls.

Grow—Roger Mills—
Discontinued effective 30 November 1918, mail to Leedey.

Gypsy—Creek—1 May 1925—John W. Salsman
Formerly Billingslea. Discontinued 25 October 1955, effective 30 November 1955, mail to Depew.

Hadley—Cherokee—
Discontinued 6 November 1915, effective 15 November 1915, mail to Yonkers.

Haley—Grady—17 May 1910—Terrell E. Kirton
Name changed to Sooner 9 April 1913.

Hamburg—Roger Mills—
Discontinued effective 31 December 1929, mail to Cheyenne.

Hamden—Choctaw—
Discontinued effective 15 May 1924, mail to Speer.

Hance—Okmulgee—1 May 1909—James M. Roberts
Name changed to Nuyaka, 14 October 1912.

Haney—Seminole—17 February 1908—Nora I. Jenkins
Discontinued effective 30 November 1916, mail to Seminole.

Hanson—Sequoyah—
Discontinued 21 October 1954, effective 30 November 1954, mail to Sallisaw.

Harden City—Pontotoc—7 May 1937—Mrs. Rilla Lee Moore

Hardin—Kiowa—
Incorrectly shown in Washita County in previous listing.

Hardwood—Coal—20 April 1914—Neta Crum
Discontinued effective 31 October 1923, mail to Olney.

Hardy..... Kay.....
Discontinued 15 January 1940, effective 31 January 1940, mail to Kaw.

Harjo..... Pottawatomie..24 June 1921.....W. A. Campbell
Discontinued 9 July 1954, effective 31 August 1954, mail to Maud.

Harrisburg..... Stephens.....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1920, mail to Duncan.

Harrison..... Sequoyah..... 9 March 1908.....Daniel F. Estes
Discontinued effective 31 December 1912, mail to Sallisaw.

Hart..... Pontotoc.....
Discontinued 20 September 1920, effective 30 September 1920, mail to Vanoss.

Haskew..... Woodward.....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1921, mail to Freedom.

Hatten..... Beaver.....27 June 1910.....Jarriott P. Hatten
Formerly Hamilton. Discontinued effective 15 April 1913, mail to Forgan.

Hayden..... Nowata.....
Discontinued 10 September 1936, effective 15 October 1936, mail to Nowata.

Haynes.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued effective 15 May 1914, mail to Porter.

Hayward.....Garfield.....
Discontinued 7 November 1963, effective 6 December 1963, mail to Covington.

Hazel.....Seminole.....
Discontinued effective 24 March 1943, mail to Konawa.

Hector.....Okmulgee.....26 July 1909.....James Hector
Discontinued 31 December 1910, mail to Mounds.

Helsel.....Cleveland.....
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Heman.....Woods.....
Discontinued effective 15 February 1922, mail to Waynoka.

Hemmer.....Lincoln.....
Discontinued effective 16 April 1894, mail to Baker.

Hendrix.....Bryan.....13 December 1909...James A. Hendrix

Henry.....LeFlore..... 4 June 1915.....Arch L. McFerran
Discontinued effective 15 December 1919, mail to Lodi.

Herd.....Osage.....29 April 1915.....Pearl E. Easley
Did not operate rom 31 January 1916 to 30 March 1922. Discontinued 16 March 1945, effective 31 March 1945, mail to Pawhuska.

Heron.....Pittsburg.....15 January 1910.....Arthur M. Fellows
Discontinued effective 30 September 1910, mail to Canadian.

Herring.....Roger Mills....31 May 1913.....Ira O. Morton
Discontinued 18 July 1944, effective 31 July 1944, mail to Hammon.

Hess.....Jackson.....
Discontinued effective 15 March 1920, mail to Elmer.

Hester.....Greer.....21 July 1910.....Ernest Chaney
Discontinued effective 31 December 1923, mail to Mangum.

Hewitt.....Carter.....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1923, mail to Wilson.

Heyburn.....Creek.....14 December 1911...Laura B. Lozier
Discontinued effective 14 October 1922, mail to Bristow.

Hickey....Garvin....15 December 1915....William S. Hale
Discontinued effective 15 September 1916, mail to Elmore City.

Hickman....Pittsburg....22 May 1914....Eugene A. Hickman
Discontinued effective 30 November 1914, mail to Cabaniss.

Hickory....Murray....
Discontinued 19 March 1964, effective 31 March 1964, mail to Sulphur.

Hidalgo....Cimarron....10 October 1907....Albert G. Burns
Incorrectly shown on previous list as Hildalgo. Discontinued effective 14 October 1916, mail to Midwell.

Higgins....Latimer....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1915, mail to Hartshorne.

Hildalgo....
The correct spelling is Hidalgo.

Hill....LeFlore.... 7 April 1909....Elmer E. Hill
Discontinued effective 14 December 1929, mail to Cameron.

Hillside....Washington....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1913, mail to Vera.

Hilltop....Hughes....24 January 1910....A. M. Eaton
Discontinued effective 30 December 1916, mail to Stuart.

Hilton....Creek....28 June 1910....Harry Howe
Discontinued effective 30 April 1913, mail to Sapulpa.

Hisaw....Haskell....
Did not operate from 31 August 1914, to 29 November 1915. Discontinued effective 14 October 1916, mail to Tamaha.

Hix....LeFlore.... 1 May 1915....Della Pebsworth
Discontinued 6 March 1920, effective 31 March 1920, mail to Zoe.

Hoardsville....Okmulgee.... 8 February 1909....John H. Hoard
Formerly Senora. Discontinued effective 14 July 1917, mail to Henryetta.

Hochatown....McCurtain....
Discontinued 5 December 1963, effective 28 December 1963, mail to Broken Bow.

Hockerville....Ottawa....18 January 1918....Elmer S. Kling
Discontinued 8 August 1963, effective 13 September 1963, mail to Picher.

Hodgen....LeFlore....25 April 1910....Rose Beazley
Formerly Houston.

Hoffman....McIntosh....
Site changed to Okmulgee County 11 April 1922.

Holliday....Comanche....23 January 1908....Arthur O. Holliday
Discontinued 3 August 1933, effective 15 August 1933, mail to Faxon.

Hollister....Tillman.... 1 February 1909....George W. Haynes

Hollow....Craig....
Discontinued 12 April 1938, effective 30 April 1938, mail to Welch.

Holly Creek....McCurtain.... 7 June 1915....Christena E. McKinzie
Discontinued effective 15 March 1922, mail to Broken Bow.

Holson Valley....LeFlore....18 July 1938....Joseph M. Barnes
The order was rescinded 18 October 1938, and the office was never in operation.

Homer....Creek....
Discontinued effective 30 September 1916, mail to Hennepin.

Honobia.....LeFlore.....30 August 1919.....John Smith
The site of the post office has been in both LeFlore and Pushmataha Counties.

Hood.....Sequoyah.....11 September 1911...Calvin K. Lattimore
Formerly Mamie. Discontinued effective 15 April 1919, mail to Sallisaw.

Hoopville.....Major..... 7 January 1908.....B. F. Fullerton
Name changed to Sherman 29 January 1913.

Hoover.....Garvin.....31 May 1913.....Louisa Morris
Discontinued effective 15 December 1924, mail to Davis.

Hope.....Stephens.....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1913, mail to Duncan.

Horsecreek.....Delaware..... 2 May 1908.....James P. Hampton
Discontinued effective 31 December 1912, mail to Needmore.

Horseshoe Ranch.Pontotoc.....13 July 1916.....Maynard C. Patrick
Discontinued effective 14 January 1922, mail to Hickory.

Houston.....LeFlore.....
Name changed to Hodgen 25 April 1910.

Howard.....LeFlore.....11 March 1911.....Carrie L. Fogel
Name changed to Fogel 25 February 1914.

Hoxbar.....Carter.....
Discontinued effective 30 Nobember 1926, mail to Ardmore.

Hudson.....Craig.....
Discontinued effective 15 March 1911, mail to Wimer.

Hughart.....Haskell.....
Did not operate from 31 January 1907, to 16 June 1909. Discontinued effective 30 June 1915, mail to Stigler.

Hughes.....Latimer.....
Discontinued 27 June 1931, effective 15 July 1931, mail to Red Oak.

Hulah.....Osage.....10 March 1923.....Mrs. Nellie M. Glenn
Discontinued 26 March 1954, effective 30 April 1954, mail to Caney, Kansas.

Hulen.....Cotton.....
Did not operate from 31 January 1906, to 6 September 1910. Discontinued 26 September 1933, effective 14 October 1933, mail to Walters.

Humphreys.....Jackson.....27 October 1909.....Roy Eller
Discontinued 22 June 1955, effective 31 July 1955, mail to Altus.

Hulsey.....Latimer.....15 March 1918.....James A. Blalock
Discontinued effective 31 March 1921, mail to Wilburton.

Hunton.....Coal.....
Name changed to Kite 24 January 1910.

Hurley.....Cimarron.....
Discontinued 10 July 1925, effective 31 July 1925, mail to Garlington.

Huskey.....Choctaw..... 5 April 1915.....Thurman Rogers
Discontinued effective 31 July 1923, mail to Fort Towson.

Hutcheson.....Adair.....26 July 1913.....Milas A. Hutcheson
Discontinued effective 20 July 1915, mail to Bunch.

Huttonville.....McIntosh.....
Did not operate from 31 March 1908, to 28 July 1908. Name changed to Nerotown 28 February 1911.

Iconium.....Logan.....
Discontinued effective 14 December 1918, mail to Coyle.

Ida.....McCurtain..... 5 June 1909.....Joe L. Parrott
Name changed to Battiest 1 November 1928.

Idelia.....Choctaw.....25 March 1914.....Frederick M. Spurlen
Discontinued effective 30 September 1915, mail to Boswell.

Imo.....Garfield..... 9 December 1921...Lewis E. Carr
Discontinued effective 30 June 1922, mail to Enid. This post office was at an entirely different location than the earlier Imo, also in Garfield County.

Independence....Custer.....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1922, mail to Custer.

Indianapolis.....Custer.....
Discontinued 2 August 1949, effective 15 August 1949, mail to Clinton.

Ingersoll.....Alfalfa.....
Discontinued 23 December 1942, effective 31 December 1942, mail to Cherokee.

Ioland.....Ellis.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1922, mail to Peek.

Iona.....Murray.....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1929, mail to Wynnewood.

Irby.....McIntosh.....
Name changed to Onapa 5 February 1909.

Ireton.....Grady.....
Discontinued effective 30 September 1919, mail to Alex.

Isom Springs....Marshall.....
Did not operate from 30 April 1913 to 6 June 1921. Discontinued 31 October 1924, effective 15 November 1924, mail to Woodville.

Ivanhoe.....Beaver.....
Discontinued effective 31 May 1920, mail to Follett, Texas.

Jackson.....Bryan.....
Discontinued effective 30 October 1920, mail to Bennington.

Jadie.....McCurtain.....21 May 1913.....Willie J. Doan
Discontinued effective 15 June 1926, mail to Goodwater.

Janis.....McCurtain.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1915, mail to Arkinda, Arkansas.

Jasper.....Choctaw.....12 May 1913.....Jasper L. Morris
Discontinued effective 31 December 1915, mail to Soper.

Jay.....Delaware.....19 May 1909.....Elias J. Babcock

Jenness.....Okmulgee.....12 May 1910.....Frederick Westfall
Discontinued effective 31 January 1912, mail to Sharp.

Jesse.....Pontotoc.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1917, mail to Stonewall.

Jester.....Greer.....
Discontinued 18 January 1938, effective 31 January 1938, mail to Brinkman.

Jimtown.....Love.....
Discontinued 4 October 1916, effective 14 October 1916, mail to Burneyville.

Joburn.....Atoka.....13 April 1922.....Joseph S. Hilburn
Discontinued 3 December 1925, effective 15 December 1925, mail to Lehigh.

Johns.....Pushmataha....28 September 1912.James M. Buck
Discontinued effective 15 May 1915, mail to Moyers.

Johnson.....McClain.....
Discontinued effective 15 March 1910, mail to Byars.

Johnson.....Haskell..... 7 September 1911.Harrison Mullen
Discontinued effective 29 February 1912, mail to Tamaha.

Joiner....Carter....17 May 1909....Siegel M. Douglas
Formerly Eolian. Discontinued effective 15 April 1918, mail to New Wilson.

Jordan....Love....19 February 1908....Russie Kimbrough
Discontinued effective 31 March 1909, mail to Marietta.

July....McCurtain....27 July 1918....Lula A. Reeves
Discontinued effective 15 January 1921, mail to Boss.

Junction....Comanche....
Discontinued 21 January 1919, effective 31 January 1919, mail to Walters.

Jungensen....
The correct spelling for this post office is Jurgensen.

Junod....Harper....10 January 1911....Louis Junod
Discontinued effective 14 December 1912, mail to Ellendale.

Jurgensen....Cimarron.... 4 August 1906....George R. Parker
Name changed to Garlington 14 February 1908. Incorrectly shown as Jungensen on previous list.

Kanima....Haskell....24 August 1910....Joseph R. Brown
Formerly Ironbridge. Discontinued 11 December 1940, effective 31 December 1940, mail to Stigler.

Karma....Bryan.... 7 February 1929....Mrs. Mina R. Qualls
Name changed to Yuba 1 October 1950.

Katie....Garvin....
Discontinued 31 August 1929, mail to Elmore City.

Keefeton....Muskogee....
Discontinued effective 18 October 1957, no post office given.

Keenan....Woodward....18 February 1910....Julia A. Keenan
Formerly Doris. Discontinued 20 June 1935, effective 15 July 1935, mail to Fargo.

Keirsey....Bryan....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1920, mail to Mead.

Keller....Carter....
Did not operate from 28 February 1920 to 4 February 1931. The records do not show when this office finally discontinued operation.

Kelly....Harmon....
Upon discontinuation, mail directed to Gould, not as shown in previous list.

Kelso....Craig....
Discontinued effective 30 October 1920, mail to Vinita.

Kempton....Beckham....10 May 1910....Muritt Martindale
Discontinued effective 14 January 1911, mail to Carter.

Kenefic....Bryan....23 May 1910....Charles B. Roberts
Formerly Nail.

Kennady....LeFlore....
Discontinued effective 20 July 1915, mail to Wister.

Kent....Choctaw....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1915, mai lto Nelson.

Kenwood....Delaware....25 May 1922....Lydia B. Belt

Kerfoot....Canadian....13 April 1911....Mary E. Crenshaw
Discontinued effective 30 June 1917, mail to El Reno.

Keyes....Cimarron....15 October 1926....Joseph A. Godwin
Formerly Willowbar.

Keys....McCurtain....
Discontinued effective 21 January 1911, mail to Bokoma.

Keystone....Pawnee....
Discontinued effective 12 October 1962, mail to Sand Springs.

Keywest....Lincoln....20 April 1908....Judge C. Sanders
Discontinued effective 31 July 1909, mail to Stroud.

Key West....Lincoln....17 December 1924....Thomas J. Vanderslice
The order establishing this post office was rescinded 5 January 1925, and the office was never in operation.

Kiamichi....Pushmataha....
Discontinued effective 14 September 1962, mail to Tuskahoma.

Kibby....Harper....
Discontinued effective 15 April 1920, mail to Buffalo.

Kiel....Kingfisher....
Name changed to Loyal 1 October 1918.

Killgore....Grady....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1913, mail to Lindsay.

Kinlock....Marshall....
Discontinued 17 November 1927, effective 30 November 1927, mail to Madill.

Kinnison....Craig....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1922, mail to Welch.

Kinsey....Mayes....22 August 1913....Ernest V. Kinsey
Discontinued effective 15 June 1916, mail to Salina.

Kite....Coal....24 January 1910....Nora Kite
Formerly Hunton. Discontinued effective 15 August 1912, mail to Burrow.

Kittie....Coal....,
Name changed to Clarita 19 January 1910.

Komalty....Kiowa....
Discontinued 15 March 1938, effective 31 March 1938, mail to Hobart.

Korn....Washita....
Name changed to Corn 26 September 1918.

Kosoma....Pushmataha....
Discontinued 16 September 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Moyers.

Kullituklo....McCurtain....
Discontinued 14 November 1932, effective 30 November 1932, mail to Idabel.

Kully Chaha....LeFlore....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1913, mail to Cameron.

Kusa....Okmulgee....1 April 1916....Willis W. Christopher
Discontinued 11 April 1936, effective 30 May 1936, mail to Henryetta.

Ladelle....Bryan....31 May 1913....Clarence G. Cline
Discontinued effective 30 January 1915, mail to Mead.

Lafayette....Haskell....
Discontinued effective 15 August 1914, mail to Stigler.

Lakemp....Beaver....26 July 1909....Walter J. Lehman
Formerly Conroy. Site and name changed to Booker, Lipscomb County, Texas, 4 September 1919.

Lambert....Alfalfa....
Discontinued 15 April 1952 effective 30 April 1952, mail to Cherokee.

Langley.....Mayes.....20 January 1939.....Mrs. Lola Knotts

Lark.....Marshall.....18 January 1908.....John Compton
Discontinued 17 March 1934, effective 14 April 1934, mail to Woodville.

Latham.....LeFlore.....
Discontinued effective 15 February 1918, mail to Calhoun.

Laura.....Latimer..... 3 June 1910.....James E. Cooley
Discontinued effective 1 May 1924, mail to Talihina.

Laverty.....Grady.....15 January 1908.....John C. Rader
Discontinued 21 November 1933, effective 30 November 1933, mail to Cement.

Lawrence.....Pontotoc.....
Discontinued 28 February 1935, effective 15 March 1935, mail to Fitzhugh.

Layton.....Garvin.....21 December 1911.....Lee Layton
Discontinued effective 31 September 1913, mail to George.

Leafic.....Woodward..... 8 January 1912.....Commadore Willoughby
The appointee declined the appointment and the office did not commence operating until the appointment of Amos Williams on 12 October 1912. Discontinued effective 15 June 1913, mail to Haskew.

Lee.....Muskogee.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1911, mail to Boynton.

Legal.....Coal.....
Discontinued effective 15 April 1918, mail to Ashland.

Legate.....Love.....
Discontinued 20 August 1921, effective 15 September 1921, mail to Hoxbar.

Lela.....Noble.....
On 4 May 1935, the site was moved to Pawnee County. Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Pawnee.

Lenna.....McIntosh.....
Discontinued 4 February 1965, to be effective 12 February 1965, but the order was rescinded 18 February 1965. Discontinued 4 March 1965, to be effective 12 March 1965, but the order was rescinded 18 March 1965. Discontinued 25 March 1965, to be effective 9 April 1965, but the order was rescinded 15 April 1965.

Lenora.....Dewey.....
Discontinued 4 May 1955, effective 30 June 1955, mail to Taloga.

Lenox.....LeFlore.....
Discontinued effective 15 April 1913, mail to Whitesboro.

Lenton.....Choctaw.....
Name changed to Gay 28 April 1908.

Leonard.....Tulsa.....22 August 1908.....Jerry Bentley

Leonel.....Dewey.....13 September 1915..Solomon E. Kammerzell
Discontinued 30 June 1919, mail to Oakwood.

Lester.....Johnston.....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1910, no office given.

Letitia.....Comanche.....
Discontinued effective 30 April 1917, mail to Lawton.

Lewis.....Atoka.....
Name changed to Dayton 21 January 1909.

Lewisville.....Haskell.....26 August 1909.....Calvin H. Lewis
Discontinued effective 30 November 1915, mail to Kinta.

Liberty.....Sequoyah.....24 August 1914.....Henry A. Mannan
Discontinued effective 15 August 1927, mail to Muldrow.

Lightning Creek.Craig.....14 December 1911...George B. Parks
Discontinued effective 30 November 1913, mail to Oklahoma. [sic]

Lima.....Seminole.....
Discontinued 8 July 1957, effective 23 August 1957, mail to Wewoka.

Limestone Gap.Atoka.....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1922, mail to Chockie.

Link.....Nowata.....31 July 1914.....Maggie Scott
Discontinued effective 31 January 1916, mail to Nowata.

Linn.....Marshall.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1915, mail to Madill.

Little.....Seminole.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1916, mail to Seminole.

Loaf.....Mayes.....21 December 1915...Jesse N. Hudson
Discontinued effective 15 May 1929, mail to Adair.

Loam.....Carter.....14 May 1913.....A. Frank Monson
Discontinued effective 15 March 1918, mail to Cheek.

Lockridge.....Logan.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1928, mail to Edmond.

Lodessa.....Greer.....
Delete this entry. Correctly shown as Ladessa.

Lodi.....Latimer.....
Discontinued 4 March 1955, effective 15 April 1955, mail to Red Oak.

Lometa.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued effective 15 January 1910, mail to Wagoner.

Lona.....Haskell.....26 April 1912.....Thomas B. Weathers
Discontinued effective 31 March 1913, mail to Quinton.

Lonelm.....Marshall.....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1913, mail to Kermit. [sic]

Long.....Sequoyah.....
Discontinued 16 March 1937, effective 15 April 1937, mail to Muldrow.

Lorena.....Beaver.....
Name changed to Turpin 8 April 1925.

Louis.....Harmon.....
Discontinued 18 April 1925, effective 30 April 1925, mail to Hollis.

Loveland.....Tillman.....23 October 1908.....Thomas R. McCracken

Lovell.....Logan.....
Discontinued 31 January 1957, effective 8 March 1957, mail to Crescent.

Loving.....LeFlore..... 2 December 1908...Isaac Ward
Discontinued effective 15 June 1922, mail to Heavener.

Lowrey.....Cherokee.....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1929, mail to Tahlequah.

Loyal.....Kingfisher..... 1 October 1918.....William M. Chalker
Formerly Kiel.

Lucile.....Grady.....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1912, mail to Chickasha.

Luckey.....Cherokee.....11 October 1913.....Robert D. Garroutte
Discontinued effective 15 November 1922, mail to Gideon.

Lucy.....Harper.....19 December 1907....Olive Orr
Discontinued effective 20 September 1909, mail to Stockholm.

Ludlow—LeFlore—
Discontinued 8 November 1954, effective 15 November 1954, mail to Honobia.

Lugert—Kiowa—
Discontinued 25 September 1950, effective 30 September 1950, mail to Lone Wolf.

Lukfata—McCurtain—
Discontinued effective 31 March 1917, mail to Broken Bow.

Lula—Pontotoc—
Discontinued 25 October 1955, effective 30 November 1955, mail to Allen.

Lutie—Latimer—
Discontinued 24 September 1941, effective 31 January 1942, mail to Wilburton.

Lyle—Grady—27 July 1923—Robert A. Lyle
Discontinued effective 15 October 1925, mail to Ninnekah.

Lyman—Osage—22 March 1924—Madge Morris
Discontinued 4 January 1956, effective 15 February 1956, mail to Kaw.

Lynch—Mayes—
Name changed to Strang 18 March 1913.

Lyons—Adair—17 September 1908—John F. Bretz
The appointee declined the appointment and the office did not commence operating until the appointment of A. F. Eubanks on 29 January 1909. Discontinued effective 30 November 1923, mail to Stilwell.

McBride—Cherokee—11 October 1911—Frank P. Ziegler
Discontinued 28 March 1936, effective 30 April 1936, mail to Hulbert.

McCarty—Garvin—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1919, mail to Elmore City.

McKey—Sequoyah—
Did not operate from 30 November 1923, to 24 April 1924; and from 15 October 1925, to 14 December 1925. Discontinued effective 14 July 1928, mail to Vian.

McLain—Muskogee—
Discontinued effective 30 June 1915, mail to Keefeton.

McMan—Carter—17 November 1916—Holland W. Middleton

McQueen—Harmon—29 August 1910—William J. Bell
Discontinued 31 August 1955, effective 30 September 1955, mail to Gould.

McWillie—Alfalfa— 8 February 1910—Adam Hartmann
Discontinued 7 August 1934, effective 31 August 1934, mail to Aline.

Mabelle—Sequoyah—
Discontinued effective 20 April 1915, mail to Vian.

Macomb—Pottawatomie—16 July 1915—Frank S. Williams
Formerly McComb.

Madaline—Osage—20 March 1913—Lizzie M. Taylor
The order establishing this office was rescinded and the post office did not commence operation until February 21, 1914 when Lizzie M. Taylor was again appointed. Discontinued effective 15 January 1915, mail to Skiatook.

Madison—Beaver—
Discontinued 24 September 1925, effective 15 October 1925, mail to Laverne.

Major....Okmulgee....2 October 1913....Ida B. Crosby
Discontinued effective 15 August 1914, mail to Bixby.

Mamie....Sequoyah....14 February 1911....Calvin K. Lattimore
Name changed to Hood 11 September 1911.

Manard....Cherokee....
Discontinued effective 30 September 1913, mail to Fort Gibson.

Maness....Grady....13 May 1911....Thomas B. Maness
Discontinued effective 31 October 1911, mail to Lindsay.

Mantee....Hughes....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1912, mail to Wetumka.

Maple....Sequoyah....
Discontinued effective 14 January 1921, mail to Muldrow.

Mark....Mayes....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1912, mail to Locust Grove.

Markham....Mayes....
Did not operate from 25 January 1897, to 29 September 1910. Discontinued effective 25 February 1911, mail to Pryor.

Markham....Creek....26 February 1915....Ernest Lee Norman
Discontinued effective 31 July 1930, mail to Oilton.

Marland....Noble....8 April 1922....Kathryn A. Wyckoff
Formerly Bliss.

Marsden....Love....
Discontinued 19 June 1922, effective 30 June 1922, mail to Overbrook.

Mary....Rogers....13 February 1914....Joseph F. Stuart
Discontinued effective 31 March 1915, mail to Collinsville.

Mason....Okfuskee....17 October 1910....Daniel S. Mason

Massey....Pittsburg....
Did not operate from 31 October 1908 to 18 August 1911. Discontinued effective 31 May 1918, mail to Crowder.

Matoy....Bryan....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1921, mail to Banty.

Maxine....Tulsa....23 January 1917....Gladys Whitney
Discontinued effective 31 December 1927, mail to Sand Springs.

Maxwell....Pontotoc....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1929, mail to Ada.

Meadow View....LeFlore....4 June 1915....Zora Harris
The order establishing this office was rescinded 8 November 1915, and it was never in operation.

Medicine Park....Comanche....13 October 1908....Albert S. Triplett

Mehan....Payne....
Discontinued 8 June 1943, effective 30 June 1943, mail to Stillwater.

Mekusukey....Seminole....
Discontinued effective 28 February 1915, mail to Seminole.

Mellette....McIntosh....
Discontinued 23 June 1934, effective 14 July 1934, mail to Eufaula.

Melvin....Cherokee....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1919, mail to Hulbert.

Mendon....Alfalfa....
Upon discontinuance, mail to Byron, not Bryan as shown in previous list.

Merrick....Lincoln....
Discontinued 14 October 1935, effective 31 October 1935, mail to Fallis.

Messer....Choctaw....
Discontinued effective 29 February 1916, mail to Hugo.

Metory....Cherokee....
Discontinued effective 15 June 1914, mail to Tahlequah.

Mexhoma....Cimarron....31 July 1909....Stephen A. Kennedy
Discontinued 10 November 1942, effective 30 November 1942, mail to Boise City.

Micawber....Okfuskee....
Discontinued 28 January 1955, effective 15 March 1955, mail to Castle.

Middleberg....Grady.... 2 November 1908...George W. Fisher
Discontinued 16 March 1932, effective 31 March 1932, mail to Blanchard.

Middleton....Kay....
Discontinued 17 January 1908, effective 31 January 1908, mail to Newkirk.

Midland....Pontotoc....
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Midlothian....Lincoln....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1919, mail to Chandler.

Midway....Coal....
Discontinued effective 15 March 1911, mail to Lehigh.

Midway....Roger Mills....10 June 1924....Raymond E. Boigegram
Discontinued 15 June 1930, no office given.

Midwell....Cimarron....22 January 1908....Guy E. Crissman
Discontinued 24 April 1935, effective 31 May 1935, mail to Eva.

Miles....Craig....
Discontinued 11 September 1935, effective 30 September 1935, mail to Vinita.

Milfay....Creek....14 December 1911 Jacob S. Denny

Millcreek....Johnston....
Date name changed to Mill Creek is not available.

Miller....Pushmataha....
Discontinued 16 September 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Moyers.

Millerton....McCurtain.... 5 March 1908....Nathaniel Taylor

Mills....Lincoln.... 5 May 1899....Ed F. Easter
Discontinued 14 October 1904, effective 31 October 1904, mail to Chandler. This office was incorrectly shown as Wills in previous listing.

Milton....LeFlore....
Discontinued effective 10 November 1942, mail to McCurtain.

Mitch....Sequoyah....13 August 1920....Edward D. Mitchell
Discontinued 8 September 1933, effective 30 September 1933, mail to Vian.

Mocane....Beaver....18 March 1909....Lillie J. Eubank
Discontinued 7 April 1948, effective 30 April 1948, mail to Knowles.

Moffett....Sequoyah.... 8 January 1908....Icilius Montgomery

Mohawk....Tulsa....
Discontinued effective 10 July 1915, mail to Tulsa.

Moorewood.....Custer.....12 June 1912.....Charles H. Fisher
Discontinued effective 26 October 1962, mail to Hammon.

Moral.....Pottawatomie..
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Tribbey.

Moravia.....Beckham.....22 December 1913....Walter S. Isom
Discontinued effective 28 February 1915, mail to Willow.

Morse.....Okfuskee.....
Discontinued 16 January 1926, effective 30 January 1926, mail to Okemah.

Morvin.....Pottawatomie..
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Moseley.....Delaware.....16 February 1910....Harris A. Loflin
Discontinued effective 31 May 1923, mail to Flint.

Moyers.....Pushmataha....27 November 1908...Oscar Willingham

Mudsand.....Choctaw..... 9 June 1923.....Ben Nichols
Discontinued 23 March 1935, effective 30 April 1935, mail to Soper.

Mulkey.....Carter.....
Discontinued effective 31 October 1919, mail to Ardmore.

Murphy.....Love.....18 January 1908....J. D. Kilpatrick
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Marietta.

Murphy.....Mayes..... 2 June 1910.....William Coverdell
Discontinued 21 October 1952, effective 15 November 1952, mail to Locust Grove.

Muse.....LeFlore.....
Name changed to Pine Valley 16 December 1926.

Muse.....LeFlore.....11 May 1927.....Edgar B. McCrary

Nail.....Bryan.....
Name changed to Kenefic 23 May 1910.

Naples.....Grady.....
Discontinued 15 April 1932, effective 30 April 1932, mail to Alex.

Narcissa.....Ottawa.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1916, mail to Miami.

Nash.....Grant.....23 March 1911.....Hattie L. Helmer
Formerly Nashville.

Natura.....Okmulgee.....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1910, mail to Okmulgee.

Navina.....Logan.....
Discontinued 19 September 1935, effective 15 October 1935, mail to Seward.

Nease.....Pushmataha.... 9 October 1918.....Charles D. Nease
Discontinued 30 September 1919. Never in operation.

Nebo.....Murray.....
Discontinued effective 15 February 1922, mail to Sulphur.

Needmore.....Delaware.....
Name changed to Bernice 12 February 1913.

Nelagoney.....Osage.....
Discontinued 3 February 1959, effective 28 February 1959, mail to Pawhuska.

Nellda.....Carter.....28 April 1914.....Robert L. Darnell
Discontinued 28 April 1921, effective 31 May 1921, mail to Provence.

Nellie.....Stephens.....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1912, mail to Duncan.

Nelson.....Choctaw.....
Discontinued 15 October 1954, effective 30 November 1954, mail to Antlers.

Neodesha.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued 18 June 1937, effective 15 July 1937, mail to Inola.

Nerotown.....McIntosh.....28 February 1911.....William L. Harrison
Formerly Huttonville. Discontinued effective 20 July 1915, mail to Eufaula.

Newburg.....Hughes.....
Name changed to Atwood 3 December 1909.

Newby.....Creek.....
Discontinued 25 October 1955, effective 30 November 1955, mail to Bristow.

New Durwood..Marshall.....8 April 1913.....Willis Henderson
Name changed to Durwood 11 October 1913.

New Goodwin...Ellis .....31 August 1909.....Albert Hughes
Discontinued effective 15 August 1913, mail to Shattuck.

New Home.....LeFlore.....12 January 1924.....Willie R. Pierce
Discontinued 6 February 1934, effective 28 February 1934, mail to Pine Valley.

New Lima.....Seminole..... 5 October 1929.....John H. Cole

Newport.....Carter.....
Discontinued 24 May 1961, effective 26 May 1961, mail to Ardmore.

Newton.....Roger Mills....23 March 1911.....Joseph H. James
Discontinued effective 15 July 1913, mail to Grand.

New Wilson.....Carter..... 7 January 1914.....Lawrence L. Dunlap
Name changed to Wilson 28 January 1920.

Nice.....LeFlore.....30 September 1911...Ellsworth Carethers
Discontinued effective 30 June 1912, mail to Oak Lodge.

Nicholson.....Muskogee.....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1913, mail to Muskogee.

Nicoma Park....Oklahoma..... 7 February 1929.....Mrs. Maude B. Davis

Nicut.....Sequoyah..... 16 December 1925...Chester R. Jones
Formerly Vrona. Discontinued 21 October 1954, effective 30 November 1954, mail to Muldrow.

Nida.....Johnston.....
Discontinued effective 30 October 1915, mail to Kenefic.

Niles.....Canadian.....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1929, mail to Hinton.

Nixon.....Coal.....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1911, mail to Coalgate.

Noah.....McCurtain.....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1912, mail to Ida.

Nobscot.....Dewey.....26 October 1915.....Renis H. Hamsbarger
Formerly South Canadian. Discontinued effective 15 June 1918, mail to Fay.

Nolia.....Pushmataha....26 October 1912.....Benjamin F. Johnson
Discontinued effective 15 December 1920, mail to Nashoba.

Non.....Hughes.....
Discontinued 16 September 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Calvin.

Norden.....Grady.....27 January 1908.....Anfin Ersland
Name changed to Norge 21 March 1908.

Norge....Grady....21 March 1908....Anfin Ersland
Formerly Norden. Discontinued 20 August 1954, effective 30 September 1954, mail to Chickasha.

Norris....Latimer....28 August 1909....Robert W. Ramer
Discontinued 12 April 1932, effective 30 April 1932, mail to Red Oak.

North Fork....Okfuskee.... 9 October 1908....James W. Mayes
Did not operate from 30 April 1912, to 3 February 1914. Discontinued effective 31 March 1916, mail to Weleetka.

North McAlester..Pittsburg....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1909, mail to McAlester.

North Miami....Ottawa....29 June 1913....Anna M. Sergeant
Name changed to Commerce 1 June 1914.

North Miami....Ottawa.... 1 June 1915....Sarah Dennis
Did not operate from 30 June 1919 to 2 April 1920, and from 15 March 1922, to 17 August 1926.

North Muskogee..Wagoner.... 1 May 1911....Horace C. Lawherne
Formerly Rex. Name changed to Okay 18 October 1919.

Norton....Johnston....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1912, mail to Ravia.

Noxie....Nowata.... 1 March 1910....Thomas D. Bradford
Discontinued 18 December 1934, effective 31 December 1934, mail to Wann.

Numa....Grant....
Discontinued 24 August 1943, effective 31 August 1943, mail to Medford.

Nuyaka....Okmulgee....14 October 1912....James M. Roberts
Formerly Hance. Discontinued 2 July 1954, effective 15 August 1954, mail to Okmulgee.

Oak Grove....Adair....
Did not operate from 13 July 1905 to 25 July 1913. Discontinued effective 15 January 1916, mail to Dutch Mills, Arkansas.

Oak Hill....McCurtain....15 May 1914....Robert L. Bass
Discontinued effective 12 October 1948, mail to Broken Bow.

Oak Lodge....LeFlore....
Discontinued effective 31 March 1917, mail to Spiro.

Oakhurst....Tulsa....12 December 1918...Berta F. Richards

Oakley....Dewey....
Discontinued 8 September 1913, effective 15 October 1913, mail to Taloga. The date of discontinuance shown in previous list is in error.

Oakman....Pontotoc....
Discontinued 8 May 1929, effective 30 June 1929, mail to Ada.

Oberlin....Bryan....
Discontinued 10 July 1937, effective 31 July 1937, mail to Boswell.

Obi....Sequoyah.... 9 December 1910...James H. Rourk
Discontinued effective 30 September 1921, mail to Sallisaw.

Ocina....Beckham....13 June 1916....John Sukmers
Discontinued 26 September 1935, effective 31 October 1935, mail to Willow.

Octavia....LeFlore....
Discontinued 11 August 1953, effective 30 September 1953, mail to Smithville.

Odeleda....Delaware.... 1 September 1917...Taylor H. Tanner
Discontinued effective 15 August 1918, mail to Sycamore.

Odell ..... McCurtain .....
Discontinued 3 June 1925, effective 30 June 1925, mail to Shults.

Odetta ..... Kiowa .....
Discontinued 15 October 1924, effective 15 November 1924, mail to Snyder.

Oglesby ..... Washington .....
Discontinued 20 July 1933, effective 15 August 1933, mail to Ramona.

Oil City ..... Carter ..... 15 October 1909 ..... George L. Lowery
Formerly Wheeler. Discontinued 5 January 1930, effective 28 February 1930, mail to Wilson.

Oilton ..... Creek ..... 5 May 1915 ..... Cora M. Murdock

Okay ..... Wagoner ..... 18 October 1919 ..... Mary J. Bogan
Formerly North Muskogee.

Okesa ..... Osage .....
Discontinued 16 December 1940, effective 31 December 1940, mail to Bartlesville.

Okfuskee ..... Okfuskee .....
Did not operate from 15 April 1935, to 1 June 1948. Discontinued 28 January 1955, effective 15 March 1955, mail to Okemah.

Oklahoma City .. Oklahoma ..... 1 July 1923 ..... Claude Weaver
Formerly Oklahoma.

Okoee ..... Craig .....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1913, mail to Ketchum.

Okra ..... McClain .....
Discontinued effective 31 August 1908, mail to Rosedale.

Oleta ..... Pushmataha .... 10 October 1935 ..... Alvin J. Morris

Olive ..... Creek .....
Discontinued 17 September 1938, effective 30 September 1938, mail to Drumright.

Olney ..... Coal .....
Discontinued 25 April 1955, effective 15 June 1955, mail to Coalgate.

Ona ..... Texas .....
Discontinued 27 June 1919, effective 15 July 1919, mail to Eva.

Onapa ..... McIntosh ..... 5 February 1909 .... James A. Canon
Formerly Irby. Discontinued effective 30 June 1914, mail to Checotah.

Oneta ..... Wagoner .....
Did not operate from 15 November 1915, to 20 July 1917. Discontinued effective 30 November 1922, mail to Broken Arrow.

Opah ..... McCurtain ..... 20 August 1913 ..... Bennett C. McCord
Discontinued effective 31 December 1915, mail to Glover.

Orion ..... Major .....
Discontinued 20 June 1932, effective 30 June 1932, mail to Chester.

Orr ..... Love .....
Discontinued 23 October 1957, effective 29 November 1957, mail to Ringling.

Oseuma ..... Ottawa .....
Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Fairland.

Ostend ..... Stephens ..... 10 July 1916 ..... Lillie Winkler
Discontinued 13 December 1917, effective 31 December 1917, mail to Bray.

Oswalt ..... Love .....
Discontinued 17 May 1949, effective 31 May 1949, mail to Overbrook.

Otoe—Noble—
Discontinued effective 31 July 1917, mail to Redrock.

Otoe Switch—Noble—23 July 1912—Rosetta Bass
Discontinued effective 31 December 1912, mail to Redrock.

Ottawa—Ottawa—
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Miami.

Ozanne—Sequoyah—11 December 1916—John T. Hood
Discontinued effective 15 May 1919, mail to Dora.

Ozark—Cherokee—20 March 1914—William C. Box
Discontinued effective 30 November 1914, no office given.

Pahe—Osage—26 June 1908—Lin J. Moss
Discontinued 14 January 1911, mail to Ponca.

Palmer—Murray—
Discontinued effective 15 June 1915, mail to Sulphur.

Pan C—Carter—15 June 1917—Claud C. Prince
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Panola—Latimer—18 March 1911—Jasper N. Perkins

Papoose—Hughes—14 September 1925 James O. Davenport
Discontinued 4 November 1931, effective 14 November 1931, mail to Wetumka.

Parker—Coal—11 June 1913—Matthias B. Davis
Discontinued 25 April 1946, effective 30 April 1946, mail to Calvin.

Parkland—Lincoln—
Discontinued 5 June 1918, effective 15 June 1918, mail to Agra.

Parkman—Ellis—
Discontinued 1 December 1917, effective 8 December 1917, mail to Harmon.

Parks—Stephens—
Discontinued effective 15 September 1913, mail to Loco.

Parton—Tillman—28 December 1908—Elmer W. Morris
Discontinued effective 14 August 1909, mail to Hollister.

Paruna—Harper—
Discontinued 20 May 1919, effective 31 May 1919, mail to Willard.

Patterson—Latimer—
Discontinued effective 17 October 1922, mail to Wilburton.

Paucaunla—Bryan—
Discontinued effective 15 July 1910, mail to Colbert.

Paw Paw—Sequoyah—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1915, mail to Muldrow.

Payne—McClain—
Discontinued effective 31 October 1922, mail to Lindsay.

Payson—Lincoln—
Discontinued 9 September 1954, effective 15 October 1954, mail to Meeker.

Pearson—Pottawatomie—31 May 1927—Solomon H. Mackey
Discontinued 25 March 1965, effective 31 March 1965, mail to Asher.

Pearsonia—Osage—14 December 1917—October Pearson
Formerly Blackland. Discontinued 7 December 1936, effective 31 December 1936, mail to Pawhuska.

Peck—Day—
This entry should be deleted. See Peek.

Peckham—Kay—
Did not operate from 31 January 1951, to 16 May 1951.

Peek.....Ellis.....15 February 1906.....Albert C. Wilbert
Discontinued 1 November 1954, effective 15 December 1954, mail to Arnett. Shown erroneously on previous list as Peck.

Pemeta.....Creek..... 9 August 1915.....John I. Wilson
Discontinued 11 October 1923, effective 30 October 1923, mail to Drumright.

Peno.....LeFlore.....27 March 1916.....Andrew J. Geren
Discontinued 31 May 1932, effective 15 June 1932, mail to Braden.

Pensacola.....Mayes.....
Discontinued 2 November 1955, effective 30 November 1955, mail to Vinita.

Peoria.....Ottawa.....
Discontinued 14 November 1941, effective 29 November 1941, mail to Baxter Springs, Kansas.

Pernell.....Garvin.....28 June 1922.....Robert A. Covington

Pershing.....Osage.....31 May 1919.....Thomas E. Brant
Discontinued 31 January 1957, effective 8 March 1957, mail to Barnsdall.

Petersburg.....Jefferson.....
Discontinued 4 September 1919, effective 15 September 1919, mail to Courtney.

Pettit.....Cherokee.....13 May 1911.....William H. David
Did not operate from 31 January 1927, to 6 July 1927. Discontinued 17 November 1933, effective 30 November 1933, mail to Park Hill.

Pharoah.....Okfuskee..... 8 June 1921.....Cora J. Stevens

Phillips.....Coal.....
Discontinued effective 2 April 1927, mail to Coalgate.

Phroso.....Major.....
Discontinued 11 May 1937, effective 29 May 1937, mail to Sherman.

Piatt.....Tulsa.....27 September 1911...Glen A. Hoss
Discontinued effective 30 May 1925, mail to Wekiwa.

Picher.....Ottawa..... 2 June 1916.....John J. Holt

Pickens.....McCurtain.....26 October 1912.....John T. Pickens

Pickett.....Pontotoc.....27 January 1913.....Thomas L. Coley
Discontinued 3 January 1916, effective 15 January 1916, mail to Ada.

Pierce.....McIntosh.....
Discontinued 11 November 1965, effective 19 November 1965, mail to Checotah.

Pike.....Love.....
Discontinued 10 November 1933, effective 30 November 1933, mail to Marietta.

Pine.....Coal.....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1912, mail to Centrahoma.

Pine Valley.....LeFlore.....16 December 1926...Robert F. Rind
Formerly Muse. Discontinued 13 July 1942, effective 15 August 1942, mail to Muse.

Piney.....Adair.....24 November 1913...Sabina Adair
Discontinued 20 August 1921, effective 15 September 1921, mail to Baron.

Pirtle.....Bryan.....
Did not operate from 29 June 1907, to 14 February 1908. Discontinued effective 20 July 1915, mail to Blue.

Pitts.....Cherokee..... 9 October 1908.....James W. Pitts
Discontinued 24 July 1916, effective 31 July 1916, mail to Hulbert.

Pittsburg—Pittsburg—27 August 1909—Frank B. Drew
Formerly Edwards.

Plainview—Greer—
The year for the establishment of this office is 1889, not 1898, as shown in previous list.

Plainview—Beaver— 7 November 1910—Lizzie Neufeld
Formerly Ecter. Discontinued 26 November 1912, effective 31 December 1912, mail to Balko.

Pleasant Hill—McCurtain—21 September 1912—Walter C. Harris
Discontinued 8 October 1934, effective 1 November 1934, mail to Haworth.

Pleasant Valley—Logan—
Discontinued 8 May 1947, effective 31 May 1947, mail to Coyle.

Plunkettville—McCurtain— 4 November 1931—Robert C. Plunkett

Pluver—Jefferson—23 September 1912—Lillian Coleman
Discontinued effective 15 January 1914, mail to Sugden.

Poarch—Beckham—
Discontinued effective 31 December 1911, mail to Carter.

Pocahontas—Pittsburg—
Did not operate from 15 August 1910, to 16 November 1910. Discontinued effective 24 April 1916, mail to Dow.

Pocola—LeFlore—
Did not operate from 30 November 1914, to 7 June 1915. Discontinued 13 December 1915, effective 29 February 1916, mail to Bonanza, Arkansas.

Pollard—McCurtain—
Discontinued 12 April 1923, effective 30 April 1923, mail to Harris.

Ponca City—Kay—23 October 1913—A. C. Smith
Formerly Ponca.

Port—Washita—
Discontinued 16 February 1940, effective 29 February 1940, mail to Sentinel.

Portland—Washita—
Discontinued 11 December 1905, effective 31 December 1905, mail to Rockey.

Potapo—Atoka— 2 August 1922—Lelia A. Smith
Discontinued 8 February 1934, effective 28 February 1934, mail to Stringtown.

Powell—Marshall—
Did not operate from 14 May 1921, to 22 November 1939. Discontinued 19 April 1945, effective 30 April 1945, mail to Kingston.

Prairie View—Haskell—11 April 1912—James H. Borum
Discontinued effective 30 June 1914, mail to Stigler.

Prentiss—Beckham—
Discontinued 6 January 1920, effective 31 January 1920, mail to Mayfield.

Preston—Okmulgee—13 December 1909—Arthur C. Lyons

Price—Seminole—
Formerly in Okfuskee County. Discontinued 31 March 1916, effective 29 April 1916, mail to Beardon.

Promenade—Ottawa—6 December 1919—Emma Tunley
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Provence—Carter—
Discontinued 26 September 1933, effective 14 October 1933, mail to Ardmore.

Pryor....Mayes....26 January 1909....John D. Wilkins
Formerly Pryor Creek.

Pryor Creek....Mayes....
Name changed to Pryor 26 January 1909.

Pulare....Osage.... 2 August 1920....George W. Hewitt
Discontinued effective 29 September 1928, mail to Prue.

Pulcher....Pittsburg....20 August 1913....Adia Poor
Discontinued effective 10 July 1915, mail to Hartshorne.

Purdy....Garvin....
Discontinued 7 November 1918, effective 15 November 1918, mail to Lindsay.

Purvis....Greer....
Discontinued 6 February 1903, effective 14 February 1903, mail to Prospect.

Qualls....Cherokee....20 January 1909....William A. Qualls
Discontinued 22 August 1942, effective 31 August 1942, mail to Park Hill.

Quay....Pawnee....
Discontinued 21 February 1957, effective 31 March 1957, no office given.

Rabit....Delaware....11 March 1914....George W. Copeland
Discontinued 26 March 1925, effective 15 April 1925, mail to Bernice.

Ragsdale....Beaver....
Discontinued 1 August 1907, effective 31 August 1907, mail to Gray.

Raiford....McIntosh....
Discontinued 7 May 1926, effective 15 May 1926, mail to Vivian.

Ran....Love....
Discontinued 11 April 1916, effective 15 April 1916, mail to Enville.

Randlett....Cotton.... 3 May 1907....Otis R. Wells

Randolph....Johnston....
Discontinued 9 June 1919, effective 30 June 1919, mail to Madill.

Range....Texas....
Discontinued 24 January 1934, effective 15 February 1934, mail to Hardesty.

Rankin....Roger Mills....
Name changed to Reydon 1 October 1929.

Ratliff City....Carter.... 1 January 1953....Mrs. Lummie Lowrence

Rattan....Pushmataha....12 December 1910....Moses A. Fleming

Ray....Cherokee....
Discontinued 24 November 1927, effective 30 November 1927, mail to McBride.

Raydon....Hughes....16 December 1907....William M. Taylor
Name changed to Gerty 23 June 1910.

Raymond....Dewey....
Correct name of first postmaster to Hezekiah Frazee.

Reagan....Johnston....
Discontinued effective 15 May 1931, mail to Tishomingo.

Reams....Pittsburg....
Discontinued 18 December 1915, effective 31 December 1915, mail to Crowder.

Reason....Ellis....
Discontinued 18 February 1919, effective 28 February 1919, mail to Arnett.

Reck ..... Carter .....
Discontinued effective 30 June 1919, mail to Orr.

Recyl ..... Latimer ..... 16 December 1916 ..... Henry Sumpter
Discontinued 16 September 1935, effective 15 October 1935, mail to Wilburton.

Red Eagle ..... Osage ..... 18 August 1920 ..... Robert M. Hunt
Discontinued effective 15 October 1930, mail to Pawhuska.

Redden ..... Atoka .....
Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Stringtown.

Red Fork ..... Tulsa .....
Discontinued 31 July 1928, to become Red Fork Station of Tulsa.

Redland ..... Sequoyah .....
Discontinued 4 June 1937, effective 30 June 1937, mail to Muldrow.

Redmoon ..... Roger Mills ....
Discontinued 7 October 1918, effective 15 October 1918, mail to Cheyenne.

Reed .....
This entry, showing such a post office established 25 February 1903, in the Cherokee Nation should be deleted. This is a duplication of Rud, likewise listed.

Reeding ..... Kingfisher .....
Discontinued 16 August 1935, effective 14 September 1935, mail to Kingfisher.

Reese ..... Pittsburg ..... 19 July 1912 ..... John W. Reese
Discontinued effective 15 July 1914, mail to Adamson.

Reevesville ..... Muskogee .....
Discontinued 15 October 1912, mail to Muskogee.

Regnier ..... Cimarron ..... 27 February 1920 ..... Charles W. Kirtley
Formerly in Baca County, Colorado. Discontinued 15 March 1948, effective 31 March 1948, mail to Kenton.

Reichert ..... LeFlore .....
Discontinued effective 15 February 1927, mail to Heavener.

Remy ..... Sequoyah .....
Discontinued effective 30 November 1909, mail to Muldrow.

Rentie ..... Tulsa .....
Discontinued effective 31 May 1909, mail to Fry.

Rex ..... Wagoner .....
Name changed to North Muskogee, 1 May 1911.

Reydon ..... Roger Mills ..... 1 October 1929 ..... James L. Hines
Formerly Rankin.

Reynolds ..... Atoka .....
Discontinued effective 31 July 1909, mail to Kiowa.

Rhea ..... Dewey .....
Discontinued 21 January 1954, effective 28 February 1954, mail to Leedey.

Rice ..... Texas .....
Discontinued 14 December 1925, effective 31 December 1925, mail to Midwell.

Rich ..... Atoka ..... 2 November 1910 ..... George W. McDaniel
Name changed to Chockie 3 August 1916.

Richards ..... Comanche .....
Discontinued 15 February 1913, mail to Apache. Date of discontinuance shown on previous list is in error.

Richardville....McIntosh.... 7 November 1917....Morris W. Chriswell
Discontinued 3 October 1919, effective 15 October 1919, mail to Pierce.

Richland....Canadian....
Discontinued 20 July 1933, effective 15 August 1933, mail to Yukon.

Richmond....Woodward....
Discontinued 5 February 1923, effective 15 February 1923, mail to Mutual.

Ridge....Muskogee....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Haskell.

Ringling....Jefferson.... 9 June 1914....Thomas R. Dunlap

Ringold....McCurtain....10 May 1911....William J. Hewitt
Formerly Burwell.

Ritter....Hughes....28 September 1912....E. Bayless Ritter
Discontinued 8 September 1919, effective 15 September 1919, mail to Calvin.

Riverside....Beaver....
Discontinued effective 15 July 1927, mail to Beaver.

Robberson....Garvin....
Discontinued effective 19 April 1924, mail to Pernell.

Robbersroost....Bryan....
Discontinued effective 15 May 1909, mail to Silo.

Robbins....Cherokee.... 3 August 1920....B. F. Glenn
Discontinued 1 April 1942, effective 15 April 1942, mail to Tahlequah.

Roberta....Bryan....
Discontinued effective 15 February 1930, mail to Utica.

Robnett....Murray....23 October 1911....Humphrey W. Marshall
Discontinued effective 30 April 1912, mail to Davis.

Rock Island....LeFlore....
Discontinued 4 May 1961, effective 12 May 1961, mail to Cameron.

Rockpin....Pittsburg....15 May 1909....Robert C. Johnson
Discontinued effective 31 August 1914, mail to Blocker.

Roena....
Discontinued effective 15 June 1907, mail to Oconee.

Rogers....Mayes....21 June 1910....Charles W. Abbott
Discontinued 15 July 1911, mail to Chouteau.

Rohrer....Comanche....11 January 1909....Fred A. Starbuck
Discontinued effective 15 August 1910, mail to Apache.

Roll....Roger Mills....
Discontinued 21 August 1920, effective 31 August 1920, mail to Strong City.

Romia....Bryan....30 August 1915....Ollie E. Lewis
Discontinued 11 June 1934, effective 30 June 1934, mail to Utica.

Romulus....Pottawatomie....
Discontinued 7 October 1918, effective 15 October 1918, mail to Tribbey.

Rooster....Choctaw....19 May 1920....Jesse E. Westbrook
Name changed to Zinway 28 January 1921.

Rosedale....McClain....
Discontinued effective 6 January 1961, no office given.

Rosston....Harper....28 January 1914....Hattie D. Moore

Row....Delaware....
Name changed to Colcord 1 February 1930.

Roxana Logan 10 November 1927 Julia Green
Discontinued 7 January 1936, effective 15 February 1936, mail to Marshall.

Roy Sequoyah 6 March 1911 Alvara S. Mathews
Name changed to Box 7 July 1911.

Royal Stephens
Discontinued 31 December 1931, effective 15 January 1932, mail to Foster.

Ruby Nowata
Discontinued 8 October 1921, effective 15 October 1921, mail to Centralia.

Russell Greer
Discontinued effective 31 July 1915, mail to Blake.

Russell Greer 1 November 1934 James A. Day
Formerly Blake. Discontinued 5 October 1955, effective 15 Nonovember 1955, mail to Mangum.

Russellville Pittsburg
Discontinued 1 December 1933, effective 30 December 1933, mail to Quinton.

Russet Johnston
Discontinued 2 September 1924, effective 15 September 1924, mail to Mannsville.

Ruthdale Nowata 28 November 1910 Jessie D. White
Discontinued 15 July 1931, effective 31 July 1931, mail to Delaware.

Sabo Creek
Discontinued effective 30 April 1913, mail to Sapulpa.

Sac and Fox Agency Lincoln
Discontinued effective 31 December 1910, mail to Stroud.

Sacred Heart Pottawatomie
Discontinued 9 July 1934, effective 31 August 1934, mail to Konawa.

Saddle Mountain Kiowa
Discontinued 21 April 1955, effective 31 May 1955, mail to Mountain View.

Sadie Sequoyah
Discontinued 15 March 1928, effective 30 April 1928, mail to Sallisaw.

Sage Tillman 20 January 1908 Robert G. Davenport
Discontinued effective 30 October 1909, mail to Grandfield.

Sageeyah Rogers
Incorrectly spelled Segeeyah in previous list. Discontinued 17 June 1930, effective 30 June 1930, mail to Claremore.

Saint Louis Ottawa 2 July 1917 Myrtle A. Peters
Name changed to Zincville 12 June 1919.

Saint Louis Pottawatomie 22 March 1928 Gail Lunsford

Salem McIntosh 3 October 1908 William T. Keller
Discontinued 27 April 1918, effective 15 May 1918, mail to Henryetta.

Salonian Latimer 13 May 1911 Stanford Sam
Discontinued effective 15 April 1912, mail to Red Oak.

Saltfork Grant
Discontinued 17 April 1951, effective 30 April 1951, mail to Hunter.

Salt Springs Harper 3 June 1920 Ina P. Gilchrist
Discontinued 14 April 1928, effective 30 April 1928, mail to Freedom.

Sam LeFlore
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Howe.

Sampsel....Cimarron....
Discontinued 7 November 1929, effective 15 November 1929, mail to Boise City.

Sandbluff....Choctaw....23 June 1919....Mary L. Nichols
Discontinued 8 October 1934, effective 15 December 1934, mail to Boswell.

Sand Springs....Tulsa.... 5 September 1911...Anthony W. Avery

Sanders....Nowata.... 9 July 1909....Alice G. Sanders
Discontinued effective 31 March 1914, mail to Centralia.

Sans Bois....Haskell....
Discontinued 31 August 1916, effective 31 October 1916, mail to Kinta.

Santa Fe....Stephens....19 March 1921....Florence A. Robertson
Discontinued 24 September 1943, effective 15 October 1943, mail to Duncan.

Santee....
Discontinued effective 7 November 1895, mail to McLain.

Saratoga....Woods....
Discontinued 5 June 1918, effective 15 June 1918, mail to Lookout.

Sardis....Pushmataha....
Did not operate from 14 October 1905, to 18 August 1910.

Saylor....Haskell....
Discontinued 24 December 1920, effective 31 December 1920, mail to Tamaha.

Scales....Tulsa....
Discontinued effective 31 March 1909, mail to Tulsa.

Schooltan....Seminole....19 December 1907....Charles W. Cargile
Discontinued 21 June 1917, effective 30 June 1917, mail to Boley.

Scott....Caddo....
Discontinued 2 October 1935, effective 31 October 1935, mail to Hinton.

Scraper....Cherokee....26 September 1912...Leona Saunders
Discontinued 23 August 1954, effective 15 October 1934, mail to Oaks.

Scullin....Murray....
Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Sulphur.

Sedan....Kiowa....
Discontinued 13 February 1935, effective 15 March 1935, mail to Mountain View.

Selman....Harper....24 August 1923....William Harper
Formerly Charleston.

Senora....Okmulgee....
Name changed to Hoardsville 8 February 1909.

Sequo....Sequoyah....19 July 1916....William H. Hulsey
Discontinued 12 October 1917, effective 31 October 1917, mail to Akins.

Sequoyah....Rogers....11 January 1908....Bert Bivins
Name changed to Beulah 9 March 1909.

Sequoyah....Sequoyah....15 December 1920...Ila P. Haislip
Discontinued 28 February 1921. Never in operation.

Shamrock....Creek.... 9 July 1910....James M. Thomas

Shanty....Pushmataha....29 June 1916....Bessie Lancaster
Discontinued 24 October 1916, effective 31 October 1916, mail to Crum Creek.

Sharon—Woodward—24 February 1912—Edward P. Williams
Formerly Hackberry.

Sharp—Okmulgee—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1915, mail to Okmulgee.

Shawneetown—McCurtain—
Discontinued 3 October 1929, effective 15 October 1929, mail to Idabel.

Shay—Marshall—
Discontinued 7 April 1955, effective 31 May 1955, mail to Kingston.

Sherman—Major—29 January 1913—James H. Copeland
Formerly Hoopville. Discontinued 1 August 1949, effective 15 August 1949, mail to Fairview.

Sherwood—McCurtain—20 March 1912—Rena Neal

Shidler—Osage—23 February 1922—Fannie T. Gale

Shinewell—McCurtain—20 April 1927—Thomas P. Sikes
Discontinued 19 September 1955, effective 31 October 1955, mail to Haworth.

Shoals—Choctaw—
Discontinued 16 August 1916, effective 31 August 1916, mail to Erwin.

Short—Sequoyah—5 December 1908—Hardy Comstock
Discontinued 21 October 1954, effective 30 November 1954, mail to Uniontown, Arkansas.

Short Springs—
Name changed to Ashley 24 September 1897.

Shults—McCurtain—
Discontinued 18 June 1926, effective 30 June 1926, mail to Idabel.

Sickles—Caddo—
Discontinued 9 August 1919, effective 30 August 1919, mail to Lookeba.

Sid—Delaware—23 June 1920—Fred Runyon
Discontinued 19 September 1935, effective 15 October 1935, mail to Colcord.

Signet—Payne—6 June 1921—John W. Porter
Discontinued 10 April 1935, effective 30 April 1935, mail to Stillwater.

Silo—Bryan—
Discontinued 25 January 1946, effective 31 January 1946, mail to Durant.

Simon—Love—
Did not operate from 31 May 1913 to 13 September 1915. Discontinued effective 15 October 1927, mail to Oswalt.

Simpson—Marshall—
Discontinued effective 31 October 1959, no office given.

Sina—Atoka—22 January 1921—Jackson L. Storie
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Skedee—Pawnee—
Discontinued 18 July 1963, effective 2 August 1963, mail to Pawnee.

Sleeper—Cherokee—
Discontinued 2 September 1916, effective 30 September 1916, mail to Yonkers.

Slick—Creek—28 April 1920—Carroll W. Holmes

Slim—McCurtain—15 January 1916—Annie Beaver
Discontinued 8 July 1933, effective 31 July 1933, mail to Valliant.

Sneed.....Carter.....
Discontinued effective 29 February 1912, mail to Newport.

Snomac.....Seminole.....11 October 1928.....Sallie M. Cooper
Discontinued 4 November 1955, effective 31 December 1955, mail to Maud.

Snow.....Pushmataha.....21 July 1930.....Eva Randell

Sobol.....Choctaw.....21 January 1911.....J. H. Lawless
Did not operate from 15 May 1933, to 1 May 1940.

Sooner.....Grady..... 9 April 1913.....Hernando Bennett
Formerly Haley. Discontinued effective 15 July 1914, mail to Amber.

Sophia.....Beaver.....
Discontinued 27 June 1916, effective 30 June 1916, mail to Lakemp.

Souter.....Osage.....19 May 1914.....Lena Reed
Discontinued 14 September 1917, effective 29 September 1917, mail to Cleveland.

South Canadian.....Dewey..... 9 December 1907.....O. H. Beagle
Name changed to Nobscot 26 October 1915.

South Coffeyville.....Nowata.....29 April 1909.....Frank C. Morrison
Formerly Etchen.

Speer.....Choctaw.....28 January 1910.....Travis C. Ely
Discontinued effective 30 April 1959, mail to Hugo.

Speermore.....Harper.....
Discontinued 7 December 1940, effective 31 December 1940, mail to Laverne.

Springbrook.....Johnston.....
Discontinued effective 15 November 1910, mail to Bromide.

Stafford.....Custer..... 2 August 1911.....Clarence E. Christopher
Discontinued 18 January 1954, effective 28 February 1954, mail to Clinton.

Standing Rock.....Atoka..... 6 February 1914.....Walter F. Smth
Discontinued 25 October 1918, effective 31 October 1918, mail to Lehigh.

Stanley.....Pushmataha.....
Discontinued 28 October 1965, effective 5 November 1965, mail to Clayton.

Stapp.....LeFlore.....16 January 1918.....Mamie Garnett
Discontinued 21 January 1944, effective 31 January 1944, mail to Zoe.

Star.....Haskell.....
Discontinued 22 July 1925, effective 31 July 1925, mail to Keota.

Staunton.....Carter.....24 September 1914.....William F. L. Satterfield
Discontinued 30 April 1921, effective 14 May 1921, mail to Wirt.

Stecker.....Caddo..... 2 April 1909.....Yeargin A. Sanders
Discontinued 7 September 1954, effective 30 September 1954, mail to Apache.

Steedman.....Pontotoc.....19 January 1910.....Nathan Hughes
Formerly Blackrock. Discontinued 27 January 1932, effective 15 February 1932, mail to Allen.

Steeley.....Delaware.....20 April 1915.....Mamie Steeley
Discontinued 27 March 1924, effective 15 April 1924, mail to Kenwood.

Sterrett.....Bryan.....
Name changed to Calera 21 November 1910.

Stonebluff—Wagoner—
Discontinued 3 August 1955, effective 31 August 1955, mail to Haskell.

Stoner—Stephens—
Discontinued effective 31 March 1912, mail to Duncan.

Story—Garvin—
Discontinued effective 15 July 1914, mail to Maysville.

Strang—Mayes—18 March 1913—Thomas S. Goins
Formerly Lynch.

Strong City—Roger Mills—26 September 1912—James P. Johnson

Sturgis—Cimarron—18 March 1926—James Sparkman
Discontinued 11 November 1936, effective 15 December 1936, mail to Elkhart, Kansas.

Sturm—Caddo—
Discontinued 10 August 1920, effective 31 August 1920, mail to Fort Cobb.

Sugden—Jefferson—
Discontinued 25 October 1955, effective 30 November 1955, mail to Ryan.

Sullivan—Kay— 3 June 1909—Charles W. Wooden
Discontinued effective 31 December 1909, mail to Hardy.

Summerfield—LeFlore—
Discontinued 13 August 1964, to be effective 28 August 1964, but which order was rescinded 20 August 1964. Discontinued 10 September 1964, effective 11 September 1964, mail to Wister.

Summit—Muskogee—
Incorrectly spelled Summitt on previous listing. Discontinued effective 15 November 1915, mail to Muskogee.

Sumner—Noble—
Discontinued 27 June 1957, effective 26 July 1957, mail to Perry.

Sunkist—Choctaw—14 February 1925—John W. Henslee
Discontinued 8 September 1953, effective 30 September 1953, mail to Boswell.

Supply—Woodward—
Name changed to Fort Supply 1 May 1943.

Sutter—LeFlore—
Name changed to Calhoun 7 March 1914.

Swanlake—Caddo—
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Sycamore—Delaware— 7 October 1908—Enoch D. Wilson
Discontinued effective 1 February 1929, mail to Jay.

Sylvian—Seminole—
Discontinued 20 March 1935, effective 30 April 1935, mail to Seminole.

Tabler—Grady— 2 February 1909—Richard S. Dorchester,
Discontinued 6 October 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Blanchard.

Tabor—Creek—
Discontinued 16 March 1928, effective 31 March 1928, mail to Bristow.

Tahona—LeFlore—21 December 1918—Henry E. Mabry
Discontinued 13 September 1951, effective 30 September 1951, mail to Williams.

Tallant....Osage....26 March 1921....James H. McClure
Discontinued 31 January 1957, effective 8 March 1957, mail to Barnsdall.

Talley....Cherokee....25 September 1913....John H. Talley
Discontinued effective 15 July 1915, mail to Melvin.

Tamaha....Haskell....
Discontinued 15 March 1954, effective 15 April 1954, mail to Stigler.

Tangier....Woodward....
Discontinued 16 August 1941, effective 31 August 1941, mail to Woodward.

Tank....Mayes....27 May 1920....John D. Eversole
The appointee declined the appointment; and the office did not commence operation until the appointment of Anna McLouth on 3 September 1920. Discontinued 27 July 1935, effective 31 August 1935, mail to Locust Grove.

Tar River....Ottawa....21 December 1915....Grover C. Fulton
Name changed to Cardin 28 January 1920.

Taupa....Comanche....
That shown in the previous list as the date when this office discontinued operation is in error. Discontinued effective 31 January 1913, mail to Lawton.

Taylor....Cotton....30 November 1907....J. H. Taylor
Discontinued effective 31 May 1911, mail to Randlett.

Tegarden....Woods....15 October 1909....Benjamin M. Curtis
Discontinued effective 31 March 1958, no office given.

Teller....Johnston....
Discontinued effective 31 January 1911, mail to Randolph.

Tepee....Cimarron....
There is no record showing when this office discontinued operation.

Teresita....Cherokee....6 January 1911....Joel Crisp
Discontinued 17 June 1954, effective 15 July 1954, mail to Moodys.

Texanna....McIntosh....
Discontinued effective 16 July 1940, mail to Checotah.

Theoda....Garvin....
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Wynnewood.

Thomasville....LeFlore....
This office was not discontinued as shown in previous list but continued in operation until 14 June 1915, when its name was changed to Zoe.

Thrace....Seminole....
Did not operate from 15 July 1909, to 18 February 1910. Discontinued effective 15 February 1911, mail to Seminole.

Three Sands....Kay....4 May 1923....Edward T. Oden
On 24 April 1942, the site of the office was moved to Noble County. Discontinued 17 January 1957, effective 22 February 1957, mail to Tonkawa.

Ti....Pittsburg....
Discontinued 27 October 1953, effective 30 November 1953, mail to Blanco.

Tiawah....Rogers....
Did not operate from 31 January 1918, to 4 May 1918. Discontinued 1 December 1938, effective 31 December 1938, mail to Claremore.

Tiger.....Creek.....30 June 1910.....Martin E. Snook
Discontinued effective 15 March 1913, mail to Drumright.

Tikbaheka.....Pittsburg..... 6 May 1920.....Walter G. Hamilton
Discontinued 1 November 1920, effective 15 November 1920, mail to Blocker.

Tinney.....Comanche.....
Discontinued 27 July 1922, effective 15 August 1922, mail to Lawton.

Tip.....Mayes.....
On 1 December 1920, an order was issued discontinuing this office effective 15 December 1920, but it was rescinded 27 December 1920, and it continued in operation. Discontinued 29 May 1951, effective 30 June 1951, mail to Boatman.

Tipton.....Tillman.....18 September 1909...Edgar S. Vawter

Titanic.....Adair..... 3 January 1916.....Thomas M. Vick
Discontinued effective 31 December 1927, mail to Stilwell.

Todd.....Craig.....9 January 1909.....Fred R. Warren
Formerly Albia. Discontinued 18 January 1930, effective 15 February 1930, mail to Afton.

Togo.....Major.....
Discontinued 25 January 1921, effective 15 February 1921, mail to Waynoka.

Tolan.....Okmulgee.....12 April 1917.....Oscar Tolan
Discontinued 19 May 1926, effective 15 June 1926, mail to Beggs.

Tom.....McCurtain.....15 August 1916.....Thomas A. Stewart

Tomy Town.....Adair..... 5 December 1936....Tom Townes
Discontinued effective 19 February 1938, mail to Stilwell.

Trail.....Dewey.....
Discontinued 11 January 1929, effective 31 January 1929, mail to Leedey.

Trenton.....Okfuskee.....
Discontinued effective 15 August 1910, mail to Schoolton.

Tribbey.....Pottawatomie..
Discontinued 5 September 1958, effective 30 September 1958, mail to Macomb.

Troy.....Johnston.....
Discontinued 6 October 1954, effective 15 November 1954, mail to Mill Creek.

Tucker.....LeFlore.....
Discontinued 20 May 1922, effective 15 June 1922, mail to Cartersville.

Turkey Ford.....Delaware.....
Discontinued 15 February 1955, effective 15 April 1955, mail to Grove.

Turley.....Tulsa.....
Discontinued 25 July 1957, effective 23 August 1957, mail to Tulsa.

Turner.....Wagoner.....
Discontinued effective 15 October 1908, mail to Inola.

Turpin.....Beaver..... 8 April 1925.....Abby J. Foutz
Formerly Lorena.

Tuscania.....Cherokee.....12 November 1919...James B. George
Discontinued 23 November 1929, effective 30 November 1929, mail to Tahlequah.

Tushka.....Atoka..... 9 June 1909.....C. S. Lewis
Formerly Dayton.

Tushkahomma—Pushmataha—
Name changed to Tuskahoma 6 December 1910.

Tuskahoma—Pushmataha—6 December 1910—Robert D. Francis
Formerly Tushkahomma.

Tuskegee—Creek—
Discontinued 7 August 1957, effective 30 September 1957, no office given.

Twin Oaks—Delaware—29 August 1946—Wayne N. Edney

Tyburn—Choctaw—27 May 1918—Olivia Pryor
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Tyler—Marshall—
Discontinued 21 July 1919, effective 31 July 1919, mail to McMillan.

Tyrola—Pontotoc—
Discontinued effective 15 April 1922, mail to Ada.

Ulan—Pittsburg—3 July 1917—Alma Jones
Discontinued 27 October 1953, effective 30 November 1953, mail to McAlester.

Uncas—Kay—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1956, mail to Ponca City.

Unchuka—Coal—
Discontinued effective 30 July 1910, mail to Cairo.

Unger—Choctaw—8 December 1910—Charles A. Billings
Discontinued effective 18 October 1922, mail to Soper.

Upsala—LeFlore—11 April 1917—Ethel M. Merritt
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Ural—Roger Mills—
Discontinued 16 October 1905, effective 15 November 1905, mail to Busch.

Usna—Cimarron—9 January 1917—John W. Reeves
Discontinued effective 31 July 1920, mail to Midwell.

Valley—Pawnee—
Discontinued 1 October 1934, effective 15 October 1934, mail to Pawnee.

Vamoosa—Seminole—
Discontinued 20 March 1918, effective 30 March 1918, mail to Konawa.

Vanoss—Pontotoc—2 January 1908—James W. Bohanon

Van Tress—Latimer—12 May 1919—Arch Welty
Discontinued 24 February 1925, effective 14 March 1925, mail to LeFlore.

Varney—Cimarron—
Never in operation under this name. On 4 January 1907, the office was reestablished with the name Minnetonka.

Verdigris—Rogers—
Discontinued 21 September 1954, effective 15 November 1954, mail to Claremore.

Vernon—Hughes—20 March 1912—John W. Grant
On 13 April 1914, the site was moved to McIntosh County.

Victor—LeFlore—
Discontinued 25 September 1925, effective 15 October 1925, mail to Wister.

Villa—Payne—26 April 1915—Neil Southern
Discontinued 15 July 1915. Never in operation.

Vinco—Payne—
Discontinued 8 October 1940, effective 15 October 1940, mail to Perkins.

Vining—Alfalfa—
Did not operate from 30 November 1907, to 3 February 1914. Discontinued effective 15 May 1930, mail to Jet.

Virgil—Choctaw—10 July 1914—Eddy F. Lewis
Discontinued 28 August 1940, effective 14 September 1940, mail to Sawyer.

Vivian—McIntosh—13 January 1910—M. N. Willhite
Discontinued 10 September 1947, effective 30 September 1947, mail to Eufaula.

Voca—Atoka—
Discontinued effective 30 June 1913, mail to Caddo.

Vonda—LeFlore—5 May 1917—Merl B. Edwards
Discontinued 17 October 1917, effective 20 October 1917, mail to Monroe.

Vrona—Sequoyah—11 July 1912—John W. Seaton
Name changed to Nicut 16 December 1925.

Walker—
This entry, shown in the previous list as an office established 27 September 1901 in Comanche County, Oklahoma Territory, should be deleted. The reference in fact was to Walter.

Walker—Garvin—
Discontinued effective 31 January 1912, mail to Wynnewood.

Wallace—Okfuskee—10 January 1911—Joseph Wallace
Discontinued 22 April 1919, effective 30 April 1919, mail to Wetumka.

Walls—LeFlore—
Discontinued 21 February 1934, effective 15 March 1934, mail to Red Oak.

Wallville—Garvin—
Discontinued 6 May 1919, effective 15 May 1919, mail to Lindsay.

Walter—Cotton—
Name changed to Walters 23 July 1917.

Walters—Cotton—23 July 1917—Joseph H. English
Formerly Walter.

Wamego—Pottawatomie—20 June 1927—Erwin G. Bledsoe
Discontinued effective 15 October 1928, mail to Pearson.

Ward—LeFlore—
Discontinued effective 31 July 1909, mail to Spiro.

Ward—Adair—18 January 1912—Andrew J. Haney
Discontinued effective 30 September 1912, mail to Stilwell.

Wardsprings—Pittsburg—10 July 1914—John A. McCarty
Discontinued 7 April 1920, effective 15 April 1920, mail to Stuart.

Warren—Jackson—
Discontinued 9 March 1920, effective 31 March 1920, mail to Blair.

Washita—Caddo—16 April 1910—John L. Downing

Washunga—Kay—
Discontinued 30 October 1918, effective 15 November 1918, mail to Kaw.

Watchorn—Pawnee—4 April 1925—Mary F. Domeny
Discontinued 25 June 1926, effective 15 July 1926, mail to Morrison.

Waterloo—Logan—
Discontinued effective 6 June 1930, mail to Edmond.

Watova—Nowata—
Discontinued 4 January 1956, effective 29 February 1956, mail to Nowata.

Watson—McCurtain—25 January 1908—James R. Blake

Watts—Adair—30 March 1912—Frank Howard

Wauhillau—Adair—
Discontinued 18 February 1935, effective 15 March 1935, mail to Stilwell.

Wayside—Washington—29 September 1910—Benjamin F. Teague
Discontinued 30 July 1931, effective 15 August 1931, mail to Dewey.

Wealaka—Wagoner—
Discontinued effective 31 August 1910, mail to Leonard.

Weathers—Pittsburg—14 May 1914—John L. Weathers
Discontinued 21 August 1944, effective 31 August 1944, mail to Pittsburg.

Weaverton—Marshall—
Discontinued effective 31 December 1908, mail to Tyler.

Webb—Dewey—
Discontinued 4 May 1955, effective 30 June 1955, mail to Camargo.

Webb City—Osage—16 December 1922—A. W. Small

Webster—Muskogee—26 September 1908—Charles Webster
Discontinued 29 October 1926, effective 15 November 1926, mail to Muskogee.

Wecharty—Hughes—
Discontinued effective 15 January 1912, mail to Holdenville.

Weitz—Texas—3 August 1908—Columbus W. Cox
Discontinued effective 15 April 1911, mail to Guymon.

Wekiwa—Tulsa—
Discontinued 12 June 1931, effective 30 June 1931, mail to Sand Springs.

Wesley—Atoka—
Discontinued 5 April 1955, effective 15 May 1955, mail to Pittsburg.

Westheimer—Love—19 May 1916—William T. Nelson
Discontinued 8 November 1916, effective 1 December 1916, mail to Leon.

West Tulsa—Tulsa—
Discontinued 31 December 1917, to become West Tulsa Station of Tulsa.

Wha-Shim-Kah—Osage—28 April 1910—Arthur B. Pattison
Discontinued 21 June 1910, mail to Hominy.

Wheeless—Cimarron—
Discontinued 29 August 1963, effective 27 September 1963, mail to Boise City.

Wheeler—Carter—
Name changed to Oil City 15 October 1909.

White—LeFlore—
Discontinued 20 April 1921, effective 30 April 1921, mail to Reichert.

Whitebead—Garvin—
Discontinued effective 15 June 1912, mail to Pauls Valley.

Whitehorse—Woods—
Discontinued 25 October 1918, effective 31 October 1918, mail to Tegarden.

Whiteoak—Craig—
Discontinued 14 October 1957, effective 31 October 1957, mail to Vinita.

Whitesboro—LeFlore—14 April 1909—Isaac J. Vaught

White Water—
The correct year for the discontinuance of this office is 1886 rather than 1866, as shown on previous list.

Whitmire—Cherokee—
Discontinued effective 30 September 1913, mail to Chance.

Whitney—
There is no record of when this office was discontinued.

Wiley—Johnston—
Discontinued effective 15 November 1911, mail to Milburn.

Wilkerson—Muskogee— 3 June 1909—Thomas Graves
Discontinued effective 31 May 1914, mail to Webbers Falls.

Wilkins—Cimarron—
Did not operate from 15 May 1913, to 24 July 1915. Discontinued effective 31 January 1930, mail to Felt.

Willard—Harper—
Discontinued 7 January 1924, effective 31 January 1924, mail to Ashland.

Williams—LeFlore—
Discontinued 3 June 1954, effective 31 July 1954, mail to Cameron.

Willowbar—Cimarron—
Name changed to Keyes 15 October 1926.

Wills—
This entry, shown on previous list as an office established 5 May 1899, in Lincoln County, Oklaohma Territory, should be deleted, as it was an error for Mills.

Wilscot—LeFlore—19 August 1930—William T. Scott
Discontinued 8 March 1934, effective 31 March 1934, mail to Page.

Wilson—Pushmataha—15 October 1908—Benjamin D. Wilson
Discontinued effective 15 August 1910, mail to Eubanks.

Wilson—Carter—28 January 1920—John L. Rogers
Formerly New Wilson.

Wimer—Nowata—
Discontinued 18 May 1933, effective 31 May 1933, mail to Lenapah.

Winchester—Woods—
Discontinued 2 August 1939, effective 31 August 1939, mail to Alva.

Wirt—Carter—12 December 1914—John Whiteman

Witcher—Oklahoma—
Discontinued effective 31 May 1914, mail to Edmond.

Witteville—LeFlore—
Did not operate from 30 April 1908, to 5 December 1912. Discontinued effective 15 June 1915, mail to Poteau.

Wolco—Osage—16 December 1922—William F. King
Discontinued 31 January 1957, effective 31 March 1957, mail to Barnsdall.

Womack—McClain—
Discontinued effective 14 August 1909, mail to Blanchard.

Wooddale—Major— 9 February 1909—Charles W. Mounce
Discontinued effective 15 June 1926, mail to Fairview.

Woodrow—Nowata—27 March 1913—James A. McDaniel
Discontinued 16 November 1915, effective 31 January 1916, mail to Nowata.

Woolsey.....Stephens.....
Discontinued effective 15 May 1912, mail to Loco. On 12 February 1913, an order was issued re-estabishing this office, but it was rescinded 14 August 1913, and the office did not resume operation.

Wouldbe.....Noble.....12 March 1920.....Calvin P. Andrews
Discontinued 6 October 1921, effective 15 October 1921, mail to Billings. On 27 August 1919, an order was issued establishing this office in Creek County with Charley M. Powell as postmaster, but it was rescinded 13 September 1919.

Wright.....McCurtain.....13 September 1918.John M. Dollarhide
Formerly Bismark. Name changed to Wright City 18 May 1920.

Wright City.....McCurtain.....18 May 1920.....John M. Dollarhide
Formerly Wright.

Wybark.....Muskogee.....
Discontinued 6 June 1940, effective 30 June 1940, mail to Muskogee.

Yahola.....Muskogee.....
Did not operate from 30 September 1922, to 7 June 1924. Discontinued 7 December 1939, effective 15 January 1940, mail to Haskell.

Yanush.....Latimer..... 6 February 1911.....Nannie Dunn
Discontinued effective 15 October 1925, mail to Tuskahoma.

Yarnaby.....Bryan.....
Did not operate from 29 September 1934 to 7 December 1935. Discontinued 27 June 1957, effective 31 July 1957, no office shown.

Yates.....Payne.....
Discontinued effective 15 December 1908, mail to Orlando.

Yellowstone.....Woods.....22 May 1909.....Lewter A. Little
Discontinued effective 31 October 1913, mail to Winchester.

Yelton.....Harper.....
Discontinued effective 13 June 1919, mail to Willard.

Yewed.....Alfalfa.....
Discontinued 15 April 1952, effective 30 April 1952, mail to Cherokee.

Yonkers.....Cherokee.....31 January 1913.....Shory A. Price
In October 1924 the site moved to Wagoner County. Discontinued 11 August 1953, effective 30 September 1953, mail to Locust Grove.

York.....Pontotoc.....
Discontinued effective 30 April 1914, mail to Hickory.

Young.....LeFlore..... 7 September 1911.Clarence Young
Discontinued effective 15 November 1915, mail to Hodgen.

Yuba.....Bryan.....
Discontinued 16 November 1932, effective 30 November 1932, mail to Hendrix.

Yuba.....Bryan..... 1 October 1950.....Daniel W. Compton
Formerly Karma.

Zafra .....LeFlore..... 9 June 1917.....William R. Rogers
Did not operate from 15 July 1927, to 4 August 1938. Discontinued 28 February 1942, effective 31 March 1942, mail to Hatfield, Arkansas.

Zeb .....Cherokee.....13 July 1918.....Julia Weatherford
Discontinued 8 October 1929, effective 31 October 1929, mail to Tahlequah.

Zelma.....Beaver.....
Discontinued 24 October 1917, effective 31 October 1917, mail to Knowles.

Zena.....Delaware.....
Discontinued 22 December 1955, effective 31 January 1956, mail to Jay.

Zincville.....Ottawa.....12 June 1919.....Mary H. Parnell
Formerly Saint Louis. Discontinued 24 August 1954, effective 31 October 1954, mail to Baxter Springs, Kansas.

Zinway.....Choctaw.....28 January 1921.....William T. Lewis
Formerly Rooster. Discontinued 9 December 1921, effective 31 December 1921, mail to Soper.

Zita.....Carter..... 9 April 1917.....William F. L. Satterfield
Discontinued 19 September 1925, effective 30 September 1925, mail to Healdton.

Zoe.....LeFlore.....14 June 1915.....Maggie L. Wright
Formerly Thomasville. Did not operate from 15 November 1920 to 11 October 1923. Discontinued 17 May 1956, effective 31 May 1956, mail to Hodgen.

Zoraya.....Pushmataha....
Discontinued 23 October 1919, effective 31 October 1919, mail to Miller.

# NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

## Index to The Chronicles, 1965

The Annual Index to *The Chronicles,* Vol. XLIII, 1965 compiled by Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist, is now ready for free distribution to those who receive the quarterly magazine. Orders for this Annual Index should be sent to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. 73105

## Oklahoma Historical Projects
## National Society Colonial Dames of the XVII Century

The National Society of the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century completed two outstanding, historical projects in Oklahoma in 1963 and in 1965. The first was in commemoration of the King Charles II Charter of 1663, which established Carolina as a Province, a wide strip of country extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, now including Oklahoma as one of the seventeen states in the region across the United States. This project was suggested as a part of the Tercentenary celebration of the King Charles II Charter sponsored by the states of North and South Carolina to be observed in the seventeen-state region, and was adopted by the Oklahoma Society of the Colonial Dames XVII Century, in its meeting at Tulsa — June, 1963 —, Mrs. Sturgis Darling, President as a part of the Society's national and state program of marking historic sites. The event of the King Charles II Charter was observed through the work of a special committee — Mrs. Ralph J. Dorr of Cherokee, Chairman. Members of the Colonial Dames XVII Century from over the state were present on December 2, 1963, for the dedication of an oak tree planted on the Oklahoma Historical Society grounds — west side south of the front walk to the Historical Building, Oklahoma City. An on-site marker was placed at the foot of the tree, giving a note on the great British grant of 1663 from King Charles II — "King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, 'Defender of the Faith,' &c." Mr. Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary of the Oklahoma Historical Society, made brief remarks during the dedication program. He presented a fine, facsimile print of the King Charles II Charter in sepia, full size — for the library of the State Society, Colonial Dames XVII Century. The bronze plaque of the marker beside the tree reads:

By King Charles II Charter, 1663
Carolina Included Oklahoma

Oklahoma was a part of Carolina, a strip of land from the Atlantic to the Pacific by English grant. This event commemorated by the Society of Colonial Dames XVII Century, 1963.

Oklahoma Historical Society, 1963

Another Oklahoma historical project, its background deep in American history, was completed by the National Society of the Colonial Dames XVII Century with the placing of a bronze bust of Pocahontas in the American Indian Hall of Fame park at Anadarko, Oklahoma, at dedication ceremonies held there by the officers and members of the National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians on October 15, 1965, the President, Dr. Muriel H. Wright, presiding. The Oklahoma Society of Colonial Dames XVII C was represented at the dedication by Mrs. J. Ross Wildman, State President and other members of the organization. The raising of funds for the project by voluntary donations from the different state chapters was approved in the Annual Conference of the National Society of Colonial Dames XVII C at Washington D.C., in April, 1964, and was sponsored by the President General, Mrs. Thomas Burchett of Ashland, Kentucky, and her National officers with Mrs. Olen Delaney of Oklahoma City as Chairman of the Committee of the Pocahontas Fund. Mr. Kenneth F. Campbell of the Art Department of Wisconsin State University, Eau Claire, Wisconsin( formerly with East Central State College, Ada, Oklahoma) was commissioned to sculpture the portrait bust of Pocahontas. This famous American woman in history was an elect of the American Indian Hall of Fame for the honor, having been nominated by Governor J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia, in 1960. The sculptured portrait of Pocahontas in bronze was unveiled under the auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames XVII C at the old Tower Church, Jamestown, Virginia, on April 15, 1965, a beautiful day with a large crowd in attendance.

The Memorial Address given by Dr. Muriel H. Wright at the unveiling program at the Old Tower Church, Jamestown follows here, a number of requests having been received for this brief history of Pocahontas, which appeared in *The Review* published by the National Society for June, 1965:

President General, Mrs. Burchett; National Chairman, Pocahontas Fund, Mrs. Delaney; Members and Honored Guests of the National Society of Colonial Dames of the XVII Century:

Pocahontas
Bronze portrait bust set for Dedication
American Indian Hall of Fame, Anadarko
October 15, 1965

Program participants of the
Colonial Dames XVII Century.
Mr. Kenneth F. Campbell,
Sculptor
(far left)

Descendants of Pocahontas
Among many present
Grandmother, Mother, Daughter
of the 11th Generation

Unveiling Ceremony of Pocahontas Bronze
in the Old Tower Church, Jamestown, Virginia
April 14, 1965

It is indeed a pleasure to appear on this program commemorating one of the early events in this history of our country as well as in remembrance of a great American woman. We speak of the marriage of John Rolf of a fine old English family and Pocahontas (or Mataoka), the "dearest daughter" of Chief Powhatan, head of the Confederacy of several Indian tribes of Virginia — the Rappahannock, the Mattaponi, the Powhatan, the Potomek and others of the Algonquian speaking family among the American Indians.

The marriage of John Rolf and Pocahontas took place 351 years ago — probably April 15——, in this very region where we are gathered in the Jamestown Church to unveil a bronze portrait of the Indian maiden called "Princess Pocahontas" by the English.

This year is also an anniversary event — the 50th Anniversary — of the founding of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century. Those who become members of this Society are required to prove their lineage from ancestors who lived in America in the Seventeenth Century — that is, the 1600's. In the early part of the Century, Virginia included the region along the Atlantic Seaboard — even what is now New England — to the Spanish settlements in Florida. Therefore, the history of Jamestown and its colonists, and especially the true story of Pocahontas has been accorded a place of significance for some of the projects in art, education, history and Christian culture promoted by the National Society of Colonial Dames of the XVII Century.

We first find the story of how a little Indian girl of twelve years saved the life of Captain John Smith as he was about to receive the stroke of death at the hands of Chief Powhatan's warriors. This is told in Smith's own book, *General Historie of Virginia,* written in 1624. In the dedication of his volume, the Captain states: "In the utmost of many extremities that blessed Pocahontas, the great King's daughter of Virginia oft saved my life."

Pocahontas is truly known in American History as a remarkable person who had an important place in the play for power between Powhatan's Confederated tribes and the early English settlers at Jamestown, Virginia. In Smiths' time, she personally brought food on several occasions to the starving colonists. After Smith left Virginia, she was abducted in 1613 and taken to Jamestown where she was held as a hostage against Indian attacks on the colony. She lived and was treated with kindness in the home of the Reverend Alexander Whittaker while here. She was friendly with the women of the colony. She showed them how to prepare the food found in this country, and helped nurse the sick. She herself received Christian religious instruction, was baptized in the Church and was given the name "Rebecca."

During the year, John Rolf, a young widower described as "an honest, discreet man of much commendation," became interested in Pocahontas and finally addressed his well-known letter to Governor Dale, expressing his deep feeling for her, and asking that he be allowed to marry her. In those days, the life of the people was along strict lines laid down by the rules of the Parish Church. Pocahontas had grown up in the Indian way in her tribal village yet she was happy among the people of Jamestown and liked John Rolf. They were married in the Church in April, 1614, the bride wearing a tunic of white muslin, and a long robe of rich material. Her father, Powhatan, was not present though he had given his consent to the marriage and sent her a string of pearls. Governor Dale gave her an Italian ring. The couple made their home near the now lost town of Henrico, Virginia, where

Rolf grew tobacco and discovered a special way to cure and pack the leaf that promoted the tobacco industry, thus establishing the economic life of the colonists and creating a great, new trade in England across the Atlantic.

A son was born to the Rolfs, whom they named Thomas for Governor Thomas Dale. They visited England in 1616, sailing down the James River in the ship *Treasurer,* taking with them their little son and a party of Indian relatives and friends of Pocahontas, two half sisters, a brother-in-law and four Indian girls.

In England, the Rolfs and their party lived well in a substantial residence. Pocahontas was entertained royally, visited Queen Anne, attended the theatre, and was everywhere acclaimed for she carried herself with dignity "as a daughter of a King," and was highly respected.

She was visited by George Percy and Sir Walter Raleigh, now an elderly man. Percy, the son of the Earl of Northumberland, had gone to Virginia with the first colonists, and was at Jamestown in 1607. He bowed to Pocahontas, swept off his hat, kissed her hand, and reminded her that they had been friends in Virginia. Sir Walter Raleigh, himself knelt before her, saying that since he was not allowed at court he was fortunate to kiss the hand of such a beautiful princess.

Pocahontas continued to carry herself well through all this great acclaim yet some of her experiences were hard on her. She disliked heartily the stares of the crowds; the cobblestone streets hurt her feet when she walked there. It was hot in London, and the stench from the gutters was terrible. The climate did not agree with her and her Indian relatives and friends. She and others became victims of tuberculosis that depleted their strength. At last, the Rolfs turned homeward toward America. When they were about to sail out to sea in 1617, Pocahontas contracted an illness in an epidemic that swept England and brought death to many at the time. It is recorded in the Church at Gravesend: "It pleased God at Gravesend to take Pocahontas to his mercy in about the two and twentieth year of her age. She died agreeably to her life, a most sincere and pious Christian." She was buried in the chancel of St. George's Church, Gravesend, England, on March 21, 1617. Captain John Smith writing of her death said: "Poor little maid. I sorrowed much for her thus early death and even now cannot think of it without grief, for I felt toward her as if she were mine own daughter."

Little Thomas Rolf was ill when his parents were about to set out on their journey home to Virginia so he remained in the care of Rolf's brother, was educated in England, and returned to America as a young man. He married Jane Poythress and from this couple descended some of the interesting and distinguished families in Virginia.

James Kirks Paulding after a journey through the Old Dominion State wrote of the Virginians in 1817: "Fortitude, valor, perserverance, industry and little Pocahontas were their tutelary deities."

The decade before the Civil War saw writers in the North making attacks on the life and fabulous stories told by John Smith in his *General Historie of Virginia.* The battle of words continued bitter against him after the War, and some northern writers even attacked John Rolf and Pocahontas in their role in American history.

The Virginians rallied to the defense of John Smith. No less than the grandson of Patrick Henry, William Wirt Henry, lawyer, statesman and President of the American Historical Association wrote

on the history of Jamestown, never doubting that the success of the colony depended on John Smith. Henry's opinion of Pocahontas was that she was "A guardian angel which has developed into a great people, among whom our own descendants have ever been conspicuous for true nobility." Wyndham Roberston who served as Virginia's governor wrote a study of Pocahontas and her descendants through her marriage to John Rolf, proving among them such notable families as the Bollings, Branches, Lewises and Pages.

Then, in 1890, a Hungarian historian, Lewis Kropf, examined documents having to do with Smith's *General Historie,* and declared the Captain a liar. If he was undependable in Hungarian history how could his stories on Virginia be true? However, recently — 1950, Laura Polany Striker, native of Vienna and trained at the University of Budapest, has re-examined Smith's historical accounts of his exploits against the Turks in Hungarian wars. She has concluded that Captain John Smith was a "valiant fighter, an acute historian and chronicler as well." It logically follows that his stories of his exploits in Virginia, and especially his accounts relating to Pocahontas are true. Dr. Striker's researches are pointed out by Marshall Fickwick of Washington and Lee University in *American Heritage* (October, 1958).

Many sculptured pieces and memorials have been done on Pocahontas. The portraiture of her saving the life of John Smith is a large painting in the rotunda of the new capitol at Washington, D.C. The painting of Pocahontas by an unknown artist when she was in England now hangs in the National Gallery of Art of the Smithsonian Institution at Washington. The features in this painting — showing something of her Indian beauty but more of her character — have been taken as the model for the face and countenance of the bronze portraits of Pocahontas presented here today, by the Colonial Dames of the XVII Century to the American Indian Hall of Fame in Anadarko, Oklahoma, where her part in the founding of our country will be called to mind among other bronze portrait busts of notable American Indians in history.

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## A Plea for the Oklahoma Historical Society, in 1926

*The Wichita Eagle* (Kansas) for June 22, 1926, reports the visit of the Assistant Curator of the American Section of the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, at the camp of the Marland Archaeological Expedition on the west side of the Arkansas River in Kay County. His observation pointed out that the Oklahoma Historical Society should have generous bequests and gifts of funds to carry on its program in state history — to preserve its records and a knowledge of its arts and crafts and culture. Mr. E. W. Marland's financial help toward the Archaeological Expedition in 1926 was a beginning in this direction, the results of which are seen in the museum exhibits (Ferdinandina collection, etc.) of the Historical Society today—forty years later. In recent years, the Society has had other gifts that have helped to carry on its program in the state, including the restoration of Fort Washita by Mr. Ward Merrick and continuance of the roadside Historical Markers since 1952, by interested persons and organizations — citizens

of Tulsa and of Kingfisher, the 89'ers of Oklahoma City, the Oklahoma Petroleum Council to mention a few. Some large monuments of stone with historical inscriptions have been erected by the Society assisted by donations from interested persons.

Yet, the visiting curator made two comments that might be reiterated to the effect that the Oklahoma Historical Society today (1966) has made great progress on "slender resources" through the years but needs "more liberal provision" to maintain and present properly the history — both background and attainments — of the great State of Oklahoma.

WHISTLER PLEADS FOR SUPPORT
OF HISTORICAL BODY

Easterner urges aid for Oklahoma Society
Visits camp near Ponca City

PONCA CITY, OKLA., June 21.—

The camp of the Marland archaelogical expedition, now operating on the Arkansas river, 20 miles northeast of Ponca City, under the direction of the Oklahoma Historical society and under the immediate charge of Otto F. Spring and Henry C. (Doc) Robertson, has had an interesting visitor here in the person of Don Whistler, who is assistant curator of the American section of the museum of anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Whistler is an Oklahoma product, being a native of Lincoln county. He is a member of the Sac and Fox Indian tribe and was educated at the University of Oklahoma. He has been with the museum at Philadelphia for two years past. He is spending part of his vacation visiting relatives at Norman and then goes to Arizona before returning to the east. He has spent several days at the camp of the Marland expedition and manifested great enthusiasm over the discoveries that are being unearthed there.

Although Mr. Whistler is now identified with an eastern institution, he has not lost any interest in what is being done in kindred lines in Oklahoma. He seems to have kept in close touch with the work that has been done in the way of archaelogical excavation and research under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical society during the past year and is quite enthusiastic regarding the results. In discussing this work while here, he especially emphasized the importance of continuing such efforts in Oklahoma at this time. He expressed the opinion that Oklahoma people should see to it that the historical society should be properly and adequately supported in its eforts in such a line.

In part, Mr. Whistler said: "The population of Oklahoma not only includes more Indians and more people of Indian descent than that of any other state in the union, but the percentage of the same is due to increase with the continuance of inter-racial marriages. For this reason, if for no other, at least one such institution in the state as the Oklahoma Historical society should be enabled to gather and preserve complete in its library and museum thoroughly representative collections which will serve to illustrate the arts and crafts, life, customs, culture, religious beliefs and rites, ceremonial practices and folk lore of the native American race. The historical society has made a good start on slender resources. Its quarters are badly overcrowded and congested—it needs more room and modern equipment and it should have

much more liberal provision made for the continuance of its field work and collections.

### Sooner State Is Wealthy

"In this connection I want to state that the great museum with which I am associated does not draw a single dollar from the treasury of the commonwealth of Pennsylvania. On the contrary, all of the funds for its maintenance expansion, new equipment and additional collections comes in the form of bequests, donations and gifts from wealthy citizens of the city and state. Oklahoma has as much wealth, in proportion to its population, as Pennsylvania. It certainly has as many wealthy people, proportionately, as Pennsylvania—people who should appreciate the fact that great wealth brings with it obligations no less than opportunities and privileges. With an institution as efficiently directed and as keenly alive to the service which it seeks to render as the Oklahoma Historical society is, it should not have to be continually striving for the modest sums necessary to the successful prosecution such enterprises as those in which it has been engaged during the past year.

"The Indian of today is traveling the white man's road." Not many years hence, the traditions, customs and keepsakes of the Indian people will be but fading memories. The people of Oklahoma should see to it that the mementoes of Indian life, even of the period which has just ended, shall be preserved. Otherwise, in less than a century, it may be necessary for Oklahoma people including even those who may still call themselves Indians, to go to the big museums of Boston, New York, Philadelphia and Washington if they would study the arts and crafts and other evidences of Indian culture and customs. The Indian People as a race, are not vanishing but their age-old customs and handicrafts and ceremonial life are fast disappearing.

### Not Places of Amusement

"There is a prevalent opinion to the effect that museums are to be classed as places of amusement. This is erroneous, for the true museum is an educational institution. No one can question the fact that any person of even average intelligence can learn more from a personal inspection of an object than one can from reading a written description of the same. True education includes more than merely school buildings and curricula and instructors. The museum is an essential part of every well developed educational system. And, moreover, it is worthy of remark, in this connection, the true museum is not a junk shop, filled with all manner of curious but irrelevant specimens.

"As I have already stated, Oklahoma is not a poor state. Its men of wealth should appreciate the privilege of making the cultural future of the state their debtor. Indeed, they have an opportunity to render a real and lasting service as patrons of such a line of research that could scarcely be rated as less than monumental. Mr. Marland has set a good precedent in making possible the present excavations in Kay county and it is certainly to be hoped that other men of means, equally public spirited, may aid in continuing the splendid work thus begun, for Oklahoma is rich in other fields that would abundantly justify similar efforts at exploration."

## Publications of Oklahoma Historical Society

A list of the publications of the Oklahoma Historical Society, covering the period 1921 to 1965,—both available and out of print—has been prepared by Manon B. Atkins, Assistant in the Library, and is presented here as a matter of record. Prices of bound volumes and single issues of *The Chronicles,* available at this date are listed. Prices are given for the *Cumulative Index—The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 1921-1959, and for any listed publication that is available. These may be ordered from the Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73105, with check made payable to the Oklahoma Historical Society.

### LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

1. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*
   A quarterly publication, 1921 to present, Volumes 1-43. See following list for available issues and prices.
2. *Cumulative Index—The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* 1921-1959, Vols. 1-37. Price per copy $15.00.
3. *Annual Index—The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* pamphlet form beginning with 1959. Sent free upon request.
4. "100 Years ago in the Indian Territory—The Civil War in Oklahoma, June 1, 1961—June 30, 1965. Day-by-Day Events" compiled by George H. Shirk. A mimeographed account.

*The Chronicles of Oklahoma* Available For Sale

September, 1965

Bound Volumes:

3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17. All priced at $15.00 each.
18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,
34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41. All priced at $ 8.00 each.

Unbound Issues at $3.50 each:

Vol. 1 ..... #2
Vol. 2 ..... #2, 3
Vol. 3 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 4 ..... #2, 3, 4
Vol. 5 ..... #2
Vol. 6 ..... #3
Vol. 7 ..... #2, 3, 4
Vol. 8 ..... #1
Vol. 9 ..... #3, 4
Vol. 10 ..... #1, 2, 4
Vol. 11 ..... #1, 3
Vol. 12 ..... #1, 3
Vol. 13 ..... #1, 3
Vol. 14 ..... #2, 3
Vol. 15 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 16 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 17 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4

Unbound Issues at $1.50 each:

Vol. 18 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 19 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 20 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 21 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 22 ..... #2, 3, 4
Vol. 23 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 24 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 25 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 26 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 27 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 28 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 29 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 30 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 31 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 32 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 33 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 34 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 35 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 36 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 37 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 38 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 39 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 40 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 41 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 42 ..... #1, 2, 3, 4
Vol. 43 ..... #1, 2, 3,

*BROCHURES*:

1. *A Brief Pictorial History of Oklahoma,* 1944-1954.
2. *Oklahoma Historical Society Semi-Centennial Pictorial Issue of Oklahoma,* 1957. Price, 25c (twenty-five cents).
3. *Mark of Heritage*—Historical Highway Markers in the State of Oklahoma, placed by Oklahoma Historical Society and the cooperation of Oklahoma State Highway Commission, 1949-1957. Price, 50c (fifty cents).
4. *History of Oklahoma Historical Society* by Thos. H. Doyle, 1935.
5. *Oklahoma Historical Society* by Grant Foreman (1937).

*HISTORICAL FOLDERS*:

1. "Fourteen Flags Over Oklahoma" by Muriel H. Wright, Editorial Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society.
2. "Oklahoma Symbols"—Presented by the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1965. Price, 15c (fifteen cents).
3. "World's Greatest Horse Races"—Runs for Oklahoma Homes. Presented by the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1966. Price, 15c (fifteen cents).
4. Oklahoma Historical Society, Annual Tour.

*HISTORICAL SHEETS*:

1. *Memorial Scroll—The Confederate Indian Brigade, 1861-1865.* (Civil War)
   Indian Staff and Line Officers who Commanded Approximately 11,875 Troops from the Nations of the Indian Territory, Confederate States Army. Compiled by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Price, 25c (twenty-five cents).
2. *Memorial Scroll—Indian Home Guard, v862-1865.* (Civil War)
   First, Second and Third Regiments. Indian Staff and Line Officers who Commanded the Troops from the Nations of the Indian Territory, Serving in the Indian Home Guard Regiments, United States Army. Compiled by the Oklahoma Historical Society. Price, 25c (twenty-five cents).
3. *Official Seals of the Five Civilized Tribes.*
   Prints in colors, from original paintings in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Price, 10c (ten cents).
4. Mimeographed Informative Sheet: *"Oklahoma"* (available free).
5. Mimeographed Informative Sheet: "Brief Biography of the Governors of Oklahoma" (available free).

*MAPS*:

1. *Civil War Centennial Map of Oklahoma, 1963.*
   Compiled by Muriel H. Wright, Oklahoma Historical Society and LeRoy H. Fischer, Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, Oklahoma. Prepared by Oklahoma State Highway Department.
2. *The Chisholm Trail*
   Made by the Engineering Department of the Oklahoma State Highway Commission, 1933 and filed with the Oklahoma Historical Society. Price, 15c (fifteen cents).
3. *Texas Cattle Trail*
   Also called: The Western Cattle Trail, Abilene and Ft. Dodge Trail, Ft. Griffin-Ft. Dodge Trail, and Dodge City Trail. Made by the Engineering Department of the Oklahoma State Highway Commission, 1933 and filed with the Oklahoma Historical Society. Price, 15c (fifteen cents).

   Note: Numbers 2 & 3 are printed on same sheet, back to back.

## REPRINTS

From *THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA,* not available unless otherwise noted:

1. "A Journal of the Dragoon Campaign of 1834"—Sergeant Hugh Evans. Compiled and edited by Fred S. Perrine and Grant Foreman. Vol. 3, #3, Autumn (Sept.), 1925.
2. "The Great Lottery" by A. Emma Estill. Vol. 9, #4, December, 1931.
3. "A Survey of Tribal Records in the Archives of the United States Government in Oklahoma" by Grant Foreman. Vol. 11, #1, March, 1933.
4. "A Journal of One Hundred Years Ago in the Region of Tulsa" by James H. Gardner. Vol. 11, #2, Summer, 1933.
5. "The Cheyenne-Arapaho Country" by E. E. Dale. Vol. 20, #4, December, 1942.
6. "The Lost Captain" by James Henry Gardner. Vol. 21, #3, Fall (September), 1943.
7. "First Hospitals in Tulsa" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S. Vol. 22, #1, Spring, 1944.
8. "Beginning of the Oklahoma State Hospital Association" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S. Vol. 22, #3, Autumn, 1944.
9. "James Hugh McBirney" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S. Vol. 22, #3, Autumn, 1944.
10. "Cherokee Occupance in the Oklahoma Ozarks and Prairie Plains" by Leslie Hewes. Vol. 22, #3, Autumn, 1944.
11. "James Sanford Davenport—Lawyer, Statesman and Judge" by Thomas H. Doyle. Vol. 22, #4, Winter, 1944-1945.
12. "Free Land Hunters of the Southern Plains" and "Oklahoma, the Land of Promise" by Carl Coke Rister. Vol. 22, #4, Winter 1944-45; Vol. 23, #1, Spring, 1945.
13. "Tulsa's Water Resources—Springs and Spavinaw" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S. Vol. 23, #1, Spring, 1945.
14. "Geology Applied, By the People For the People" by Robert H. Dott. Vol. 23, #3, Autumn, 1945.
15. "The Abortive Territory of Cimarron" by Oscar A. Kinchen. Vol. 23, #3, Autumn, 1945.
16. "Jane Heard Clinton" by Angie Debo. Vol. 24, #1, Spring, 1946.
17. "Old Navajoe" by E.E. Dale. Vol. 24, #2, Summer, 1946.
18. "The Nonpartisan League in Oklahoma" by Gilbert C. Fite. Vol. 24, #2, Summer, 1946.
19. "The First Hospital and Training School for Nurses in the Indian Territory, Now Oklahoma" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S. Vol. 25, #3, Autumn, 1947.

20. "The Indian Territory Medical Association" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.
Vol. 26, #1, Spring, 1948.

21. "John A. Simpson—Franklin D. Roosevelt Letters on the Agricultural Situation, 1932-1933" by annotation of Gilbert C. Fite.
Vol. 26, #3, Autumn, 1948.

22. "Tullahassee Mission" by Virginia E. Lauderdale.
Vol. 26, #3, Autumn, 1948.

23. "Indian Treaty Making" by G. E. E. Lindquist.
Vol. 26, #4, Winter, 1948-1949.

24. "Beginning of the International Petroleum Exposition and Congress" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.
Vol. 26, #4, Winter, 1948-1949.

25. "Two Mississippi Valley Frontiers" by E. E. Dale.
Vol. 26, #4, Winter, 1948-1949.

26. "The Squatters in No Man's Land" by Oscar A. Kinchen.
Vol. 26, #4, Winter, 1948-1949.

27. "The Founding of Stillwater" by Berlin Basil Chapman.
Vol. 27, #1, Spring, 1949.

28. "Pioneer Women Teachers of Oklahoma 1820-1860" by Ethel McMillan.
Vol. 27, #1, Spring, 1949.

29. "Recent Archeological Research in Oklahoma—1946-1948" by Robert E. Bell.
Vol. 27, #3, Autumn, 1949.

30. "A Diary Account of A Creek Boundary Survey" by Carl Coke Rister and Bryan W. Lovelace.
Vol. 27, #3, Autumn, 1949.

31. "Oklahoma's Educational Heritage" by Oscar William Davison.
Vol. 27, #4, Winter, 1949-1950.

32. "German in Okarche, 1892-1902" by W. A. Willibrand, Ph.D.
Vol. 28, #3, Autumn, 1950.

33. "Thomas J. Palmer, Frontier Publicist" by Jack L. Cross.
Vol. 28, #4, Winter, 1950-1951.

34. "Survey of Education in Eastern Oklahoma from 1907 to 1915" by Joe C. Jackson.
Vol. 29, #2, Summer, 1951.

35. "The Five Great Indian Nations" by Jessie Randolph Moore.
Vol. 29, #3, Autumn, 1951.

36. "In Bilingual Old Okarche" by W. A. Willibrand, Ph.D.
Vol. 29, #3, Autumn, 1951.

37. "Territorial Magazines" by Esther Witcher.
Vol. 29, #4, Winter, 1951-1952.

38. "The National Congress of American Indians" by N. B. Johnson.
Vol. 30, #2, Summer, 1952.

39. "The Life and Times of Jeff Thompson Parks" by T. L. Ballenger.
Vol. 30, #2, Summer, 1952.

40. "William Bennett Bizzell—Bibliophile and Builder" by Morris L. Wardell.
Vol. 30, #3, Autumn, 1952.

41. "First Oil and Gas Well in Tulsa County" by Fred S. Clinton, M.D., F.A.C.S.
Vol. 30, #3, Autumn, 1952.

42. "The American Indian as Conservationist" by N. B. Johnson.
Vol. 30, #3, Autumn, 1952.

43. "St. Mary's of the Quapaws" by Velma Nieberding.
Vol. 31, #1, Spring, 1953.

44. "The Taovayas Indians—In Frontier Trade and Diplomacy, 1719-1768" by Elizabeth Ann Harper.
Vol. 31, #3, Autumn, 1953.

45. "Oklahoma Indians and the 'Summer Institute of Linguistics'" by W. A. Willibrand.
Vol. 31, #4, Winter, 1953-1954.

46. "Lewis Jefferson Moorman, M.D." by Gaston Litton.
Vol. 32, #4, Winter, 1954-1955.

47. "History of the Quapaws" by Vern E. Thompson.
Vol. 33, #3, Autumn, 1955.

48. "Early Days in the Sac and Fox Country" by George W. Stiles.
Vol. 33, #3, Autumn, 1955.

49. "A History of Fort Cobb" by Muriel H. Wright.
Vol. 34, #1, Spring, 1956.

50. "The Delaware Big House" by H. L. McCracken.
Vol. 34, #2, Summer, 1956.

51. "A Spanish 'Arrastra' in the Wichita Mountains" by W. Eugene Hollon.
Vol. 34, #4, Winter, 1956-1957.

52. "The Butterfield Overland Mail One Hundred Years Ago" by Muriel H. Wright.
Vol. 35, #1, Spring, 1957.

53. "Along the Washington Irving Trail in Oklahoma" by George H. Shirk.
Vol. 35, #1, Spring, 1957.

54. "A Survey of Oklahoma Museums—1893-1957" by S. F. De Borhegyi.
Vol. 35, #2, Summer, 1957.

55. "Federal Indian Relations in the South, 1781-1789" by Kenneth Coleman.
Vol. 35, #4, Winter, 1957-1958.

56. "American Indian Corn Dishes" by Muriel H. Wright.
Vol. 36, #2, Summer, 1958.

57. "Oklahoma Historic Sites Survey" by Oklahoma Historic Sites Committee.
Vol. 36, #3, Autumn, 1958.

58. "The First Panhandle Land Grant" by Raymond Estep.
Vol. 36, #4, Winter, 1958-1959.

59. "Report on the Butterfield Overland Mail" by Butterfield Committee.
Vol. 36, #4, Winter, 1958-1959. Available @ 60c.

60. "Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson as a Linguist" by Hope Holway.
Vol. 37, #1, Spring, 1959.

61. "A Social History of the Tri-State District" by A. M. Gibson.
Vol. 37, #2, Summer, 1959.

62. "A Tribute—Edgar Sullins Vaught" by George H. Shirk.
Vol. 37, #4, Winter, 1959-1960.

63. "Oklahoma City, From Public Land to Private Property" by Berlin B. Chapman.
Vol. 37, 1959.

64. "Joe Kagey — Indian Educator" by A. M. Gibson.
Vol. 38, #1, Spring, 1960.

65. "Rock Mary and The California Road" and "Lieut. Simpson's Report — The California Road Through Oklahoma" by Committee and Robert H. Dott.
Vol. 38, #2, Summer, 1960. Available @ 60c.

66. "The Removal of the Texas Indians and The Founding of Fort Cobb" by Raymond Estep.
Vol. 38 and Vol. 39, 1960-1961. Available @ $1.00.

67. "An Indian Territory United Nations: The Creek Council of 1845" by A. M. Gibson.
Vol. 39, #4, Winter, 1961-1962 .

68. "Buffalo Valley" by Orel Busby.
Vol. 40, #1, Spring, 1962.

69. "Commemoration of Civil War Events" by Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Commission.
Vol. 40, #2, Summer, 1962.

70. "From the Brazos to the North Fork — The Autobiography of Otto Koeltzow" by A. M. Gibson, Ph.D.
Vol. #40, 1962.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Forts of the West.* By Robert W. Frazer. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. 1965. Pp. 246. $5.95.)

When this reviewer was a boy growing up in the mesquite and cactus country of South Texas, he once rode horseback to the site of a little known, short-lived Army post called "fort" Ewell. Located near the Nueces River and miles off the beaten path, the site was quite unimpressive with a weed covered grave or two surrounded by rotting posts and rusted barbed wire. However, the State of Texas has erected a stone monument which says, among other things, that, "O. Henry called for his mail here when he lived in the vicinity."

It was while reading page 150 of this book that the memory of that log ago visit was recalled. The author has written a lengthy, information filled paragraph about this same "fort" Ewell. Thus a tiny bit of military history is lifted from total obscurity via the printed page.

This book is a gold mine of information in regard to military establishments west of the Mississippi. The number and variety of forts and posts, together with changes of location, name, and designation have posed perplexing problems for students of western history. Now Mr. Frazer has prepared a systematic listing of all presidios and military forts west of the Mississippi up to 1898 which at any time and in any sense was so designated.

The names of the posts have been arranged alphabetically with the boundaries of present states. Pertinent information is included for each: date of establishment, location, and reason for establishment; name, rank, and military unit of person establishing the post; origin of the post name and changes in name and location; present status and date of abandonment.

Historians and readers of western history, both, will be grateful to Robert Frazer for providing in this book, a prime reference work. He has included a most extensive and detailed bibliography, an index and a twenty-five page introduction. Good reading and highly recommended.

*Folksingers and Folksongs in America.* By Ray M. Lawless. (Duell, Sloan and Pearce, New York. 1965. Pp. 750. $10.00.)

This thick book should be of tremendous interest to anyone with even the remotest liking for folksongs and folksingers. The author calls it a biography, a bibliography, and a discography designed and organized for every use. It is a scholarly but unpretentious one-volume reference work providing a compre-

hensive, engrossing picture of the collecting and singing of ballads and folksongs. As a reference work, it is a rich mine of information.

The author has attempted, and has succeeded, in being entertaining as well as informative. In his prologue he attempts to clarify some of the terms used in the book and presents some of the problems in compiling a work of this type.

The book is divided into three sections or books and Book One opens with brief biographies of about 225 singers. Some have attained national, and even international, reputations as balladeers. Interlude I offers a discussion of folk-music instruments, their history, structure, and current use.

The annotated bibliography offered in Book Two describes the major collections, and many minor collections, of American ballards and folksongs. Interlude II presents two related but often differing interests in folklore activities: folklore societies and folk festivals.

Book Three is an attempt to give a reasonably complete listing, with song titles, of long-playing records of folksongs, one group presented alphabetically by singers' names, another grouped by album titles. It is interesting to note the contribution made by Oklahoma singers and collectors.

*Henry Starr: Last of the Real Badmen.* By Glenn Shirley. (David McKay Company, Inc., New York. 1965. Pp. 208 $4.50)

More than half a century has passed since Henry Starr's autobiography was published in 1914. Written while he was in the Colorado State Penitentiary, it covered that period of time from his boyhood to 1914. Although much has been written about this Oklahoma outlaw since that time, this is the first full-length book that covers events in Starr's life from his birth near Fort Gibson until his death at Harrison, Arkansas.

On his death bed, Starr boasted that he had robbed more banks than anyone in America, and the facts seem to prove that this is true. He followed the bandit trade for thirty years and he had more holdups to his credit than the James-Younger, Dalton-Doolin gangs combined. One other distinction which made him unique in the annals of outlawry was that he was a member of a very exclusive group that made the transition from horse to automobile.

Starr was truly a complex man living in a fast-changing

time. He had a knack for getting himself paroled from jail; he was oft married; and he once turned down a chance to go to Hollywood and act in the movies. But he couldn't resist holding up a bank.

This is one of Glenn Shirley's better books. It is a readable account of a man's life drawn from court records, newspaper files and from Starr's own life story. Shirley has established himself as an able historian and researcher. In skillfully using all primary source material available, he has written a good biography complete with chapter notes and bibliography. Recommended.

—Arthur Shoemaker

*Hominy, Oklahoma*

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*The Ponca Tribe.* By James H. Howard. Bureau of American Ethnology. (Bulletin 195, Washington, 1965. Pp. 191. $2.25.)

Any bulletin of the Bureau of American Ethnology is worthwhile. We are fortunate that *Bulletin 195* brings together a complete compendium of our knowledge of the Ponca tribe of Indians. The Poncas were originally in southern South Dakota and northern Nebraska; and by their own "Trail of Tears" were removed, via Baxter Springs, to their reservation in present Oklahoma.

The *Bulletin* includes a complete presentation on the history of the tribe, its removal to Oklahoma, its culture, dress, arts and crafts, social organization, tribal dances, religion and ceremonies. Each chapter deals with a particular aspect of Ponca culture, highlighted by transcripts of short interviews with individuals or tribal members and in some instances letters from those who at one time had made their home among the Tribe.

The *Bulletin* is prepared in collaboration with Peter LeClaire, tribal historian, and brings together in complete and concise form all existing knowledge regarding this group of people now citizens of the state of Oklahoma.

—George H. Shirk

*Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

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## MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS — OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

January 27, 1966

President George H. Shirk called to order the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society at 10:00 a.m. Thursday, January 27, 1966. The meeting was held in the Board Room of the Historical Society Building.

Members answering Roll Call were: Lou Allard, Judge J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, Dr. E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Bob Foresman, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, Morton R. Harrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, Joe W. McBride, W. E. McIntosh, R. G. Miller, Dr. James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk.

Board members not in attendance were Judge Robert A. Hefner, and R. M. Mountcastle. A motion to excuse the absent members was adopted.

President Shirk introduced the two new members of the Board. John E. Kirkpatrick and Earl Boyd Pierce, and extended to them a hearty welcome to the Board membership.

A list of gifts and the names of new members were submitted by the Administrative Secretary. Miss Seger moved and Mrs. Bowman seconded a motion that the new members and gifts be accepted, which was adopted by the Board.

Mr. Fraker reported that a large part of the 44 new members received this quarter were due to the fact that another selected list of names had been invited to membership. The final account showed a 7½% return on those who had been contacted.

He further stated that as of December 31, 1965, there was a balance of $9,513.32 in unencumbered funds in Account No. 18. It was pointed out that this is an increase of $1,676.25 over the same period last year.

Student guides in the museum through the spring months have been arranged for by Mr. William Dale, Mr .Fraker said. The guides will be paid by the hour, and will act as lecturers.

The Administrative Secretary reported that the Oil Museum Advisory Committee met December 10, 1965, which was the anniversary date of their original meeting in 1964, and elected officers for the coming year. Robert S. Kerr, Jr., who has been selected Chairman, will replace W. T. Payne. Mr. Kerr has called a sub-committee meeting for February 1st to appoint special committees to work on the finances, building design, and construction of the oil museum. Mr. Fraker said they hope to be able to announce within a year plans for the structure.

The Administrative Secretary also outlined proposed expenditures on the properties of the Oklahoma Historical Society, made possible from the $125,000 set up for the Society in State Question No. 433. In the order of their precedence, Mr. Fraker listed the following: Heating plant for the building; new electrical wiring for building; new floor covering, bookcases, and additional floor and stacks for library; museum repairs; and historic sites including Sequoyah's home, Sod House, and Fort Washita. A motion was made by Mr. Allard, and seconded by Dr. Harbour, that the recommendations for expenditures of the $125,000, as outlined by Mr. Fraker, be approved. The motion was carried unanimously.

According to the Constitution, inasmuch as no nominations had been received, the Administrative Secretary cast one vote and declared the following five members re-elected to the Board; Genevieve Seger, H. Milt Phillips, Dr. Emma Estill-Harbour, George H. Shirk, and J. G. Clift.

Mrs. Edna Bowman, Treasurer, presented financial statements covering the last six months of 1965. Reflected in her report was the fact that all accounts of the Historical Society were in excellent condition.

Mr. Phillips reported for the Microfilming Committee, stating that production exceeded a million pages this year. He expressed the hope that next year's production will more than exceed 1½ million pages.

The Historic Sites Committee report was given by Mr. McIntosh. This Committee, he remarked, has been active the past quarter with Mr. Costner, who is on the staff of the Oklahoma Historical Society, spending full time working on the development and location of historic sites in the eastern part of Oklahoma. He said Mr. Costner hopes to be able to visit all areas of the state within a few months. He stated that the U. S. Corps of Engineers had been instructed by Mr. Hunter, Chief of the Staff of Engineers, to give the Committee maximum assistance regarding historical sites. Chairman McIntosh said that possibly by the next meeting of the Board they would have a report to give that would begin to show visible action initiated by the work they are now doing.

A letter was read requesting the Corps of Engineers to give a long-term lease, at each of the historic sites listed, large enough for erection of a suitable marker. Some of these sites listed in the body of the letter were: Spiro Mound, Green Corn Dance, Scullyville, Wilson's Rock, Battle of Backbone Mountain, and Tamaha. Pointed out was the fact that four markers could be placed adjacent to the Fountainhead State Lodge and three could be placed adjacent to Arrowhead Lodge, making all seven easily accessible, along with being near places thousands of tourists would be visiting.

In concluding his report Chairman McIntosh said his Committee was working with the Wagoner County Historical Society in regard to Coweta Mission, and was progressing as fast as was possible at the present time.

Mr. Harrison then reported he and Mr. McIntosh traveled to Monkey Island and then to Polson Cemetery to study the possibility of moving the tombstones of the family of Stand Watie to the family burial plot. It was specifically stated that in no way was the moving of the body of Stand Watie considered.

President Shirk brought out the fact that the United Daughters of the Confederacy had given the Historical Society a deed to the land at the Cabin Creek Battle Site. Dr. Harbour moved the deed be accepted, and her motion was seconded by Miss Seger. Mr. McIntosh suggested that included in the motion be the stipulation that the present marker at the site be retained without change. The motion when put to a vote, was adopted. Following is the legal description of the above mentioned site:

> The West Half of the Southwest Quarter of the Southwest Quarter of the Northeast Quarter and the East Half of the Southeast Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of the Northwest Quarter of Section Twelve (12) Township Twenty-three (23)

North and Range Twenty (20) East, of the Indian Base and Meridian, containing Ten (10) acres, more or less.

ALSO: The East Fifty (50) Feet of the West Half of the Northwest Quarter of the Southeast Quarter and the North Fifty (50) Feet of the Northeast Quarter of the Northwest Quarter of the Northwest Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of said Section Twelve (12), Township Twenty-three (23) North, and Range Twenty (20) East of the Indian Base and Meridian; less that portion conveyed to the Grand River Dam Authority described: Those parts of the E½ SE¼ SE¼ NW¼ and the W½ SW¼ SW¼ NE¼ lying North of the following line: Beginning at a point in the east boundary of said W½ SW¼ SW¼ NE¼ 300 feet north of the southeast corner thereof; thence in a northwesterly direction to a point in the north boundary of said E½ SE¼ SE¼ NW¼ 165 feet east of the northwest corner thereof, containing 2.1 acres; and to grant and convey to the Authority the perpetual right, privilege and authority to flow the water impounded in the Markham Ferry Reservoir upon all of the following real estate described as follows, to-wit: Those parts of the E½ SE¼ SE¼ NW¼ and the W½ SW¼ SW¼ NE¼ lying north of the following described line: Beginning at a point in the east boundary of said W½ SW¼ SW¼ NE¼ 165 feet north of the southeast corner thereof, thence in a northwesterly direction to a point in the west boundary of said W½ SW¼ SW¼ NE¼ 300 feet south of the northwest corner thereof, thence in a northwesterly direction to a point in the north boundary of said E½ SE¼ SE¼ NW¼ 165 feet east of the Northwest corner thereof.

The Historic Sites Committee was requested to secure an appropriate marker telling of this gift from the United Daughters of the Confederacy.

President Shirk appointed Mr. Pierce to serve with the subcommittee that is now working on the historic sites in Wagoner County.

Mr. Miller talked briefly concerning the tour to be sponsored by the Society next summer. Mr. Harrison and Miss Seger moved and seconded, respectively, a motion that the President appoint a special committee to explore the possibilities and make its recommendations with regard to the tour. Upon passage of the motion, President Shirk appointed Mr. Fraker, Mr. Miller, and himself as the members of this committee.

A letter was presented by Mr. McBride from Mr. Linus T. Williams, Publisher of the *Stigler News-Sentinel,* regarding an unpaid bill, of the Oklahoma Civil War Centennial Committee, pertaining to printing of the Tamaha Civil War Centennial programs. Mr. Phillips moved that payment of the bill be made by the Society. Mr. Allard seconded the motion, which was adopted.

Dr. Morrison presented a memorandum to the Board outlining progress for the year made on the restoration of Fort Washita. He moved that appreciation be expressed to the Highway Department for construction of a new road from the entrance to the picnic area. This road runs east of the ruins of the Bachelor Officer Quarters. Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was carried.

Mr. Pierce introduced Col. M. A. Hagerstrand, who represented W. W. Keeler, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation. Col. Hagerstrand reported that the Cherokee Historical Society has started on several

worthwhile projects, including restoration of the Cherokee National Capitol Building, which was constructed in 1867, and also the Supreme Court Building, built in 1844. He further reported that plans for a Cherokee National Museum and Archives have begun, and the design for the building had already been accepted, which is to be a large, seven-sided structure.

A letter of resignation as a Director of the Society from Judge N. B. Johnson, was read by Mr. McIntosh. Following the reading, Mr. McIntosh moved that the resignation be accepted, and that the Administrative Secretary write Judge Johnson a letter of appreciation for his long and faithful service on the Board, and for the many articles he has prepared for *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, which was carried when put.

President Shirk asked the pleasure of the Board with regard to the vacancy now existing on the Board. Mr. Phillips moved that the usual procedure be followed which is to submit nominations to the Administrative Secretary at least twenty days prior to a Board meeting. With a second from Mr. Muldrow, the motion was adopted.

President Shirk stated that the constitution provides for election of officers at the first meeting of each even numbered year and handed the gavel to Dr. Harbour, a past President of the Society, to preside during the election. Rapping for order, Dr. Harbour, in beaming good humor, said that she would entertain a motion that all officers be elected for another term of two years. Miss Seger said she so moved, and Mr. McBride seconded such motion. Upon being put, the motion carried unanimously, re-electing George H. Shirk, President; H. Milt Phillips, Vice President; Fisher Muldrow, Vice President; Mrs. Edna Bowman, Treasurer; and Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary.

President Shirk presented on behalf of Tom Rucker and the family of the late Alvin Rucker a first edition copy of the book *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City,* authored by Bunky. He pointed out that the book was very valuable and should be kept in the vault where it would be safe.

Dr. Chapman presented letters from Dr. Homer Knight, of the History Department of Oklahoma State University at Stillwater, and from Dr. Oliver S. Willham, President of that institution, inviting the Board to have its Annual Meeting, in April, on the campus at Stillwater. Dr. Chapman said a nice program would be arranged, including the unveiling and presentation of a portrait of Dr. Henry G. Bennett, former President of O. S. U. It was moved that the date of the Annual Meeting of the Society be fixed for the fourth Thursday in April at 9:00 a.m.

As there was no further business to be transacted, the Board adjourned at 11:30 a.m. Following adjournment the Board and Staff went to Tinker Air Force Base, where they were the guests of General Melvin F. McNickle, Commander of the Base, at luncheon and for a tour of the Tinker facility.

GEORGE H. SHIRK,
President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

GIFTS RECEIVED IN FOURTH QUARTER, 1965

*LIBRARY:*

*Local History and Genealogical Society—The Quarterly,* Dallas, Texas, Vol. X, No. 4, December, 1964.

*Family History Records of Bell County, Kentucky.* Taken from 1880 U. S. Census, Vol. 3. Compiled by Annie Walker Burns; Washington, D. C.

*South Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War; War of 1812 and Indian Wars,* Vol. 9. Compiled by Annie Walker Burns of Washington, D. C.

*Major Index to Pension List of War of 1812,* Aaron to Adamson, Vol. 1. Compiled by Annie Walker Burns, Washington, D. C.

*Director of Half Century Club,* Alumni Association of Oklahoma State University, 1964.

First Day Postal Covers — Fort Towson, June 23, 1965 and Durant, June 22, 1965.

Photograph: Dr. and Mrs. James Clinton Neal and daughters, Kate and Annie, director (first) of Experiment Station, Oklahoma A. and M. College, 1891.
Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater.

Photograph: Ingalls Activity Club, September 5, 1965.
Donor: J. L. Fisher, Past Pres., 847 W. Knapp, Stillwater by Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater.

*Crossroads of the West*—A Pictorial History of Fremont County, Wyoming.

Miss Football, U. S. A., 1965 Pageant Program.

*Lincoln Herald,* Spring of 1965.

*Guide to the Civil War in Tennessee.*

National Finals Rodeo, 1965 Official Oklahoma City Program.

*My First 80 Years,* by O. A. Cargill, 1965.
Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk.

*Woolaroc Museum* by Ke Mo Ha (Indian name of Patrick Patterson), Director of Museum, 1965.
Donor: Woolaroc Museum of Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

*Roosevelt—His Mind in Action* by Lewis Einssein.

*Theodore Roosevelt—A Biography* by Henry F. Pringle.
Donor: Harry H. Wortman, Oklahoma City.

*A History of Cowboy Flat—Campbell—Pleasant Valley* by M. C. Rouse.
Donor: M. C. Rouse, Coyle, Oklahoma.

"The Young Man from Boston"—John Fitzgerald Kennedy Pictorial Album from Television Special, November of 1965. Compiled by the Plymouth Division of Chrysler Corporation.
Donor: Darrell H. Rascoe, Plymouth Dealer, Fretwell Motor Co., Oklahoma City.

Sociology C-D1 Term Report—*Oklahoma City: Oklahoma City's Phenomenal Growth and Changing Social Organization* by Carolyn Billingsley, 1965.
Donor: Carolyn Billingsley, 618 Emerson, Evanston, Illinois.

Microfilm: Kentucky 1840 Census, Roll 38 of Union-Woodford Counties.
Donor: Mrs. Lowell Shannon, Oklahoma City.

Historical Sketch—"First Mennonite Church" Geary, Oklahoma 1947.
Donor: Kent Ruth, Geary.

"Landscape Sculpture by Dale Eldred."
Donor: The University of Kansas, Museum of Art, Lawrence.

*The Memoirs of Francis Moore (Mode) Milburn* 1964, by Francis M. (Mode) Milburn.

Donor: Francis Moore (Mode) Milburn, Bristow, Oklahoma.

Collection: Copies of Famous Speeches of Temple Houston, son of Gen. Sam Houston.

Donor: Bob McMillin, Oklahoma Publishing Co., by Mayor Shirk, Oklahoma City.

*Scrapbook of Vingie E. Roe* 1879 to August 13, 1958. Bound Xerox Copy of original.

Donors: Dr. R. W. Merten, Box 18, Guthrie, Oklahoma.
Calvin R. Brewer, Library of Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma by Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater.

*Economic Base Report* of the Oklahoma Employment Security Commission, Oklahoma State Employment Service on counties: Adair, Atoka, Beckham, Cherokee, Coal, Garvin, McCurtain, McIntosh, Murray, Okfuskee, Sequoyah, Tillman and Wagoner.

Donor: Harry Revelle, Jr., 2605 Ridgeview Court, Oklahoma City.

*The Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore* by Julian Harris Salomon.

*The Story of Oklahoma* by Muriel H. Wright.

Treaty of 1863—Typed Copy.

Donor: Mrs. Margaret Elmore, 3935 McKenzie St., Riverside, California.

Biographical—Genealogical Collection of Judge Robert Alexander Hefner, Oklahoma City.

Donor: Judge Robert A. Hefner, 720 N.W. 50th, Oklahoma City.

"Fifty Years in the Grace of God"—A Scrapbook—Compiled History of the First Presbyterian Church of Mangum, Oklahoma 1902-1952 by Rev. J. Allen Anderson, Minister.

Donor: Rev. J. Allen Anderson, Mangum, Oklahoma.

Sketch: "Frontier Barbed Wire."
Photograph: Monument Hill Marker, erected in 1940 by Pickens County Cowboy Association.

Photograph: Chisholm Trail Today.

Photograph: Marker of Jesse Chisholm grave.

Donor: Judge Otis James, Jefferson County, Waurika, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *Goodland Presbyterian Children's Home* by Ruth Messinger.

Donor: Mrs. Ruth Messinger, Canadian County Child Welfare, 212 West Rogers, El Reno, Oklahoma.

Thesis: *The Baptist General Convention of Oklahoma and Higher Education—The Formative Period, 1906 to 1915,* by Benny Carl Fox, B. A., Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1960.

Donor: Benny Carl Fox, 6553 Edith N. E., Albuquerque, New Mex.

Seven Issues of *Pioneer Life Member Annual*—Publication of Telephone Pioneers of America Oklahoma Chapter #41.

Donor: Harry H. Wortman, 820 N.E. 50th, Oklahoma City.

*The Hendricks and Their Kin* by Jasper R. Hendrick, Xerox pages.

*The Seaton Family with Genealogy and Biographies* by Oren Andrew Seaton, Xerox pages.

Donor: Mrs. Herbert D. Coulter, Meno, Oklahoma.

*Oklahomans and Their State*—A Newspaper Reference Work, 1919; Editors, Gen. Roy Hoffman, Edson K. Bixby, W. M. Harrison and F. L. Steenrod of the Oklahoma Biographical Association, Oklahoma City.

Donor: Barton E. Witchell, 1401 South Delaware Avenue, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Collection of Mrs. Harold R. (Virginia) Williams, Tulsa, Oklahoma.
Donor: Wesley I. Nunn, Heavener, Oklahoma.

*INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION*

*Authentic Osage Indian Roll Book,* by Sylvester J. Tinker.

Donor: Sylvester J. Tinker.

*Indian Voices,* August, September and October 1965.

Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor.

*Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly,* June 1965.

Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society.

Leaflets: Fort Gibson to the Rockies Dragoon Campaign of 1834," "The Arkansas: A River to Cross."

Donor: Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

"The Last Indian Scare in Western Oklahoma," by Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr. Photograph of Red Moon School, near Hammon, Okla., taken between 1915 and 1920.
Photograph of Red Moon School, taken in 1965.

Donor: Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr., Hammon, Oklahoma.

Trustee's Deed, H. Dorsey Etchison, Charles S. Burroughs and Frank M. Thompson, as trustees for the townsite of Pawnee, in Oklahoma Territory, first parties, and Charles D. Corley of Cimarron City, Oklahoma Territory, second party, dated May 5, 1895.

Reference service report listing records in National Archives relating to Judge Isaac C. Parker, U. S. District Court for Western District of Arkansas, 1875-1896. 11 pages.

Record of U. S. Indian Claims Commission: Otoe & Missouri Tribe vs. U.S.A., Docket #11A, Iowa Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, et al., vs. U.S.A., Docket No. 138; Yankton Sioux Tribe v. U.S.A., Docket No. 332A; Determination of the Article 2 Line, 1825 Prairie Due Chien Treaty.

Xerox copies of Contract, specifications, bond, etc., dating in 1893 reconstruction of four Land Offices in Cherokee Strip, at Perry, Enid, Alva and Woodward, Oklahoma Territory; two letters signed by Receiver, Perry Land Office; Letter of Jan. 16, 1902 from Postmaster, Perry, Okla. Territory re post office building.

Donor: B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

*Texas Libraries,* Winter 1965, Vol. 27, No. 4.

Donor: Texas State Library.

Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee of The Cherokee Nation or Tribe of Oklahoma, held on Sept. 30, 1965. at Tahlequah, Okla.

Report of meeting of The Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes held at Arrowhead Lodge, Canadian, Okla., Oct. 13, 1965.

Donor: Inter-Tribal Council, Five Civilized Tribes, Executive Committee, Cherokee Nation, Okla., and Mrs. Marie Wadley, Secretary.

Twelve (12) letters, documents, etc., dating from 1842 to 1892, including Teacher's Contract whereby William P. Leeper employed as Teacher in Illinois in 1870; William P. Leeper's Commission dated May 10, 1890, as Postmaster at Leeper in Choctaw Nation; Appointment of Wm. P. Leeper as Notary Public for town of Leeper; Appointment of M. W. Leeper as Administratrix of estate of Wm. P. Leeper, Oct. 1892.

Two (2) newspaper clippings, undated: "Oklahoma Youth killed by Moros in Philippines"; Lieut. George H. Ward; "Chisholm Trail Granite Marker is Unveiled" at Tuttle, Okla.

Donor: Mrs. Myrtle Creason, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

RECORDS: U. S. INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION:

Upper Chehalis Tribe, et al., v. U.S.A., Docket No. 237.
Findings of Fact on Petition for Allowance of Attorneys' fees and Expenses

Order allowing attorneys' fee and reimbursable expenses.

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Second Interlocutory Order.
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*The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

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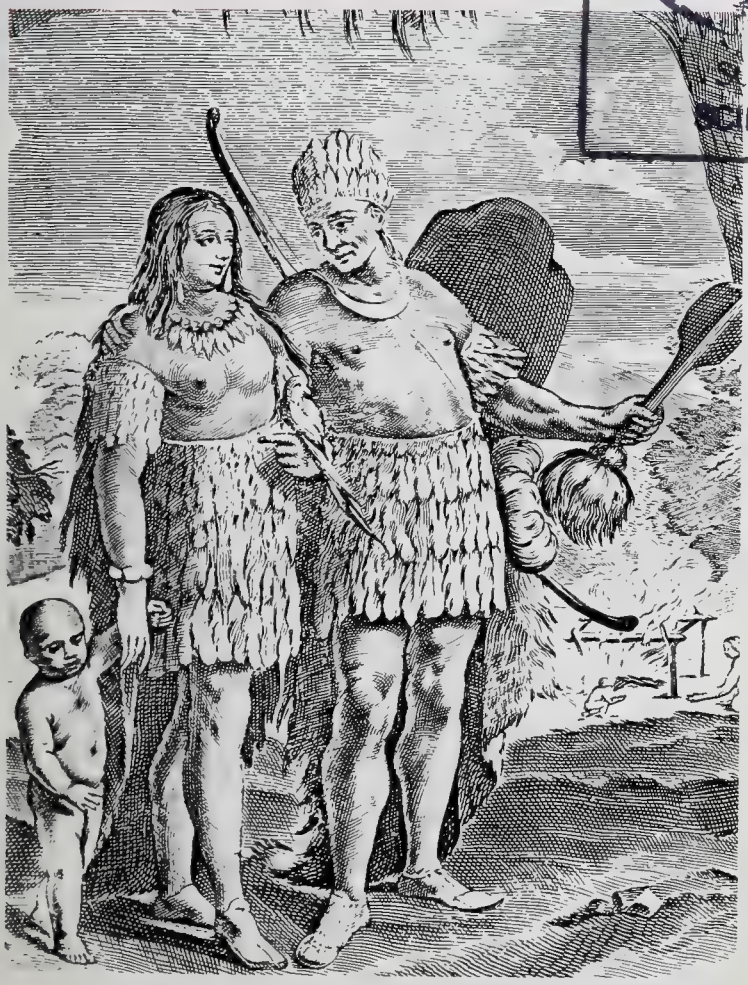

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Summer, 1966

Volume XLIV — Number 2

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COVER: This is an engraving on a Dutch poster advertising two plays based on John Law's scheme of colonizing the Mississippi Valley to retrieve the fortunes of France, dated 1720. See the article in this number of *The Chronicles*, "The Heavener Enigma: A Rune Stone," *Appendix*. The English translation of the caption under the engraving is "King and Queen of the Mississippi."

# THE HEAVENER ENIGMA: A RUNE STONE

*By Leslie A. McRill*

## Introduction

The meaning of the rune characters on the large rock standing on Poteau Mountain, near Heavener in LeFlore County, has interested Mr. Leslie McRill. His attention was called to data collected in the Editorial Office, on these ancient runes. The result of his study of these and other source materials led to his contribution here presented, "The Heavener Enigma: A Rune Stone," in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

The attention of the Editor was called in 1953, to the "queer carvings" on a huge stone on the side of a mountain near Heavener, by Mrs. Gloria Farley. The inscription had fascinated her since girlhood, and she has carried on research for many years to unlock the mystery of the stone. Finally the Editor visited the rune stone in the wilderness with Mrs. Farley and friends. Another visit with Mr. and Mrs. John Frizzell, Miss Lucyl Shirk, and President George Shirk of the Historical Society resulted in Mr. Shirk's report on the "Heavener Rune Stone" published in *The Chronicles,* Autumn, 1959 (pp. 363-368).

After the publication of this report, interest in the identification of the carved letters spread far and wide. A number of interpretations of the runes were written in to the Editor. The visit of Mr. Frederick J. Pohl to Heavener had established the carvings as real rune letters. This and other investigations led to the possible work of a stone-carver several centuries ago.

In 1963, Mr. Oscar Monrad of Oklahoma City brought in to the Editorial office, an unusual study on early runes in Europe. His distant cousin, Mr. Kaj Monrad, an archivist in the National Museum at Copenhagen, Denmark, had read the report on the Heavener stone in *The Chronicles,* sent him by his American cousin. Mr. Kaj Monrad sent in copious notes in fine manuscript, on the runes based on his study of materials in the Copenhagen Museum. He also sent photographs, one on the golden horns which King Frederick VII ordered made in 1855, replicas of the ancient golden horns found in 1639 and 1734. Both of these had been stolen from the Royal Museum in 1802 and melted. These horns have early rune inscriptions that are important in the study of runes going back to the invention of these characters.

The name of Poteau as that of the well-known stream in eastern Oklahoma, which rises in the mountain also named Poteau, dates back to the early occupancy of the French in Okla-

(Kaj Monrad, Copenhagen)

THE GOLDEN HORNS

Replicas ordered made in 1855, by King Frederick now in the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark. The original Golden Horns were found in 1639 and 1734.

homa, on the Arkansas. It is a fact in history that the earliest French expeditions to Oklahoma erected carved posts to mark the sites of their first visits and councils with the Indians of this region.

The word *poteau* in French means "post." How does it happen that this particular river, a branch of the Arkansas, was given the name of *Poteau* or "Post?" French occupancy, a known fact in this region of Oklahoma in the early 1700's along with data from Mr. McRill's study of Bossu's *Travels,* furnishes a possible explanation of the "Heavener Rune Stone." Furthermore, when the first expeditions sponsored by the French came up the Arkansas, they met the Quapaw Indians, who have a tradition about these visitors. They demanded that the Quapaws take them in their boats for exploration up the Arkansas.

The first French expeditions under John Law's scheme for colonization of the Mississippi Valley, came into the region of the Arkansas about 1718-20. A large part of these first colonists were Germans led by a Swedish Captain. The huge stone with its runes is on the side of an outlying ridge of the Poteau Mountain, facing and overlooking the valley that continues on up the Poteau River to the Arkansas. Could it be that the huge "post" was carved by Germans in a party under the direction of their

learned Swedish Captain, describing the Valley below and marking their visit to the mountain? This valley contains the mounds of an ancient people that dwelt here and long since disappeared. The most famous of these mounds, which is known as the Spiro Mound, in recent years has yielded its treasures for archaeology and history. Mr. McRill here traces his search on the subject of the runes and their meaning carved on the stone.

—The Editor

It is a far cry from the Oklahoma of our day and that long ago time when some unknown traveler cut an inscription on the stone which has recently become known as the "Heavener Rune-stone."

A large rock, 12 feet high, 10 feet wide, and 2 feet thick in the Poteau Mountains, about 2 miles from Heavener, Oklahoma, bears on its face some ancient runes. Who left them there, when, and why, remain an historical mystery. The Oklahoma Historical Society and some local citizens of Heavener have been intrigued by the stone and its message and have called the attention of archeologists to it.[1]

Some have visited the site; to others, copies of the inscription have been sent. As far away as Denmark translations have come. It is pretty well established that the runes on this rock are authentic. Some of these same characters are to be found on the most ancient monuments in the Scandinavian countries made many hundreds of years ago.

It is interesting to know that two very old rune monuments called the "Two Golden Horns" bear similar rune characters. Writing about the Golden Horns, Archivist Kaj Monrad of Copenhagen, Denmark, says:[2]

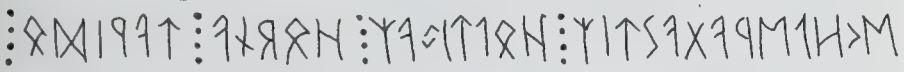
"The one nethermost, July 20, 1629, and the uppermost, April 21, 1734, both in the diadem of Lesig [?] and both were stolen May 4, 1802, from the Royal Museum and melted. These are fotos [*sic*] of the copies which King Frederick VII let make

---

[1] George H. Shirk, "Report of the Heavener Rune Stone," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, p. 363.

[2] From the compilation of material, collected and translated by Mr. Kaj Monrad, from the National Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark, in Oklahoma Historical Society, Editorial Office.

about 1855 from old drawings. The little horn has at the brim a rune inscription as thus:"



From the study of this matter made by Mr. Monrad we establish the authenticity of the Heavener runes as belonging to the "elder" class of runes.

Mr. Frederick Pohl, an authority on the travels of the Norsemen in America previous to Columbus, visited the Heavener site some time ago, and is of the opinion that the letters were made by Norsemen of that time.[3] It has been established that the Norsemen reached the interior of America as far as the vicinity of the Great Lakes, but there is no established recognition of their presence as far south as Oklahoma. From the different authorities here in the United States and from opinions of scholars abroad, the eight characters on the stone are shown here, with a translation:

*Gnomedal*—"Sun Valley," or "Monument," or "Boundary." "Dal" is translated "Valley" or "Dale."

The rock at Heavener stands north and south facing the west. It is overlooking a gulch down which very old marks seem to indicate a once-used trail to the northwest. Throughout the valley are scattered evidences of the Mound Builders as far as the Arkansas River.

Some authorities have said that in that far-away time there was a beautiful park of great pine trees stretching down from this mountain to the valley below, making it a desirable location for settlement. So "Sun Valley" was the name given by some poetic traveler or mayhap settler. And then, passing on, he left the site, which became a wild, isolated place, the home of the snake and the wild beasts. No longer is there a beautiful pine forest, thanks to the woodsman's axe, but instead second growth brush and nature's effort to retrieve her once beautiful handiwork now cover the spot.

Quoting further from Mr. Kaj Monrad and his study of the Heavener runes, we read: "Gnomedal," two words in one to be 'Earth Spirits' Dale.' The word 'gnom' is an elemental earth spirit, a subterranean goblin, a mountain spirit. If the inscription is in Danish it is correctly written. 'Gnom' is the word itself, and the 'e' is a suffix as sort of a genitive (possessive) combined with another word; 'dal' is dale or valley in English."

Quoting further from Mr. Monrad:

"Then it seems the inscription was cut in the 16th, 17th or

18th century by a not wholly unlearned man with good knowledge of the eldest runes, as the interest for antiquity had a flowering in the last two mentioned centuries here in Scandinavia, and yet it cannot be said from what country the carver was. Perhaps he was a man from Sweden since the rune for 'n' is cut differently than a Dane would have cut it. The English word dale is both Danish and Swedish, the same word 'dal.'"

"The rune for 'n' is cut as 7 and not X."
—Kaj Monrad

Mr. Monrad enclosed in his notes the origin of the word "gnome," as coming from the Latin word "Gnomus" and cites it as having been used by Paracelsus first, and found in his book *Liber de nymphis, sylphis, pygmaei et salamandris et de cockeris spiritibus* (ed. 1589-1591. Opera 9, 45): *"Gnomi habitant in chao montano."* Mr. Monrad states: "It is known that gnomes were also guarders of hidden treasures, the skilled little grey men with the great beards."

Other translations by Mr. Monrad suggest that the name "Gnomus" means "earth-dweller." This is significant since it ties in with the presence of the Mound Builders in this region—history long past—of what is now Oklahoma.

It is interesting to note that pertinent to the suggestion that the inscription dates from the 17th or 18th century, we find in Dr. Paul Piper's *"Survey of Early German Literature,* entitled, *Die Alteste Deutsche Litteratur bis um das Jahr 1050,* in his discussion of the early runes as the beginnings of the German language that "there was a feverish revival in unearthing rune-monuments in Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries . . . Thus Finn Magnussen wrote a whole book about a rune-writing or inscription which turned out to be natural splits in the rock, and the Heinerdorfer rune-stone became recognized as nothing more than an entire modern game with German letters."[4]

Besides the Norsemen theory there is another which has never been advanced: Captain Jean Bossu of the French Marines was sent to New Orleans in 1751 with his military company and set out from there to assume command of a Duchy or Grant in the Illinois country.[5] He describes the trip and calls attention to two German villages up river from New Orleans. These colonists had been still earlier up the Mississippi on the Arkansas River. He says: "These two villages, peopled with Germans, are the remainder of a grant made in 1720 to Mr. John Law [Mr. Law of the 'Mississippi Bubble' fame]. The colony was to con-

[3] Dr. Frederick J. Pohl, recognized student and authority on the Vikings in America. Author of *Atlantic Crossings before Columbus* (Norton & Company, Inc., New York, 1961).

sist of Germans and Provencals to the number of 1500; the ground for it four leagues square, and near a wild nation called the Akancas; the colony was erected as a Duchy . . . but Mr. Law failed and the India Company took possession of the goods."

Now it has been suggested that since the French were establishing "duchies" or "grants" out of New Orleans that this monument at Heavener may well have been a marker for such a grant. Dr. Muriel Wright of the Oklahoma Historical Society has called attention to this possibility. Notice how our Danish researcher says that perhaps he was a man from Sweden since the rune for "n" is written as a Swede would write it.

Now a strange coincidence presents itself at this juncture of our study. Captain Bossu makes it very pertinent. He says that the two German villages were under the supervision of a *Swedish Captain.* And in his report he says that this captain was "Mr. Arntsbourg, who was at the Battle of Poltava with Charles XII. This old officer is the head of a numerous family established in Louisiana."[6]

Could this rune-stone at Heavener be a marker or monument to such a Duchy as the French were establishing up and down the Arkansas? History is silent.

## APPENDIX

A historical relic in the form of an old print is in the Editorial Office of the Oklahoma Historical Society, bearing the date 1720. This is an advertising poster of a single sheet, with an engraving for illustration on one side showing American Indian figures—man, woman and a child—against a background of an Indian village. The caption below the engraving is in the Dutch language, the English translation reading "King and Queen of the Mississippi." The other side of the poster is also in the Dutch language, advertising two plays, "The Great Scene" and "Konst-Places." Both plays are satirical in form, based on the plan to colonize the Mississippi Valley, promoted by John Law, Financial Minister of France (1717-1720). The advertisement sets forth the wild speculation on the continent of Europe, accompanying this great scheme to retrieve the fortunes of France. It may be recalled here that John Law's scheme for colonization of the Mississippi Valley is referred to in American history as the "Mississippi Bubble." The expression "Bubble and Windnegotiation" appears in the text on the poster, which is translated from the Dutch as follows:[7]

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[4] Dr. Paul Piper, *Die Alteste Deutsche Litteratur bis um das Jahr 1050,* (Stuttgart, 1884).

[5] Bossu, Captain of the French Marines, *Travels Through that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana,* translated by J. R. Forester, Vol. I, (London, 1771).

[6] *Ibid.*

The Great

SCENE

The Foolishness

Depicting the rise, progress and decline of the Campaign Bubble and Windnegotiation, in France, England and the Netherlands, committed in the Year MDCCXX
Showing the Collection of all the CONDITIONS AND PROJECTS
Of the established Company of Insuance, Navigation, Commerce, etc. in the Netherlands, as they were put into practice, as they were rejected through the State in several Provinces.
along with

KONST-PLACES,

Comedies and Poems

Presented by different amateurs, to mock this abominable and miserly Trade, through which in this Year, different families and persons from High and Low station were ruined, and by which were depraved and the organized Negotiations were obstructed, in France, England, as well as in the Netherlands.

*As long as the Greedy Person*
*Is provided with money and goods,*
*He catches the Victim at his will,*
*For the Greedy and Unscrupulous are always fed by them.*

Printed as proof for the Descendents, in that fateful Year, for many Silly and Wise, 1720.

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7 The translation of this poster from Dutch into English was done by Miss Sandra ("Sandy") Sidner of Oklahoma City, who spent the year 1963-64 in the Netherlands as an International Christian Youth Exchange student. She attended a Dutch high school, lived with a Dutch family and learned the Dutch language. Sandra graduated from Putnam City High School in 1966, and is a student at Oklahoma State University.—Ed.

HET GROOTE

# TAFEREEL

## DER DWAASHEID,

Vertoonende de opkomſt, voortgang en ondergang der Actie, Bubbel en Windnegotie, in Vrankryk, Engeland, en de Nederlanden, gepleegt in den Jaare MDCCXX.

Zynde een Verzameling van alle de

## CONDITIEN EN PROJECTEN

Van de opgeregte Compagnien van Aſſurantie, Navigatie, Commercie, &c. in Nederland, zo wel die in gebruik zyn gebragt, als die door de H. Staten van eenige Provintien zyn verworpen:

als meede

# KONST-PLAATEN,

## COMEDIEN EN GEDIGTEN,

Door verſcheide Lieſhebbers uytgegeven, tot beſchimpinge dezer verfoeijelyke en bedrieglyke Handel, waar door in dit Jaar, verſcheide Familien en Perſoonen van Hooge en Lage ſtand zyn geruineerd, en in haar middelen verdorven, en de opregte Negotie geſtremt, zo in Vrankryk, Engeland als Nederland.

*Zo lang den Gier'ge Menſch*
*Is voorzien van geld en goed,*
*Krygt den Bedrieger tot zyn wenſch,*
*Want hem de Gier'ge en Onnoz'le altyd voed.*

Gedrukt tot waarſchouwinge voor de Nakomelingen, in 't noodlottige Jaar, voor veel Zotte en Wyze. 1720.

(M. H. Wright Collection)

**POSTER IN THE DUTCH LANGUAGE**
**With the date 1720**

# THE HISTORY OF HAMMON AND THE RED MOON SCHOOL

*By Patt Hodge**

After the opening of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Territory in 1892, James H. Hammon was sent to the Red Moon Agency,[1] as the Additional Farmer. The Additional Farmer was responsible for the building of the reservation school and teaching the Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians to farm. By March 1894, Farmer Hammon had established a commissary for the Indians and was in the process of building an issue station. The Cheyenne Indians were hauling materials from El Reno, Oklahoma, for the construction of the new school.[2]

Settlers moving into the area came to the Red Moon Agency for mail and supplies. On June 30, 1894, a postoffice was established in the home of James Hammon, with his wife, Ida Hammon, as the postmaster.

George Sisson came to the Red Moon Agency to trade with the Indians and built a trading post near the agency. A Mr. McReynolds had a store in a dugout, about one fourth mile south of the agency. He sold Indian moccasins and beadwork along with the staples needed by the settlers. E. D. Foster set up a trading post near the George Sisson store, and M. K. Calloway established a grist mill.

The issue station was completed in 1896. The two story frame house had five rooms, painted woodwork and cost $500.00. The Red Moon Boarding School was also completed in 1896 and Farmer Hammon was transferred to the Sugar Creek Sub-Station, at Kiowa Agency.

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* The writer, Patt Hodge (Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.) is a native of Hammon, Roger Mills County, Oklahoma. She attended Oklahoma College for Women (now OCLA) at Chickasha, and is deeply interested in research of the history of Roger Mills and Custer County, the results of some of her work having been placed in the records of the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society. As an active member of many civic and patriotic organizations, she has been recognized for "outstanding ability, accomplishments and service to the community, country and professions" by a group of leaders of national women's organizations, including the AAUW, DAR, YWCA, Order of the Eastern Star and Altrusa International. Mr. and Mrs. Hodge and their family make their home on the Lee and Hodge Ranch, northeast of Hammon.—Ed.

1 Red Moon Agency, a sub-agency of the Darlington Agency, located on the Washita River to issue rations to the Cheyennes camped in that area. (Site in present Custer County) The name "Red Moon" is from the Cheyenne Chief whose camp was located in that region.

2 See letter on freight roll to James H. Hammon from A. E. Woodson, Acting Indian Agent (Appendix A).

After the Hammons were transferred, the postoffice was removed first to the McReynolds store, then a short time later to the homestead of George Andrews, who lived on Whiteshield Creek. About 1897, the postoffice was located in the George Sisson store, with Mr. Sisson as the postmaster.

When the Ackley brothers, T., Bob and John, came to the Red Moon Agency to visit their aunt, Ida Hammon, they stayed and worked at odd jobs around the agency. Bob and John Ackley soon moved on to other parts of Oklahoma, but T. Ackley stayed and homesteaded on land southwest of the Red Moon Agency. In 1897, Mr. T. Ackley married Miss Flora Mae Walker and the eight Ackley children, George, Retta, Hammon, Reed, Buford, Walker, Emory and Glen, were born on the land homesteaded by their father.[3]

In the fall of 1896, four families left Jacksboro, Texas for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Territory, the D. C. Stout family, William Stinson family, Isaac Peterson family and the Dunlap family. Mrs. Mariah Grover Dunlap was about sixty years old when she homesteaded in the Colter area. Her three sons, Norman, Obadiah and Rob, and a son-in-law and his wife, Issac and Minnie Dunlap Peterson, also settled in the Colter region. The other daughter, Jennie and her husband, William Stinson, homesteaded about four miles straight south of the Red Moon Agency. The Stinsons' seven children, Myrtle, Maud, Claud, Minnie, Albert, Earl and Elzie, also made the trip with their parents.[4]

Mr. and Mrs. D. C. Stout, and three children, Lloyd, Bill and Lora, homesteaded near the Stinson family. Mr. Stout used his wagon, that brought his family from Texas, to haul freight and supplies from El Reno, Oklahoma, for the trading posts at Hammon. This helped supply extra income until the Stout farm could produce a crop.[5]

In June 1898, Reverend H. J. Kliewer came to the Red Moon Reservation to serve as a missionary for the Mennonite Church. The first religious services were held under brush arbors during the summer, and in Indian tepees or mission tents during the winter. In September 1898, land was secured for a mission and Reverend Kliewer moved from his tent in the Indian village, into a dug-out on the mission land. In the spring of 1899, a mission house was built of native gyp rock and other material hauled from Weatherford, Oklahoma. The north half of the

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[3] Interview with Mrs. Reed Ackley, daughter-in-law of T. Ackley.

[4] Interview with Mrs. Jodie Archer, grandaughter of William Stinson.

[5] Letter written from Lloyd Stout, Elk City, Oklahoma, to Mrs. L. E. Hodge, Jr.

(Courtesy *Elk City Times*)
MULE TRAIN AT HAMMON
Freighting from El Reno, 1898

(Courtesy Lee & Hodge Ranch)
RED MOON BOARDING SCHOOL
Cheyenne Indian Reservation in 1920

house was used for church purposes and the south half for the living quarters of the Kliewer family.

The Red Moon Agency and the Red Moon Boarding School were combined in September 1897, with the superintendent of the school, William H. Smith, in charge of both. The trading posts near the agency moved to a new location, about a mile southwest of T. Ackley's farm. As the population increased in Oklahoma, Hammon soon was established as a thriving pioneer town.

From 1898 to 1910, Hammon remained at this location. In 1910, the town moved from Custer county to Roger Mills county to be near the new railroad that was coming through Roger Mills county. A townsite was purchased from W. S. Creach, a mile southwest of the old town, and incorporated in 1910.[6]

## Red Moon Boarding School

The Red Moon Boarding School, located in the northwest part of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, was established in 1897. The school, named for Chief Red Moon, of the Cheyenne Indians in this area, had been started in 1894 and was completed in the latter part of 1896. Built near the Washita River, it was one-fourth mile east of the Red Moon Indian Agency, in G County, and contained 1280 acres.[7]

The boarding school was a white frame, two-story building, consisting of two dormitories, school room, office, employees quarters, sewing room and could accommodate 75 pupils.[8] The school was organized for Indian children in western Oklahoma who had never been enrolled in any school, and was to combine industrial training with academic work.

The first superintendent, William H. Smith, arrived at Red Moon Boarding School, the summer of 1897. The members of his staff were Ebenezer Kingsley, teacher; St. Pierre Owen, Industrial teacher; Delia Briscoe, matron; Pearl Asbury, seamstress; Emma Frass, laundress; Edith Olson, cook; and Frank J. Filkins, farmer. From the beginning, the boarding school seemed doomed as a failure. The school was entirely unfurnished for lack of money, and the teachers did not have sufficient supplies to teach the Indian students. To help relieve the situation, a day

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[6] Interview with Arthur Creach, son of W. S. Creach.

[7] The Red Moon Boarding School was located in Custer County, near Hammon, Oklahoma, Sec. 32, T 14 N, R 20 W. See *Appendix A* for freight bill.

[8] The school was built under the direction of James H. Hammon, Agency Farmer, for whom the town of Hammon is named.

school was started until the time that the school could be opened as a boarding school.

Superintendent Smith still had the problem of getting the Indian children to enroll in the school, because dissension arose between the Indian parents and the school. The parents bitterly resented the idea of teaching their children "the White Man's way." The old Indian way of life was good enough for them, and was good enough for their children. Superintendent Smith was unsuccessful in enrolling the Indian children in 1897. However, the quarter term ending June 30, 1898, showed 19 Indian boys and 13 Indian girls enrolled in the school.[9] Another problem which confronted Superintendent Smith after enrolling the children was the need for an interpreter. William Hansell was employed as an interpreter and night watchman.

W. H. Smith served as superintendent of the school until January 14, 1899, when he was replaced by John Whitwell. The old school staff, that had served nearly two years, was replaced with a new one. The new staff for the school was Clymena S. Smith, teacher; John D. Miles, industrial teacher; Samantha Daugherty, matron; Phebe E. Whitwell, seamstress; Anna Littlewoman, laundress; W. A. Dunn, cook; George W. Dougherty, farmer; and William Hansell, night watchman and interpreter.

The school was still plagued with the attendance problem. On February 27, 1899, A. E. Woodson, Indian Agent for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency at Darlington, issued these orders: "No annuity payments will be made to those Indians who have failed to put their children in school." Attendance records showed a marked improvement after this order was put into effect. For the years 1900 through 1903, the average attendance was near fifty.

Under Superintendent Whitwell's direction, the Red Moon Boarding School became the most modern institution in western Oklahoma. The Indian students planted hundreds of shade trees, a fruit orchard and built a number of fences. A year brought changes among the Indian students. The students who had barely responded with a grunt had said the "whiteman's way no good." But now they spoke the English language in the schoolroom and on the playground as well. The students were also beginning to adopt the white man's way of dress. The girls were learning to knit, sew, cook and sing; the boys learned to care for poultry and hogs, to milk cows and to cultivate the soil, besides the academic education they received.

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[9] From the files on the Red Moon Indian Boarding School, Indian Archives Division, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. See *Appendix B* for Report of Red Moon School, 1898; *Appendix C* for Report, 1903.

In March 1899, a laundry and bakehouse were constructed, later a chicken house, hog house, two cisterns, windmill and pump were added to the school facilities.

Chief White Shield, a sub-chief of the Cheyenne Indians, was still unhappy with the school and the progress that had been made with the students. He wrote a letter to the Indian Agent at Darlington, A. E. Woodson, charging Superintendent Whitwell and Pete Antoine with mistreatment of the Indian students. Following an investigation from the Indian Department, both men were cleared of all charges.

Superintendent Whitwell remained at the Red Moon Boarding School until 1905 when W. H. Blish became superintendent. John Whitwell was proud of the work he had accomplished during his years at the Red Moon Indian School. In one of his reports to Agent Woodson, Whitwell said: "While both boys and girls have showed marked improvements in industrial as well as literary attainments, the greatest source of gratification lies in the great change of feeling both pupils and parents now manifest to the school. What were formerly the most bitter opponents of the school are now its most ardent supporters."[10]

In May 1906, a group of boys from the Elk City High School, came to play baseball with the Red Moon School. They came in two carriages, furnished by the John Caffey and Bruson Delivery Barns the day before the game, and camped overnight. The Elk City team defeated the Red Moon School, 1-0. Donnie McClain, Elk City, was the pitcher for the winning team, umpires were Guy Woodman and Tom Utt, Elk City, some of the players were Chick Fourney, Alfa Peeler and Orval Nutt. Attending the game from Elk City were A. L. (Bob) Thurmond, F. E. Herring, Arthur Hall, John Mitchell and S. L. Shore, all great baseball fans. People came from miles around to watch the ball game and the crowd was estimated at 500.[11]

W. H. Blish remained as superintendent until 1908, when Willis E. Dunn was appointed as Special District Agent and Principal of the Red Moon School, a position he retained until 1917.[12]

By 1912, the Red Moon School had been discontinued as a boarding school but was still in operation as a day school. Buildings listed in 1912 for government use, were the blacksmith shop; Issue Station used as farmers quarters; tent houses used for

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10 Report from John Whitwell to A. E. Woodson, Indian Agent, Darlington, Oklahoma.

11 A story in the Elk City Daily News, Elk City, Oklahoma, January 2, 1966.

12 W. E. Dunn was transferred to Sisseton, South Dakota, July 10, 1917.

tubercular quarters; barn used for shelter for school and agency teams and vehicles; commissary used for storing school supplies; laundry and bake shop; lavatories used for school and agency; machine shed, coal house, chicken house, cow shed, pig house, corn crib, hay shed and stock shed for horses. In April 1912, a fire destroyed the hay barn and 400 bales of alfalfa hay that had been stored for the winter.

Two destructive storms visited the vicinity of the school in the summer of 1912. In a letter to the Indian Department, Willis Dunn requested funds for a cyclone celler, or to use the native term "fraid hole." Mr. Dunn made it very clear to the department he was not afraid of the storms but many of his employees were badly frightened by these storms. A celler was built large enough to accommodate students, employees and anyone else near the school that might need shelter.

The school enrollment continued to decline. The December 1915 enrollment listed 28 students, the September 1917 school term listed only 14 students. Many students were attending schools closer to their homes. The students that attended the day school were accompanied by their parents who would camp around the school. This soon presented a problem to the staff that operated the school. The parents interfered with the teaching and they were neglecting their own homes and livestock.

The Indian Department proposed to close the school and send the Indian students to other schools in the vicinity where they would receive equal advantages with the white students. On April 20, 1923, a protest was filed by the parents, requesting that the school be continued as a day school for their children. The day school remained in operation until July 14, 1925, when notice to abolish the school was sent to Nelson Bennett, the teacher in charge of the school. Formal notification of the closing of the school came July 30, 1925. Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Bennett were transferred to Cut Meat School on the Rosebud Reservation in South Dakota.

Since formal closing of the Red Moon School the Cheyenne-Arapaho students have enrolled in Hammon Public Schools and some in other state schools. The Red Moon School, though closed to classes, became a gathering place for many social activities for both Indians and whites. The large dining hall was the scene of many Junior-Senior banquets of Hammon School. The picturesque setting with towering shade trees was a favored picnic area.

On December 28, 1965, fire of unknown origin destroyed the Red Moon School but not the memory of this historic landmark of the Cheyenne-Arapaho Indians and the pioneers left in Hammon community.

## *APPENDIX A*

### Letter for Freight Bill

Cheyenne and Arapaho Indian Agency
Darlington, Oklahoma
April 7, 1894

To: James H. Hammon, Esq'r.
Additional Farmer, District 9
Red Moon Issue Station
Cheyenne, Oklahoma

Sir:

I enclose herewith Freight Roll for the Red Moon Indians, and the following official checks which you will deliver to the proper parties.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| No. 66,873 | Snake | $20.30 |
| 66,874 | Behind Man | 18.14 |
| 66,875 | White Hawk | 17.91 |
| 66,876 | Roached Man | 15.54 |
| 66,877 | Strong Wolf | 16.00 |
| 66,878 | White Skunk | 20.48 |
| 66,879 | Standing Water | 17.39 |
| 66,880 | Howling Water | 17.40 |
| | | $143.16 |

You will witness the payments in the proper columns on each roll and also sign the certificate of witnesses, returning the rolls to this office as soon as payment is completed.

The endorsement of these checks must be technically and legally perfect, and where the payee signs his mark, his signature must be witnessed by two persons, giving their proper post office address. For instance:

Reached Man his mark X

Witnesses to mark—J. H. Hammon, Post Office, Cheyenne,
Oklahoma Territory
T. H. Jackson, Post Office, Cheyenne,
Oklahoma Territory

Reached Man, is the Indian name of Mike Buffalo-thigh.

You will inform me if you wish the check for your salary sent you, or if I shall retain it here until you come to the agency.

Mike Buffalo-thigh's police pay will be retained until you or he comes in, unless he desires it sent to him by mail.

Conflicting reports reach this office of the troubles between Indians and Whites of your locality. You will keep me advised of the situation and if anything of a serious nature is anticipated, you will inform me of same by courier.

Very respectfully,

Woodson

Captain 5th Cavalry, Acting Indian Agent

## *APPENDIX B*

### Report of Red Moon Boarding School Located at Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, for Quarter Ending June 30, 1898

| *Name* | *Tribe* | *Age* |
|---|---|---|
| Philip Bear Shield | Cheyenne | 14 |
| Cornilus Beaver | " " | 18 |
| Paul Beaver | " " | 13 |
| Eliot Black Coyote | " " | 12 |
| Frizzel Black Hawk | " " | 15 |
| Joseph Black Wolf | " " | 18 |
| Mihot Black Wolf | " " | 12 |
| Oscar Brave Bear | " " | 12 |
| Edward Horn | " " | 13 |
| Morris Crazy Medicine | " " | 11 |
| Albert Crazy Medicine | " " | 10 |
| Fred Mann | " " | 10 |
| Walter Orange | " " | 11 |
| Lyman Orange | " " | 7 |
| Charles Reynolds | " " | 5 |
| Walker Roman Nose | " " | 12 |
| Armstrong Standing | " " | 13 |
| Herbert White Man | " " | 16 |
| Russell White Wolf | " " | 14 |
| Ethel All Runner | " " | 12 |
| Mary Big Bear | " " | 12 |
| Martha Big Bear | " " | 12 |
| Florence Black Wolf | " " | 11 |
| Agnes Black Wolf | " " | 17 |
| Cora Bird Man | " " | 13 |
| Eleanor Heap of Crows | " " | 14 |
| Bessie Heap of Crows | " " | 8 |
| Florance Mann | " " | 17 |
| Miriam Mann | " " | 13 |
| Myrtle Little Belt | " " | 8 |
| Alice Orange | " " | 10 |
| Ida Standing | " " | 8 |

## *APPENDIX C*

Report of Red Moon Boarding School located at
Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency
for Quarter ending December 31, 1903
Under supervision of W. H. Blish, Superintendent

| *Name* | *Tribe* | *Age* |
|---|---|---|
| Fritz Belt | Cheyenne | 6 |
| George Fire | " " | 15 |
| Flynn Goose | " " | 9 |
| Sherman Goose | " " | 6 |
| Joshua Heap of Birds | " " | 17 |
| John Heap of Birds | " " | 11 |
| Albert Hoffman | " " | 9 |
| Major Howlingwater | " " | 7 |
| Fred Mann | " " | 16 |
| Lyman Orange | " " | 14 |
| Alfred Orange | " " | 8 |
| Charlie Reynolds | " " | 11 |
| Walker Roman Nose | " " | 17 |
| Tommy Roman Nose | " " | 9 |
| David Shave Head | " " | 15 |
| Edward Sole Leather | " " | 12 |
| Sam Standingwater | " " | 15 |
| Roy Standingwater | " " | 10 |
| Howard Turtle Road | " " | 8 |
| Amos White Hawk | " " | 8 |
| James White Wolf | " " | 13 |
| Myrtle Belt | " " | 14 |
| Mary Big Bear | " " | 18 |
| Myra Big Bear | " " | 10 |
| Stella Black Hawk | " " | 15 |
| Lily Black Hawk | " " | 16 |
| Crow Neck | " " | 16 |
| Edna Chunky Fingernail | " " | 17 |
| Ruth Darlington | " " | 14 |
| Josephine Goose | " " | 15 |
| Eva Hawk | " " | 11 |
| Berta Happy | " " | 13 |
| Eleanor Heap of Crows | " " | 20 |
| Bessie Heap of Crows | " " | 14 |
| Miriam Mann | " " | 18 |
| Alice Orange | " " | 15 |
| Ruth Porcupine | " " | 8 |
| Susie Standing Bird | " " | 8 |
| Rose White Bird | " " | 14 |
| Dulcie Sole Leather | " " | 15 |
| Vinnie White Eagle | " " | 9 |
| Nellie Whiteman | " " | 13 |
| Carrie Warnen | Arapaho | 10 |

## PAUL ATLEE WALKER

*By Ed Montgomery**

Paul A. Walker, one of Oklahoma's outstanding citizens and a prominent figure on the national scene for many years, died November 2, 1965, at the age of eighty-four.

Mr. Walker was born January 11, 1881, in a log house in Washington County, Pennsylvania. His father, Joseph Lewis Walker, was a farmer of Welsh ancestry and the Quaker religion.

The young Paul Walker graduated from the Southwestern State Normal School at California, Pennsylvania, in 1899 with a record which won him a scholarship at the Chicago Institute, later merged with the University of Chicago. He graduated with honors while earning his way by working in a department store and waiting tables. He also participated in debate and dramatic activities, and was a charter member of Sigma Alpha Epsilon social fraternity and its president for a year.

After teaching in the high school at Charleston, Illinois, Mr. Walker came to Oklahoma in 1905 as principal of Shawnee High School. He resigned in 1908 to return to the University of Chicago and win his Ph.D. degree.

In 1909 he enrolled in the first law class at the University of Oklahoma. In addition to taking a full class schedule, Mr. Walker taught in the University Preparatory School, and became the university's first debate coach. He took the lead in establishing a chapter of Phi Delta Phi, national honorary legal fraternity, on the University campus. He also was responsible for founding a Delta Sigma Rho forensic organization, helped to organize the first Oklahoma chapter of Sigma Alpha Epsilon, and was Phi Beta Kappa of O.U.

While he was still a student, Mr. Walker led a successful campaign for a $125,000 legislative appropriation for construction of the first law building on the O. U. campus. He not only formed and headed a committee to secure the building but lobbied actively for the project with the Governor and key legislators. When the building was completed, he made the dedication speech in behalf of the alumni.

After receiving his LL.B. degree in 1912, Mr. Walker returned to Shawnee to establish a law practice. He also served as justice of the peace.

In 1914 he married Miss Myra Williams of Durant, a girl whom he had met in 1910 when she was teaching Latin at The

* Ed Montgomery is columnist and editor, the *Norman Transcript*, Norman, Oklahoma.

(Courtesy Mrs. Paul A. Walker)

PAUL A. WALKER

University of Oklahoma. Mrs. Walker is a younger sister of the late Robert L. Williams, Governor of Oklahoma from 1915 to 1919 and later an outstanding federal jurist.

The course Mr. Walker's public life was to follow became apparent in 1915 when he accepted a position as attorney for the state Corporation Commission. He plunged immediately into a campaign to secure lower rates and better service for utility customers. During his four years as the commission's attorney, he also helped secure passage of a law giving it the power to enforce petroleum conservation measures.

During some of his busiest Oklahoma years, Mr. Walker pursued both military and civilian careers. He joined the Oklahoma National Guard during World War I and served as the state's judge advocate general from 1919 until 1934, achieving the rank of lieutenant colonel.

Mr. Walker became a referee for the State Supreme Court in 1919, resigning the next year to become special counsel for the Corporation Commission in a campaign authorized by the legislature to reduce freight rates for Oklahoma shippers.

In a long legal battle before the Interstate Commerce Commission, Mr. Walker won a landmark decision which saved state shippers more than a million dollars a year and created a precedent used by other states to realize similar savings.

Mr. Walker ran for the position of corporation commissioner in 1930. His efforts in behalf of the public were well known by then, and he won easily. He was immediately elected chairman of the commission, a rarity for a new member.

Among other things, he conducted investigations into the rates for ginning cotton, secured rate reductions for natural gas and power customers and continued to work for more equitable freight rates. One of his greatest services was in helping to stop production practices in the oil fields which were not only squandering priceless natural resources but bringing about chaotic market conditions.

In 1934, a committee of the House of Representatives was holding hearings in Washington on the desirability of setting up a federal agency to regulate the communications industry. Mr. Walker testified before the committee as chairman of the Oklahoma Corporation Commission. When Congress passed a law setting up the Federal Communications Commission later that year, President Franklin D. Roosevelt picked Mr. Walker as one of the seven original members.

While the FCC was still in its infancy Mr. Walker, as head of the agency's telephone industry division, launched an inquiry

into the structure and rate system of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. It is considered the biggest investigation ever conducted by the federal government in the field of business.

Later, the energetic Oklahoman investigated an alleged monopoly in radio broadcasting. He proposed the licensing of radio and television networks to protect individual stations and urged a ban on hard liquor advertising.

Mr. Walker was named vice chairman of the commission in 1945 and had been acting chairman for sometime when he was appointed chairman by President Harry S. Truman in 1952. He was FCC chairman during the years when most of the nation's television channels were allotted. He once said that one of the accomplishments of which he was the proudest was the reservation of adequate channels for educational TV.

When Mr. Walker retired from the federal agency in 1953 after almost twenty years' service, he was the only original member still serving. He practiced law in Washington until 1957, when the Walkers moved to Norman.

Mr. Walker had been in retirement since, but had continued to participate in some of his favorite activities until shortly before his death. These included activities of the University of Oklahoma College of Law, his fraternity and the Oklahoma Historical Society. He was elected to the Oklahoma Hall of Fame in 1945.

A past president of the Oklahoma Society of Washington, Mr. Walker was honored at a farewell banquet in the nation's capital in 1957. Senator Mike Monroney from Oklahoma, the principal speaker said of Mr. Walker: "The ideal public servant, Mr. Incorruptible, who steered the regulation of radio and television through their infancy without one accusation of favoritism or design to help one group over another."

Mr. Walker died at the Norman Municipal Hospital. He is buried at the Fair Lawn Cemetery in Oklahoma City. Survivors, in addition to Mrs. Walker, include a son, Major Robert Williams Walker, stationed at Tinker Air Force Base, and a daughter, Julia Myra Walker, Norman. He was preceded in death by a son and daughter, Paul A. Walker, Jr., former Tulsa County judge, and Mrs. E. E. (Virginia) Norton of Arlington, Virginia.

Other survivors include six grandchildren; three brothers, Dr. Joseph D. Walker of Houston, Texas; Thomas J. Walker of Bradenton, Florida; William Penn Walker of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and two sisters also live in the same state, Mrs. Edwin E. Halstead of California, and Mrs. Leah Cornell of Somerset.

# IN MEMORY OF ANNA LEE BROSIUS KORN

*By Mark R. Everett**

Anna B. Korn died on October 12, 1965 at the age of 96. She was buried at Hamilton, Missouri, where she was born the daughter of James and Mary Brosius, and the granddaughter of Captain Albert Davis and Julia Davis who were among the founders of Hamilton. A sole surviving relative of Anna Brosius is Mr. J. C. Penney, the well known owner of a national chain of stores.

In 1891 Anna married Frank N. Korn; their two children died prior to the Korn's departure in 1917 for El Reno, Oklahoma. During her Missouri sojourn Anna Korn wrote a state song, *Missouri,* which was adopted officially by the Missouri Legislature. She was also the proponent of a law establishing an annual Missouri Day enacted in 1915.

Through her literary interests she joined the Missouri Writers Guild and the National League of American Pen Women, and was elected an honorary member of the International Mark Twain Society. Over a period of years Mrs. Korn published a number of poems, and wrote a state song for Oklahoma.

She established a remarkable record in club and association activities. Mrs. Korn organized chapters of the United States Daughters of the Confederacy and the Daughters of American Colonists. In Oklahoma she took a very active interest in and assumed vigorous leadership of a number of women's Democratic organizations. She was the founder and president of The Daughters of Democracy. She herself was admitted to membership in Magna Charta Dames and in Daughters of the Crown.

In 1921 the Oklahoma Legislature passed an act establishing November 16th as Oklahoma Day. Mrs. Korn was the author of this legislation. The next year she was elected to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and continued in that capacity until her death. Certainly, her greatest accomplishment was the creation and establishment of The Oklahoma Memorial Association and Hall of Fame, of which she was the first president. When asked why she undertook this task she said, "There was no organization to show our appreciation of, or to give honor during their lifetime to people who had rendered outstanding service to their fellow citizens. I thought that we should give flowers to the living." These ideals were stated clearly in Article II of the Oklahoma Memorial Associ-

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(Oklahoma Historical Society Collection)

ANNA BROSIUS KORN

ation's Constitution: "Objects—to foster a love for state history; to revere the memory of those pioneers who blazed the way for civilization and progress; to commemorate living citizens of Oklahoma who have achieved success and distinction in some line of worthy public endeavor; to celebrate annually our natal day—November 16th."

In this brief summary, I have included only a fraction of Anna B. Korn's accomplishments. One who knew her personally and confidentially could realize the phenomenal strength of her idealism and her extraordinary determination to achieve an aim. A former governor hailed her as a most outstanding woman in the history of our state. She was a very persistent warrior for good, and many of her friends experienced the critical censure of this tiny, fiery and auburn-haired champion of the Oklahoma Hall of Fame.

During her thirty-two years of widowhood Anna Korn measured tenderly the memory of her husband and children. A respected judge paid tribute to her as great in mind and soul, a notable benefactor to our city and state, and one of our most useful and outstanding citizens, who gave continuous inspiration to all.

Once more a portion of her annual welcome at the November 16th commemoration ceremonies of the Hall of Fame is related here:

"Personal history is always interesting. To trace the personal record and sum up the thousand incidents that have left their impress upon the surface of the past cannot but be of supreme importance to every one. If we hold before our mental vision the hosts of men and women of all centuries dating back to Adam, we shall find that some stand out among the others. Their superiority is the measure of their understanding of love to God and love to man.

"In the gallery of time, since statehood, the niches are filled with the statues of men and women who have served humanity in some line of human endeavor. Such ones are public idols, and through them the youth get glimpses of what they hope to be and what is possible for them. We read in Holy Writ of the custom of celebrating victories and events with public mass meetings. Did not the damsels sing the praises of Saul and David as they returned from the war victorious? Are not other instances given when joy was expressed in the dance?

"To revive this ancient custom of paying tribute to the living for a conspicuous service to the public weal is the idealism upon which the Oklahoma Memorial Association is founded."

# GREEN YEARGAIN AND STAR ROUTE 32024

*By Louise Morse Whitham**

Newsmen created much of the legend of Green Yeargain, in terms sometimes more picturesque than accurate: "a rider of the famed Pony Express," "driver of the old Star Route," or "Tulsa's first mail carrier."

History gives the background of the Green Yeargain story and that of the Star Routes.

By appointment from the Continental Congress, 1776, Benjamin Franklin became the first Postmaster General of the United States. Mr. Franklin followed the methods used by England and the American colonies when he served as Postmaster General in 1757. It was a "collection on delivery" plan. This system worked after a fashion in closely settled areas but not so well after 1803 and the rapid expansion of the western territories.

A great advance in postal services came in 1847 with the introduction of prepaid postage stamps. Another, soon after, was the use of what is now called the Star Routes for postal carrying. Another, less lasting except in tradition, was the Pony Express begun in 1860. It operated between St. Joseph, Missouri and San Francisco. Its promoters lost heavily and the Pony Express closed because a telegraph line to San Francisco, completed in 1861, carried messages faster and more cheaply than was possible by Pony Express. It took about ten days to make the run. Letters cost $5.00 per half ounce. Green Yeargain was five years old when the Pony Express made its last trip.

When Ead Rockwell in 1928, piloted the first airmail plane to Tulsa, Green Yeargain was among the invited greeting Tulsans. Newspaper headlines of the event were "PONY EXPRESS MEETS AIR MAIL." Such inaccuracies resulted from over publicity about the Pony Express and a very general lack of information about the extent and services of the Star Route systems.

It is somewhat surprising that today in the time of Telstar messages, there are over 12,000 Star Routes operating in the United States. Many small post offices have been closed and

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* Mrs. Louise Morse Whitham is a retired teacher of history in Tulsa where she organized the Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School twenty-five years ago. A former contributor to *The Chronicles,* Mrs. Whitham presents here the story of Green Yeargain, a recent compilation of data from the records of the Oklahoma Historical Society and National Archives, in connection with taping sequences in history for the Education Service Center at Tulsa, 1966.—Ed.

(Courtesy Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School)

GREEN YEARGAIN

many rail lines abandoned. Star routes are different today from the Rural Free Delivery services which are under a town or city postmaster's supervision. Under the contract and subcontract system, Star route mail comes directly to the contractor who has a postmaster's duties.

The name, Star Route, was adopted in 1859 using three stars or asterisks to replace the words, "Celerity, Certainty and Sincerity," formerly used to denote the ideals of this postal service.

The period of greatest railroad building did not begin until after the Civil War. Prior to that mail had been carried by river steam boats or by overland wagon trains. There was much voluntary or unpaid delivery of mail, a sort of frontier neighborliness. This was the case in old Tulsey Town.[1]

Under the Star Route system, the United States was divided into Districts, each headed by a District Contractor and he sublet to local Contractors the job of hiring carriers, outfitting them and supervising the distribution of mail. There were many

[1] The name, Tulsey Town, used before and long after the Civil War, applied to a Creek neighborhood on the Arkansas River. Tulsey Town does not appear in the Official Records of the U. S. Postoffice, although occasional letters so addressed were delivered to the newly established Tulsa post office after 1879.

thousands of these new routes to points not reached by ship or train and most numerous in the south or in the western territories. They were replaced by rail service as that became possible. Route numbers of the cancelled lines were never used again.

Probably the first Star Routes established in our state, then Indian Territory, were those for the Cherokees, the Choctaws, and the Chickasaws in 1867. Vinita had such Star Route service before 1871.

A railroad, then called the Atlantic & Pacific, now the St. Louis & San Francisco, built from St. Louis to Vinita in 1871. Eleven years later it was completed to the Arkansas River, present Tulsa, December 24, 1882.

It was not until 1878, after the pacification or conquest of the warlike and rebellious western tribes, that the Indians were settled on reservations under Indian Agencies with nearby forts. It was then necessary to get mail and supplies to and from these Agencies. This led to the establishment of Star Route 32024.[2]

The St. Louis District Contractor sublet to V. W. Parker of Vinita, the management of the new Star Route which was to reach the recently established Indian Agencies and to go as far west as Las Vegas, New Mexico with a connecting line to Santa Fe. Contractor V. W. Parker had trails "dragged" through the matted-down grass of the unoccupied territory west of the Sac and Fox Agency.

A log cabin was also built on the north bank of the North Canadian River, at what is now Oklahoma City. It was called Camp McCullough. Some fifty miles west, another cabin was built called Camp Morris. These were needed because there was then no settlement in that area. Contractor Parker provided wagons, teams, equipment and hired several young men as mail carriers paying $30 per month and travel expenses, top-hand wages for that time. Of those employed only three names are now remembered: Bill Secrest, Dick Hartshorne, and Green Yeargain.

"Green Yeargain was born near Gladstone, Alabama, on June 3, 1856, to Jasper and Martha Yeargain. Following the Civil War in which his father was a victim, in 1869, when still a boy, he came to Indian Territory with his mother and brothers and sisters, driving a three-team ox-wagon out from Alabama to join his mother's brother at old Ft. Gibson. Young Green worked for his uncle for a year, operating the old ferry across Grand

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[2] Data supplied from the Office of the Postmaster General.

River at Ft. Gibson. Later he began working as cowboy near Tahlequah, moving on in 1875 to work on Major Lipe's ranch near the site of old Claremore."[3]

Green Yeargain once said that he was hired because he could read, write and cipher, but mainly because he was skinny and tough.

Star Route 32024 was one of the longest and loneliest of all the routes. Green Yeargain drove the first stage or lap of this route, making the mail delivery to old Claremore, about four miles northeast of present Claremore, then to Ft. Spunky, near present Catoosa, then a stop at George Perryman's farm house in the Tulsey Town, Creek Area. He then forded the Arkansas River at modern 21st Street, or was ferryed across if the river was high. His next stop was at Red Fork, and then to Jim Sapulpa's, west of present Sapulpa. He turned west from there to Tiger Jack's on Brown Creek which was in the western part of the Creek Nation, continuing on to the Sac and Fox Reservation about six miles south of present Stroud.

There route-driver *No. 1* would take care of local needs and wait for the postal wagon from the section of the route beyond the Sac and Fox Reservation to take back to the vinita post office any mail coming from the west for the east or other points. This was a weekly routine.

Route driver *No. 2* would carry everything to be delivered for the rest of the entire route. Leaving the Sac and Fox Agency and traveling through the unpopulated area, with rest stops at the cabins, he would come to Old Darlington near the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency. There he would meet the driver of the far western part of the route and give him the mail bags and strong box containing the postage stamps and other postal supplies. Then driver *No. 2* would return to the Sac and Fox Agency.

Meanwhile, the driver of *Section No. 3,* starting from the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency would drive west to Mobeetie, Texas (Buffalo Camp), and then to Santa Rosa, New Mexico. There another carrier from Santa Fe, New Mexico would meet him to take mail back to Santa Fe. Las Vegas, New Mexico was the final stop on Star Route 32024.

This long route covered several hundred miles of difficult driving. Once when illness and disaster befell the drivers on both Sections 2 and 3, Green Yeargain drove the entire distance to Las Vegas and back.

Government records list Josiah C. Perryman as Tulsa's

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[3] Yeargain family records.

Postmaster from March 25, 1879 to December 28, 1885, but records for the closing of service by Star Route 32024 are "not available." Earlier writers have placed the period of use of the Star Route at three and one-half or four years which would account for 1879 through a part of 1883. This agrees with Mr. Yeargain's recollection. Mr. J. M. Hall wrote about his trip to the George Perryman farm to get mail which might have been during 1882 when the railroad builders camped in what is now downtown Tulsa. J. C. Perryman and a Mr. Reed opened a general store in the village sometime in 1883, and the post office was then moved to the village store.

Possibly an answer to the question, "How did the western agencies then receive mail," lies in the fact that the Southern Pacific Railroad was then building from the west, the Santa Fe across western Oklahoma, and the Rock Island westward through the central territory.

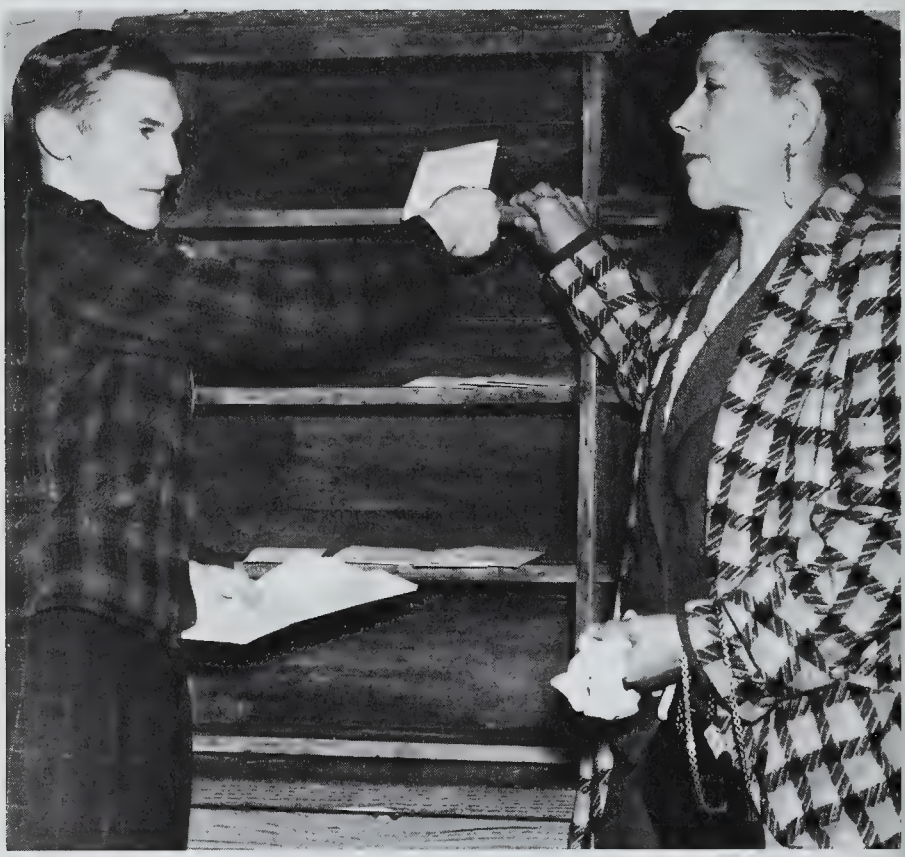
Postage stamps cost 2c in those days. Yet Mr. Yeargain remembered a time when he had only three letters to carry for the entire route. For the fiscal year of 1881, the Department paid Mr. Perryman $15.12 for his services. Often the mail loads were very light, but the drivers kept to their schedules.

A lively dispute developed in Tulsa after the Daughters of the American Colonists placed a stone marker along the roadway in front of the George Perryman home as a reminder that that was the site of Tulsa's first post office. Some relatives of the George Perryman family called attention to the fact that Lewis Perryman, in the late 1840's and 1850's had carried on a free or typically pioneer mail service for the benefit of the white traders and the educated Creek citizens of the area. When his wagons went for supplies to any point delivering mail, he would ask if there was mail for Tulsey Town. This was continued until the Civil War. Lewis Perryman died during that war and much of his property in Tulsey Town was destroyed. It was typical of the generosity of the Perryman family that after the Civil War his sons, particularly George, carried on this free service.

The contention was that although Star Route 32024 had brought mail to the George Perryman home on March 25, 1879, honor should be given to the former free service as being the first in the Tulsa area.

This discussion was still going in 1940, when the Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School, with the help of Mrs. Lilah D. Lindsey, one of the Advisors of the Society, found a happy solution to the question. They asked Green Yeargain.

On an October afternoon, a group from the Historical Society drove to the Green Yeargain home west of Skiatook. Al-



(Courtesy Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School)

FIRST POSTBOXES FOR MAIL IN TULSA

Mrs. Mayme Perryman Shirk Presenting the First Postboxes

though Mr. Yeargain was then past 80, he retained his vigorous health and good memory. He joked with Mrs. Lindsey about the good times young people in Tulsa had in the middle 1880's when he worked as a cowboy on a nearby ranch and used to come into Tulsa for the community "ice cream sings." These were given by the Mission Folk "to keep the cowboys out of mischief on Saturday night."

Introducing him to the group, Mrs. Lindsey said, "Mr. Yeargain was Tulsa's first mail carrier." At once Mr. Yeargain interrupted, "I've been called the first mail carrier so many times, I almost believe it. I reported for work as a carrier March 31, 1879 and the next day I took the second mail into Tulsa. I never missed my turn as driver but maybe that was because I

had the easiest section of the route. I brought the last bags of mail into Tulsa sometime in the summer of '83, but I just can't remember the exact date."

Mrs. Lindsey then stated the object of the visit, "Where was Tulsa's first post office?" And then she told about the dispute.

"Well", Mr. Yeargain said, "that's simple. The first United States post office was set up in the George Perryman farm house on March 25, 1879. But we should not forget all those years when the Perryman family helped their neighbors freely by getting mail from distant points and keeping it safe until called for. Tulsa has had two postal systems, and so two first post offices, one Creek, and the other by the United States. Maybe that log cabin at 3361 South Rockford that people are talking about should be honored as the first Creek Post office, but the U. S. Government had nothing to do with it."

Mrs. Lindsey then said, "Thank you. Now we have something to show you."

"Here, what's this?," Mr. Yeargain exclaimed, as he looked at the picture Mrs. Whitham handed him. "It looks to me like the postboxes I used to see at the George Perryman home sixty years ago. However did you get it?"

"The George Perryman house and barn have been torn down. Mrs. Mayme Perryman Shirk gave the postboxes to our Historical Society for safe-keeping. The Perryman family has preserved it for all these years as a relic of the Star Route postal system."

"That's just wonderful," exclaimed Mr. Yeargain, "Maybe someday with a bigger Post office building, these old boxes may have a new home. Take good care of it."[4]

One of the boys said, "We've wondered why the sections of the post boxes are so large."

"Because the Star Routes carried packages, as well as newspapers and letters," was the reply. "There was room for the tin box where the postal supplies—stamps, stamped envelopes, and postal cards—were kept, another where money was kept, another section where Mr. J. C. Perryman's records and reports

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[4] Tulsa's first postal equipment looks like a modern bookcase, five feet long, three high with a depth of nine inches. It was carpentered from locally grown black walnut lumber and is in good condition. The center section has four boxes or open compartments. The side sections have two boxes each. The Perryman family paid for its original cost. It is now housed by the Tulsa County Historical Society.

were kept, and there had to be a place for the Tulsa mail bag. The design for these postboxes was a common one on Star Routes."

There were many questions from the young people, mainly about the difficulties and dangers mail carriers had on the Star Route.

"Yes, it's true," Mr. Yeargain continued. "One of our riders was shot and killed on the lonely stretch between the two camps. The killer was never found.

"The horses were tied to the wagon and the strong boxes were not broken into. Each driver had a 45-Colt revolver and a long Winchester rifle, but his had not been fired.

"The greatest danger was from badger or prairie dog holes if the driver got off the poorly marked trail. I never lost a horse, but one of our drivers had to shoot a horse with a broken leg.

"Was I ever scared? Oh yes, but panicked only once. If you'd ever heard those prairie panthers snarl and scream you'd have been scared too. From my experience as a cowboy I knew how the panthers would drop down from their perches in trees onto the back of a luckless animal and kill it by breaking its neck. They were longer and stronger than the prairie wolves. They once preyed on buffaloes.

"I had to ford Pole Cat Creek near Jim Sapulpa's place. The creek banks were steep and slippery. My horses slid down the first bank, and the wagon splashed into the water. Just then a whole flock of panthers, out of sight in the heavy tree growth along the creek, set up a tremendous screeching and snarling. I was scared enough, but my horses were simply panicked. They just didn't want to scramble up the far bank facing those hungry beasts. They backed up almost upsetting the wagon in the water. I yelled at them. Finally I had to whip them before they took the far bank in great lunges. Then they ran and ran. I let them go for a mile or so until the horses and I stopped shaking.

"I remembered that crossing later every time I had to make it, but the day of the prairie panthers was like that of the buffaloes. Ranchmen killed them off to protect their herds. Buffaloes? I saw only one lonely fellow on all my trips across country.

"Of course, there were other difficulties. There were flash floods in streams that must be forded and blizzards in the winter time that filled the trail with snow. Going farther and farther west, the empty prairie—with the grass that in summertime was as high as a man and all grown up in the little used roadway—often required the use of a compass or at night the position of the stars as the guides."

One of the boys interrupted, "From Vinita to Stroud is only about a hundred miles. I can drive it in two hours. Why take two days?"

Mr. Yeargain smiled. "I guess you have never driven horses. They are not like automobiles. They can't go fast all the time. They have to eat hay or grass and that takes time. Both horse and driver must have rest. We often spent a night at the Perrymans. We carried a first aid kit: an ax, a shovel, a hammer, nails, and rope. First aid for a broken wagon or harness. The most important part of our load were the mail bags and strong boxes containing postage stamps and money collected. This was the day of the notorious highway robbers but they didn't bother the U.S. Mail."[5]

Mrs. Yeargain brought in cookies and lemonade and a buzz of talk began. One of the girls whispered to Mr. Yeargain, "Why did they ever name you Green?"

"I don't know. It isn't an uncommon name in Alabama. I didn't much mind being called greenhorn when I first went cowboying, but I hated being called 'Greenie.' "

At school next next day, recounting the information Mr. Yeargain had given, one boy said, "I don't care if another man did bring in the very first mail. He's Tulsa's best known early postman. Mr. Yeargain deserves to be called Tulsa's first in a lot of ways. Didn't he really settle that Post office question for us?"

The Tulsa newspapers carried the story of this meeting with Mr. Yeargain and his explanation of the two kinds of post offices Tulsa had had, but even that did not quiet the discussion.

Green Yeargain's stalwart son, Earl, twice mayor of Skiatook, who now herds Chevrolets across his sales lot, said of his father:

"A crippling paralytic stroke kept my father housebound most of his last three years. My sister, Mrs. Stella Park of Sperry cared for him after the death of his wife three months before my father's death. My father was a devoted family man. My mother, Isabel Captain Newman Yeargain, died when I was five years old. I have three sisters and a half-brother, George Newman, and there are eleven grandchildren and twenty great grandchildren. My father's second wife, Nora Ogden, for fifty

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[5] This account was assembled from the author's notes on this interview and from Earl Yeargain's memory of his father's stories about his mail carrying days.

years made our house a happy home. Father was almost ninety-three years old when he passed away February 9, 1949.

"Although our family lived for three years in Tulsa and longer than that in Skiatook, where father built houses and sold real estate, he was essentially an out-of-doors man. He loved ranching and profited by it."

Green Yeargain had many friends among the Tulsa County Pioneer Association members and ranchmen in a wide area. In 1946, Mr. Yeargain was honored by the Pioneers Association as the oldest of the old timers present. Many area newspapers printed accounts of his life and death. Each of the Tulsa papers used full columns for the story of "Tulsa's first mail carrier."

Funeral services were held in the Community Hall of Skiatook and burial was in the Captain family private cemetery near Hominy Falls. His friend, Samuel W. Brown, the Poet-Chief of the Euchees, sent this Memorial Message to be read at Mr. Yeargain's funeral:

". . . With the glory of life wrapped around him, he trailed through the forest, tracked the longhorns to the general round-up ground.

"Now the Master of all Masters has beckoned to Green Yeargain and the oldest House of all Houses has been opened and urges his heart's beat. Timeless solitude to meet the eternal skies, for the Soul. To be interned in a far away country and a large nation for all mankind. The cowhands and trail boys will meet you to sing the bedding down songs at the General Round-Up. One by one, when the eyelids kiss the cheek in the long last dreamless sleep, we will all join you at the Sundown Camp."

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# CIVIL WAR SITES IN OKLAHOMA

*By Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer**

The centennial years (1961-1965) of the Civil War brought increased attention to that conflict in Oklahoma, as in the other states and territories where it was waged. In the area west of the Mississippi the war has been studied little as compared with the upper south and southeast, the regions of the major battles. But the extent and importance of the military activity in the western part of the Confederacy should not be underestimated. It is hoped that this article will suggest within this larger context the scope and nature of the war in Indian Territory, the entire area now Oklahoma.

The need for further location, identification, and explanation of historic sites in Oklahoma associated with the Civil War became increasingly apparent with the centennial emphasis. Basic steps were taken in this direction in the "Oklahoma Historic Sites Survey," compiled by the Historic Sites Committee of the Oklahoma Historical Society, and published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXVI (Autumn, 1958), 282-314, and reprinted as a pamphlet. Here 557 historic sites were listed by counties. In the same year, 1958, Muriel H. Wright and George H. Shirk prepared a pamphlet, *Mark of Heritage,* that reproduced the inscriptions on the highway markers of the Oklahoma Historical Society and recorded their roadside locations. Additional paragraphs further described the sites. When Muriel H. Wright and LeRoy H. Fischer collaborated on the Civil War Map of Oklahoma, published on the reverse side of the Official 1963 Oklahoma Department of Highways Map, supplementary Civil War sites were identified and listed for the first time. With this background, work on this study commenced.

A variety of sources were consulted, but the most useful were the above publications, the files and *Cumulative Index* of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* and the 129 volumes and *General Index* of *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies.* The bibliography accompanying this present study lists all articles in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* dealing wholly with the historic sites treated in this survey. *The Chronicles* are a rich depository of miscellaneous materials on Oklahoma Civil War sites, and are

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* Muriel H. Wright is Editor of *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* and LeRoy H. Fischer is Professor of History in Oklahoma State University. The preparation of this article was supported by a grant from the Research Foundation of Oklahoma State University, and this assistance is deeply appreciated and gratefully acknowledged. This article involved extensive field research by the authors over a period of years.

revealed in numerous volumes by use of the *Cumulative Index* and subsequent annual indexes. Special research was made in the National Archives, Civil War Division, on the Opothleyahola campaign, letters and reports.

Eighty-six historic sites concerning the Civil War in Oklahoma are listed in this survey. Twenty-nine are combat locations; fifty-seven are war related. While completeness is not claimed, it is likely that all major sites are included. Whenever possible, the exact land call description is given, together with the nearest highway and proximity of the site to it. If the Oklahoma Historical Society has erected a highway marker concerning a site, the location of the marker is given.

The Civil War significance of each location is provided, and material is presented on the non-combat war related sites before and after the conflict, thus giving the essential historical setting. Each location is treated as a complete entry within itself, and for this reason certain information, including the first names of army officers, is frequently repeated. This is because it is thought that this study will be used more for reference purposes than as a narrative to read in its entirety. Ranks of army officers are those of the time of each event being described, and thus change from entry to entry. Whenever there are buildings, ruins, or other remains on the sites, these are indicated. All locations on public property are pointed out; otherwise they are on private property. Arrangement of sites is alphabetical by counties.

FORT WASHITA

View of the fort during the Civil War, made from a sketch that appeared in Harper's *Pictorial History of the Civil War.*

## CIVIL WAR SITES IN OKLAHOMA

### Atoka County

*OLD BOGGY DEPOT:* Site (Sec. 1, T 3 S, R 9 E) about fourteen miles southwest of Atoka. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 7, at the west approach of the bridge on Clear Boggy Creek about eleven miles west of Atoka. Old Boggy Depot is now a state park reached by traveling south and east about four miles from this marker.

The main commissary depot of the Confederate forces in Indian Territory throughout the war was located here. A brick Presbyterian Church erected in 1840, no longer standing, was used as a hospital during the war. Near the public well stood a tall pole, carrying a Confederate flag, around which the Indian soldiers would gallop, singing their war songs.

Boggy Depot (referred to as the "Depot on the Boggy" in 1840) was a flourishing commercial center established in 1838 in the Choctaw Nation. The first Chickasaw Agency was located here. Boggy Depot was a stage station on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route, 1858-1861, the first transcontinental U.S. Mail route between St. Louis and San Francisco. The town was located at the junction of the noted Texas Road and the well-traveled trail west from Fort Smith to Fort Washita and Fort Arbuckle, and Fort Sill after the Civil War.

The last remaining pre-war residence is gone, but markers indicate the sites of many of the old homes and establishments along the trail that was once the main street of this busy and important town. From 1858 to 1860 it was the capital of the Choctaw Nation. The post office established here in 1849 was moved after the coming of the railroad (Missouri, Kansas, and Texas, 1872) to a point about two miles south known as "New Boggy Depot."

*OLD BOGGY DEPOT SKIRMISH:* Site (T 2 S, R 10 E) about seven miles southwest of Atoka, about three miles northeast of the site of Old Boggy Depot, and about six miles west of U. S. Highways 69 and 75.

On April 24, 1865, fifteen days after Lee surrendered to Grant at Appomattox, Virginia, a party of twenty Confederates moving north from Boggy Depot was attacked by Union forces under the command of Brigadier General Cyrus Bussey. Three Confederates were killed and their mail captured. A letter from a Confederate paymaster stated that General Stand Watie's command was expected soon at Old Boggy Depot to collect horses due by April 25 from forage camps in Texas. Watie, the paymaster related, would then take the offensive across the Arkansas River. For this reason General Bussey recommended that the Federal line on the Arkansas be strengthened by the addition of more troops. The mail also indicated the Confederates had no news of the fall of Richmond and Lee's army.

*MIDDLE BOGGY:* Site (NE¼ Sec. 11, T 2 S, R 11 E) one mile north of Atoka, on the north side of Muddy (or Middle) Boggy Creek, and on the east side of U.S. Highway 69, about 100 yards distant on a wooded ridge.

At this Confederate encampment on the Old Boggy Depot Road an engagement was fought on February 13, 1864, known as "Middle Boggy Battle." Here Lieutentant Colonel John Jumper's Seminole Battalion, Captain Adam Nail's Company A

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)
OLD BOGGY DEPOT HOME OF ALLEN WRIGHT
Erected 1860, Choctaw Nation

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)
WAPANUCKA ACADEMY
Opened for girls of Chickasaw Nation, 1852.
View shows Commencement at Wapanucka Academy, 1885

of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Cavalry, and a detachment of the Twentieth Texas Regiment were unexpectedly attacked by Federal forces. These consisted of three companies of the Fourteenth Kansas Cavalry, with Major Charles Willette in command, and a section of howitzers under Captain Solomon Kaufman. The poorly armed Confederates made a firm stand in a hot fight of thirty minutes, in which forty-seven of their men were killed and others wounded. Word of Confederate forces riding in from Boggy Depot, twelve miles to the southwest, caused the Federal troops to hurriedly retreat north toward Fort Gibson.

During the movement of Confederate Indian troops north for service in Missouri and Arkansas early in the winter of 1862, the old camp ground at Middle Boggy was occupied by Choctaw and Chickasaw regiments, and from this time was known as a Confederate encampment and was occupied at different times to the end of the war by various Confederate Indian forces as well as units of Texas cavalry. Late in the war it served as an outpost in guarding Boggy Depot, which by then had been designated the main commissary depot for Confederate troops in Indian Territory.

A burial ground of travelers on the Old Boggy Depot Road before the war will be seen on the site. Many Confederate graves are here also, with crude sandstone markers dating from 1862. Interred here are the Confederates killed in the Middle Boggy engagement, although some of the graves were destroyed when the M. K. and T. Railroad was put through in 1872. The bubbling spring that once made Middle Boggy so inviting is still to be found. The entire site is under the supervision of the Oklahoma Historical Society, which has erected a granite marker at the north end of the cemetery, the inscription giving some history on the Middle Boggy Battle.

## Bryan County

*ARMSTRONG ACADEMY:* Site (NW¼ Sec. 12, T 6 S, R 11 E) and a few ruins about three miles northeast of Bokchito. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 70, at the east city limits of Bokchito.

At Armstrong Academy the United Nations of Indian Territory (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Creek, Choctaw, Seminole and Caddo) held meetings in alliance with the Confederate States during the Civil War. This was the Confederate capital of Indian Territory and also a troop concentration area. It was likewise one of the principal hospital camps of the Confederate forces in Indian Territory, and the wounded and sick were carried there from locations as far distant as Fort Smith. Two hundred and fifty of the dead were buried nearby in shallow graves in a neglected cemetery a few hundred yards across the creek to the west of the school buildings.

When the war ended, the Confederate Creeks and Seminoles held a council at Armstrong Academy on June 15, 1865, and adopted resolutions inviting the Federal Indians to meet with them for the purpose of reestablishing friendly relations with the United States government. A general meeting of all the tribes was called by Principal Chief Peter P. Pitchlynn of the Choctaws to convene on September 1, 1865, at Armstrong Academy, for the purpose of resuming relations with the United States government.

The Academy had been established as a school for Choctaw

boys and opened in 1845 under the supervision of the Baptists. From 1863 to 1883 it served as the capital of the Choctaw Nation. The Choctaw National Council held its sessions for this twenty-year period in the main hall of the Academy after the school was designated the capital of the Nation and given the name "Chata Tamaha" (Choctaw City). Other noted Choctaw chiefs who served here in addition to Pitchlynn were Allen Wright and Jackson McCurtain.

The site of Armstrong Academy is on privately owned property, and only some of the footings of the handsome brick building and evidences of out-buildings are to be seen. The school continued for Choctaw boys until it was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1919.

*FORT WASHITA:* Site (W½ Sec. 22, T 5 S, R 7 E) about fourteen miles northwest of Durant, on State Highway 199, three miles west of the junction with State Highway 78. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 199 a few miles east of the Lake Texoma Bridge.

The Stars and Stripes were lowered for the last time at Fort Washita on May 1, 1861, when it was abandoned by Federal forces to Confederate units closing in from Texas. The post was occupied by the Confederates throughout the war. General Douglas H. Cooper made it his headquarters, and in 1862, General Albert Pike used it as the supply depot for his forces at Fort McCulloch located about fourteen miles east on the Texas Road. A Confederate Army inspector in 1863 found the Washita installation in a dilapidated and broken down condition, but with adequate transportation repair facilities and a clean, well-staffed hospital. The post was reported in better repair in 1864.

During the latter part of the war, many Confederate refugee Indians camped near the fort, principally the Seminoles. When the Confederacy collapsed in 1865, residents of the area in this part of the Chickasaw Nation burned some of the buildings for fear that they might become strongholds for bands of robbers.

General Cooper had been made a citizen of the Chickasaw Nation by legislative act in 1861. When the Federal government abandoned Fort Washita as a military post in 1870, the reserve of land was returned to the ownership of the Chickasaw Nation. The remaining buildings at this famous post were given over to General Cooper by the Chickasaws in payment for an attorney fee due him by the Nation. He lived on at the old post with the dream and hope of starting a new townsite and city here. Misfortune struck him partly because of his recent Confederate alignment during the war. He died at Fort Washita in 1879, and his remains lie in an unmarked grave on the grounds of the post.

Fort Washita had been established as a military post on April 23, 1842, and was garrisoned until the Civil War. The buildings were of stone. General Zachary Taylor, the future President, selected the site for the post and became its first commander. Braxton Bragg, the commander in 1854, later became a lieutenant general in the Confederate Army, Following the Civil War the post was never again used as a military establishment, although the post office continued in operation until 1880.

There is to be seen at this important frontier fort the ruins of the heavy stone walls of the barracks, erected in 1850, the stone walls of the quartermaster's store house, the many chim-

neys and flues, and the foundation of the officers' quarters, the post cemetery containing the empty grave slab of General William G. Belknap, the paved road, and the great stone well. All tell of long ago military service on the Indian frontier. The Oklahoma Historical Society acquired the site in 1962 and some development and restoration of the fort has been accomplished.

*BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY:* Site (Sec. 8, T 9 S, R 9 E) of the original location is about three miles south of Achille. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 299, one and a half miles south of Achille.

During the early part of the Civil War, the Confederate Chickasaw Battalion camped on the prairie near Bloomfield Academy. The small building on the lawn at the first location of this Academy was used as the doctor's office for the troops, the girls' sitting room for commissary stores, and the school house for a hospital. Guards were posted at night to discourage bushwhackers operating in the area.

The Academy had been opened in 1853 by the Chickasaw Nation as a seminary for Indian girls under the auspices of the Methodist Church. The site (Sec. 5, T 9 S, R 9 E) of the beautiful building (erected 1896, burned 1914) on the second location is one mile south and a half mile west of the marker south of Achille. Only extensive footings of this building can be seen on the grounds around a small farm house privately owned. The original site of the school, where all the first buildings have disappeared, is just west on a wooded hill in a field about three-fourths of a mile southwest of the second building site. In the midst of a thick woods on this hill is the old Bloomfield cemetery where handsome gravestones mark the burial locations of prominent Chickasaws and missionaries. When the school opened on a third site in 1917, this time in Ardmore, it was named for U. S. Congressman Charles D. Carter, and is still in operation as a boarding school for Indian boys and girls, principally Chickasaws.

*FORT McCULLOCH:* Site (SW¼ Sec. 7, T 5 S, R 9 E) about ten miles north of Durant and three miles southwest of Kenefic, on the south side of the Blue River, about two hundred yards from its banks. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 48, west of Kenefic.

Constructed soon after the Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, March 6-8, 1862, by Confederate troops from Texas, Arkansas and Indian Territory under the command of General Albert Pike, Fort McCulloch was planned as the major Confederate stronghold in southern Indian Territory. Pike established the new fort with the conviction that it would be impossible to hold Fort Davis in northern Indian Territory. It was named in memory of General Ben McCulloch who fell at Pea Ridge where Pike's forces had fought.

The installation had fourteen pieces of artillery, including twelve powerful Parrott guns, and over three thousand white troops, exclusive of Indian forces. Scarcely half of the men were on duty, a large number being absent on sick leave. The post was temporarily abandoned when Pike evacuated his men on July 21, 1862, and went to Texas. As other parts of Indian Territory came under Federal control, Confederate troops were again stationed at Fort McCulloch. In 1865 General Stand Watie used it as an office.

Fort McCulloch, along with Fort Davis near present Musko-

gee, constituted the major military strongholds erected by Confederate forces within Oklahoma. Located in the southwestern part of the Choctaw Nation, Fort McCulloch had an important strategic position. It commanded the road to Fort Gibson on the north, Fort Smith on the east, Fort Washita on the west, and also the road to Texas.

Extensive breastworks were erected, the outlines of which are plainly visible today. Some hundred yards or more to the right and left of the main fortifications may be found remains of the arsenal pits, where ammunition was stored. The site of Fort McCulloch is on private property.

*CARRIAGE POINT:* Site (SW¼ SE¼ Sec. 34, T 6 S, R 8 E) about three miles east of Mead, and four miles west of Durant, in the prairie at the head of Mineral Bayou, about one mile south of U. S. Highway 70.

This was the location of "Fisher's Station," a stage stand on the Butterfield Overland Mail Route to California (1858-1861). Named for Fisher Durant who lived here. The name "Carriage Point" developed during the Civil War.

The place remained a stopping point on the stage line for travelers along the Texas Road even after the construction nearby of the first railroad (Missouri, Kansas and Texas) through Indian Territory in 1872.

## Caddo County

*FORT COBB:* Site (NW¼ Sec. 12, T 7 N, R 12 W) about one mile east of the city of Fort Cobb, on the east bluffs of Cobb Creek. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 9, in the City of Fort Cobb. A boulder inscribed with the history of Fort Cobb is located in the city park.

The garrison at Fort Cobb, at the beginning of the Civil War, consisted of four companies of Federal troops. With Confederate forces moving north from Texas, U. S. Army headquarters in Washington ordered all Federal forces withdrawn from Indian Territory to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and in early May, 1861, the four companies stationed at Fort Cobb joined the other Federal forces in the exodus north.

The post was immediately occupied by a small force of Confederates under the command of William C. Young, a Texas state regimental colonel. These troops remained for several months, until they were withdrawn for use in the campaign against the Loyal Creeks of Opothleyahola. About thirty men from among the tribes around Fort Cobb were then enlisted in the Confederate Army and served as a guard for the Wichita Agency, but no regular Confederate troops were ordered to garrison Fort Cobb until May, 1862, when General Albert Pike reported a company of Texans stationed there. These collected and guarded supplies during the summer, then abandoned the fort in August. No effort was made to regarrison this post with Confederate troops after the Tonkawa Massacre of October 24, 1862.

Fort Cobb, named for Howell Cobb of Georgia, had been established in 1859 by Colonel William H. Emory to "repress depredations" feared from the Comanches and other tribes of the Plains against the Wichita Agency Indians—Caddo, Anadarko, Tawakoni, etc. Following the war, the fort was reactivated and continued a busy place until 1869, when the

establishment of Fort Sill brought it to an end. Today nothing remains to mark the site except a few indistinct trenches.

*FIRST WICHITA AGENCY:* Site (NW¼ Sec. 2, T 7 N, R 11 W, and SW½ Sec. 35, T 18 N, R 11 W) about two miles northeast of Washita, and about four miles northeast of the present town of Fort Cobb, on the west side of the Washita River. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 62 and State Highway 9 about eight miles west of Anadarko at the junction with the county road leading north to the town of Washita, and about five and a half miles south of the site itself.

Agent Mathew Leeper remained in charge of the Wichita Agency, about three miles east of Fort Cobb, at the outbreak of the war and served under the Indian Department of the Confederate States. On August 12, 1861, Commissioner Albert Pike of the Confederate government concluded two treaties with the chiefs and leaders of eleven different Indian tribes at the Wichita Agency, providing the protection and support of the Confederate States for these people.

A well armed Federal Indian force made up principally of Delawares, Shawnees, Osages, Seminoles, and Cherokees came down from Kansas and attacked the Wichita Agency on the night of October 23, 1862, killed its employees, and burned the buildings. Agent Leeper barely escaped under the cover of darkness. Hours later these Indians attacked and massacred the Confederate Tonkawa encamped nearby. This concluded the work of the agency until several years after the war, when it was relocated at Anadarko, where it continues as a part of the Anadarko Area Indian Office.

Established in 1859, the Wichita Agency had been the first U. S. Indian agency in western Indian Territory, and was opened for the Wichita and the exiled tribes from the Brazos Reserve in Texas, including the Caddo, Anadarko, Tawakoni, Waco, and Ionie. The only indication of the original site is a grove of chinaberry trees in a fenced pasture (SW¼ Sec. 35, T 18 N, R 11 W).

*CAMP McINTOSH:* Site (SW¼ Sec. 17, T 7 N, R 9 W) on the grounds of the present Caddo County Farm, on the north side of U. S. Highway 62, about three miles east of Anadarko.

Camp McIntosh was a Confederate Army cantonment established in 1862, and named for Colonel James McQueen McIntosh, Second Arkansas Cavalry, C. S. A., who was killed in the Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, March 7, 1862. The camp was located south of the Washita River, about eleven miles southeast of the Wichita Indian Agency and at the west end of an approximate 200 mile line of scattered Confederate encampments extending south of the Canadian and Arkansas Rivers to the Poteau, established for the purpose of holding the line against Federal invasion of Texas through Indian Territory. Although some of these encampments were occupied intermittently, as was Camp McIntosh, this Confederate line was held to the end of the war.

Brigadier General Albert Pike, the commander of the Confederate Department of Indian Territory, reported a part of the Confederate Chickasaw Battalion at Camp McIntosh in May, 1862, soon to be joined by a part of the Choctaw Battalion commanded by Colonel Simpson N. Folsom, to serve as a guard and aide to the Confederate Indian tribes of the Leased District. Late in 1863, Colonel Stand Watie wrote from Camp McIntosh a

stirring appeal to the chiefs and leaders of the United Nations of Indian Territory (the Grand Council of the Five Civilized Tribes and other tribes) calling upon them to continue their trust and loyalty to the Confederates and to keep up the fight to the death against the northern foe who had come to exterminate the Indian peoples of Indian Territory.

*TONKAWA MASSACRE:* Site (S½ Sec. 36, T 6 N, R 10 W) in Tonkawa Township, near State Highway 8, about four miles south of Anadarko.

The well-armed Federal Indian force that had wiped out the Wichita Agency on the night of October 23, 1862, now joined by renegades and numbering nearly two hundred, descended on about three hundred Confederate Tonkawa living in the vicinity early the next morning. By the evening of October 24, the Federal Indians had all but exterminated the tribe, armed chiefly with bows and arrows, in a bloody massacre. The Tonkawa had already commenced fleeing to Fort Arbuckle for Confederate protection when they were attacked. Men, women, and children alike were hunted down and killed throughout the day until at least one hundred and fifty had perished.

The attackers were maddened by a report that the Tonkawa were about to engage in cannibalistic practice by cooking a captive Caddo boy and holding a feast. A contributing factor was that of the Wichita Agency tribes in alliance with the Confederate States, the Tonkawa were the most loyal to the South.

While the massacre centered in what is now Tonkawa Township, some of the fugitives were said to have been killed miles away. Those who escaped remained for months under Confederate protection at Fort Arbuckle.

## Cherokee County

*TAHLEQUAH:* Site (T 17 N, R 22 E) accessible by State Highways 10, 51, and 82, and U. S. Highway 62. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 62, and State Highways 10 and 51, at the east city limits.

A general meeting of about 4,000 Cherokee men at Tahlequah on August 21, 1861, resolved to follow a neutral course in the Civil War, but at the same time recognized their sympathies with the South. The meeting also delegated authority to Cherokee officials to enter into an alliance with the Confederate States should such action seem expedient or desirable. On August 24, Chief John Ross and the Cherokee Executive Committee notified Brigadier General Benjamin McCulloch of the Confederate States Army of their intention to raise a regiment of mounted men for Confederate service and of their desire to form an alliance with the South. The Cherokee officials and Commissioner Albert Pike of the Confederacy concluded at Tahlequah on October 7, 1861, a treaty of alliance. Quartered nearby were the recently raised Confederate Cherokee forces of Colonels John Drew and Stand Watie.

It was in Tahlequah that the constitution of the Cherokee Nation had been adopted in a convention of its leaders on September 6, 1839. The town became the Cherokee capital in 1841, and in 1843 was incorporated. *The Cherokee Advocate,* printed at Tahlequah in 1844, was the first newspaper in the state of Oklahoma.

Tahlequah is one of the interesting old cities of Oklahoma, having been the capital of the Cherokee Nation to the close of

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)

ARMSTRONG ACADEMY

Opened for boys of the Choctaw Nation, 1845. The building was the meeting place for the General Council of the United Nations of the Indian Territory, aligned with the Confederates in the Civil War. Thus, it served as the capitol of the Indian Territory, and was known as *Chahta Tamaha* during the war.

(From the original painting, Oklahoma Historical Society)

BLOOMFIELD ACADEMY

Opened for girls of the Chickasaw Nation, 1852. The original buildings of old Bloomfield Academy are shown in this view, the main building used as a hospital for Confederate soldiers during the Civil War.

the Cherokee government in 1907 when Oklahoma became a state. The last Cherokee capitol building erected about 1872 on the City Square is now the County Court House of Cherokee County. Other historic buildings still standing are the Cherokee Supreme Court, erected in 1844 across from the southeast corner of the Square; the Cherokee National Prison, constructed in 1874; and the Cherokee Female Seminary, built in 1888, and now serving as the Administration Building of Northeastern State College.

*PARK HILL SETTLEMENT:* Site (T 16 N, R 22 E) about three miles south of Tahlequah, just east of State Highways 10 and 82, and on U. S. Highway 62.

This center of culture and learning among the Cherokees was the scene of much activity and destruction during the Civil War. The Park Hill Treaty Ground (Sec. 22, T 16 N, R 22 E) had for years been used for many Indian councils, and at this location on October 2, 4 and 7, 1861, Commissioner Albert Pike concluded alliance conventions between the Confederate States and the Osage, Seneca, Shawnee, and Quapaw Indians. In August, 1862, Union Army forces removed Cherokee Chief John Ross and his family from the Park Hill settlement, together with the official records and treasury of the Cherokee Nation. Raiding Confederate forces and bushwhackers soon destroyed most Park Hill buildings, including the nearby, luxurious Chief Ross House, known as "Rose Cottage," the church, the mission station and all its buildings, and the noted Cherokee printing office and its bindery.

The Murrell House, known also as "Hunter's Home", in the vicinity of Park Hill, escaped destruction during the Civil War, and is today the finest ante-bellum home remaining in Oklahoma. It is maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society, and is open to the public. The Worcester Cemetery, (SW¼ Sec. 22, T 6 N, R 22 E) also maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society, contains the grave of Reverend S. A. Worcester, the founder in 1837 of the Park Hill mission and press, which was the beginning of the Park Hill settlement. The first site of the Cherokee Female Academy (the post-war reconstructed building burned in 1887) is in a state-owned park, where the driveway of fine old trees and some of the stately brick columns of the original building can be seen.

*PARK HILL TREATY GROUND:* Site (Sec. 22, T 16 N, R 22 E) about four miles south of Tahlequah, near U. S. Highway 62. This ground is about one mile south of Park Hill.

Located (west) near Rose Cottage, the home of the Cherokee Chief John Ross, the Park Hill Treaty Ground had been the scene of many Indian councils. Here on October 2, 4 and 7, 1861, Commissioner Albert Pike concluded alliance conventions between the Confederate States and the Osage, Seneca, Shawnee, and Quapaw Indians. (See Camp McCulloch.)

*CAMP McCULLOCH:* Site (Sec. 22, T 16 N, R 22 E) in the vicinity of Park Hill and near present Highway 62 and junction with State Highway 82. Located close to Park Hill Treaty Ground (*q. v.*).

Commissioner Albert Pike, C. S. A., encamped here during his negotiations with Chief John Ross that resulted in the Confederate Treaty with the Cherokee Nation signed at Tahlequah, October 7, 1861.

Colonel Douglas H. Cooper encamped his command briefly

at this place to confer with Chief Ross before leaving to rendezvous with the forces of Colonel D. N. McIntosh of the Creek Regiment at Concharty. Colonel Cooper left Camp McCulloch on November 15, 1861, preparatory to the campaign against the Union Creeks led by Opothleyahola that resulted in the Round Mountain Engagement on November 19, 1861. Cooper did not take his supply train with him from Camp McCulloch, for his forage units had not completed their assignment of filling the wagons. This was done within a few days. The train joined him for the campaign, and was generally encamped at or in the region of Concharty (*q. v.*) near the Arkansas River until December, 1861.

*NEW SPRINGPLACE MORAVIAN MISSION*: Site (NE¼ Sec. 3, T 19 N, R 23 E) about one and one-half miles southwest of Oaks, and immediately south of the Cherokee-Delaware county line, and about four and one-half miles south of State Highway 33. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 33, three miles north at Oaks, in Delaware County.

Established as a Cherokee mission in 1842 by the Moravian Church, New Springplace had been an outgrowth of a similar mission established forty years earlier at Springplace, Georgia. Members of the noted Watie family belonged to the Springplace Church in Georgia and their sons received their early schooling at this Mission—"Buck" Watie (later Elias Boudinot), Stand Watie, David Watie.

A large force of Federal troops, including the First and the Third Indian Home Guard Regiments, under the command of General James G. Blunt, were again on their way south from Kansas to Fort Gibson late in the summer of 1862. Real war had come to the Cherokee Nation with its people hopelessly divided in their loyalties and their aims. Fighting by guerilla bands was the order of the day. Advance Federal scouting parties of Cherokee "Pins," minds inflamed with hatred and revenge, rode hard through the country around the Confederate lines and encampments, striking when they could.

Most of the buildings at New Springplace Mission were burned and the Mission was closed during the Civil War after Missionary James Ward, a Cherokee, was ambushed and killed (1862) by a band of Cherokee "Pins," a full blood Indian group. The Pins sided with the Federal forces during the war, and were identified by an insignia of crossed pins on the lapel of the coat.

The mission was transferred to the Danish Lutheran Church in 1902, and functions today as the Lutheran Church and Mission at Oaks. Only the walled spring and some old graves on a plot of ground several hundred yards east can be seen at the location of New Springplace.

## Choctaw County

*FORT TOWSON:* Site (Sec. 18, T 6 S, R 20 E) about one mile northeast of the town of Fort Towson. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 70, at the east edge of the town of Fort Towson.

Fort Towson was occupied by Confederate forces during the Civil War, although it had been abandoned as a U. S. Army post in 1854. All its buildings except the hospital and one of the barracks were destroyed by fire in the meantime. General S. B.

Maxey of the Confederate Army made it his headquarters in 1864, and set up a printing press for the publication of propaganda materials.

Established in 1824 to guard this region on the Spanish border, Fort Towson was abandoned as a regular military post in 1828. Many of the buildings were burned by vandals shortly afterward. The post took on renewed importance with the removal of the Choctaws and Chickasaws to this area when it was re-established in 1831 under the command of Major Stephen H. Kearney, and new buildings erected. Even following army deactivation in 1854, it was used until the Civil War by Indian Agent Douglas H. Cooper for purposes of Indian administration. The post had stone buildings, some ruins of which can be seen today on private property.

*DOAKSVILLE:* Site (Sec. 13, T 6 S, R 19 E) one mile north of the town of Fort Towson, reached by U. S. Highway 70.

Near Doaksville in the Choctaw Nation, General Stand Watie surrendered his command of Cherokee, Creek, Seminole, and Osage troops on June 23, 1865, and was the last general officer of the Confederate Army to lay down arms. General Robert E. Lee had surrendered to General U. S. Grant at Appomattox on April 9.

Before the Civil War, Doaksville was one of the leading towns of Indian Territory, the largest and most important in the Choctaw Nation, and its capital from 1860 to 1863. It began as a civilian camp in 1831, the year the U. S. Army re-activated Fort Towson a mile to the east, and grew into a flourishing trading center. The location of the main street and remains of the old buildings are to be seen on the town site marked by the Oklahoma Historical Society. A few hundred yards west is the old Doaksville cemetery where some of Oklahoma's earliest pioneer Indian and white citizens were buried in pre-Civil War days.

*ROSE HILL: Site* (Sec. 6, T 7 S, R 18 E) about three miles southeast of Hugo, about one and one-half miles south of U. S. Highway 70. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located two and one-half miles east of Hugo on U. S. Highway 70.

This was the noted home of Robert M. Jones, the wealthiest of the Choctaws, and the owner of approximately 500 slaves, four plantations on the Red River, and a sugar plantation in Louisiana before the Civil War. Jones originally came to Indian Territory in the early 1830's as an employee of the Federal government during the Choctaw removal from Mississippi, and soon established and operated mercantile establishments at Pleasant Bluff (Tamaha), and Doaksville.

Colonel Jones forced the secession of the Choctaw Nation, and was the leading Choctaw delegate who signed the Choctaw treaty with Commissioner Albert Pike in behalf of the Confederate States on July 12, 1861, at North Fork Town, Creek Nation. Jones completely outfitted the first company of Choctaws, providing them guns and horses, for Confederate Army service in the same summer. During the Civil War, he served as delegate from the Choctaw Nation to the Confederate Congress in Richmond, Virginia, and was president of the United Nations of Indian Territory allied with the Confederate States. Robert M. Jones was a leader of the Choctaw delegation in making the new Choctaw treaty with the Federal government, signed at Washington, D. C., in April, 1866.

Jones acquired the Baptist mission of Providence, closed about 1843, and converted it into his Rose Hill estate. The mansion, undoubtedly the most elaborate ante-bellum home in Indian Territory, was decorated with crystal chandeliers and other rich furnishings imported from Europe. It stood in a well-kept lawn of shrubs and flowers, and a walk of marble slabs led down the slope to the nearby military road that ran between Fort Smith and Fort Towson. Around the entire mansion site a hedge of cedars was planted, and today a row of these gaunt trees mark the location of Rose Hill, as does the nearby family cemetery, where Jones, his wife, and children are buried. Jones died in 1873.

In 1940, the Oklahoma Historical Society purchased the site of Rose Hill mansion and farm, and has retained forty acres of the estate with the cemetery, for purposes of establishing a state park.

*SPENCER ACADEMY:* Site (SW¼ Sec. 6, T 5 S, R 19 E) about nine miles north of Sawyer and about one-half mile east of State Highway 147 (gravel). The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located at Sawyer on U. S. Highway 70.

Named for John C. Spencer, U. S. Secretary of War, this school for Choctaw boys was established in 1841 by the Choctaw Nation and operated by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. Substantial two-story buildings were erected in a quadrangle. Uniquely, the students of Spencer wore military uniforms and engaged in military drill. English, the classics, and the Bible were emphasized in the teaching process, and the first graduates entered eastern colleges in 1848. Students who were later prominent leaders included Coleman E. Nelson, Allen Wright, Jackson McCurtain, Charles S. Vinson, B. F. Smallwood, Jefferson Gardner, Simon T. Dwight, Eliphalet N. Wright, and Homer Davis.

At the outbreak of the Civil War, Spencer's teachers returned North and the school remained closed for the duration. It was reopened following the war, and continued in operation until 1882, when the Southern Presbyterian Church relinquished it to the Choctaw Nation. In 1883, new academy buildings were erected on a site about seven miles north of the present town of Soper, also in Choctaw County. New Spencer Academy operated until 1896, when the main building burned.

Only the academy cemetery at old Spencer and some of the building footings, with cellar depressions nearby, can be seen on the original site located on private property. It was here that two Negro slaves, Uncle Wallace Willis and his wife Minerva, hired out by their Choctaw planter master to work for the missionaries at the academy, first sang the well-known spirituals, "Swing Low Sweet Chariot," "Steal Away to Jesus," and "Roll, Jordan, Roll."

*GOODLAND MISSION:* Site (SW¼ Sec. 31, T 6 S, R 17 E) about three miles southwest of Hugo. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located at the junction of U. S. Highway 271 and State Highway 2A, about two miles east of the site and a mile and a half south of Hugo.

During the Civil War this mission school of the Southern Presbyterian Church was kept open. Two companies of Choctaw troops were mobilized and drilled for Confederate service, on what is now the Goodland school campus. The first company was in the Second Choctaw Regiment under command of Captain

Ben Smallwood (later elected Principal Chief of the Choctaw Nation, 1888-1890). This was known as the "Company of Threes," because three brothers of the LeFlore family, three of the Spring family, and three each of other families in the vicinity were members of the company. The second company was made up of full blood Choctaws.

Established in 1848, Goodland Mission has been operated ever since by the Presbyterian Church. Now called Goodland Indian Orphanage, it continues in the education of Indian boys and girls, and is the oldest school with uninterrupted service in Oklahoma. On the campus may be seen several modern buildings, and in their midst are the old church and the log cabin office of one-time Governor Basil LeFlore of the Choctaw Nation (1859-1860), who moved to Goodland from Doaksville after the Civil War.

## Cimarron County

*FORT NICHOLS:* Site (Sec. 2, T 3 N, R 1 E) about five miles northeast of Mexoma, on the old Santa Fe Trail, and about five miles east of the Oklahoma-New Mexico boundary line. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on former U. S. Highway 64 (now an un-numbered route between Boise City and Kenton) about four miles north of the turn sixteen miles west of Boise City.

Established as a U. S. Army post in May, 1865, by General Christopher "Kit" Carson, Fort Nichols guarded the Santa Fe Trail and furnished escorts through No-Man's-Land for caravans engaged in trade along this route. Although occupied by troops for less than a year, stone fortifications were erected. Buildings were constructed in the form of a square, with a continuous outer wall except for an entrance on the south.

Discernible today are well defined stone foundation outlines and the cobblestone pavement of the central parade ground. The site of the post is on private property. Extremely fine traces of the Santa Fe Trail running in a southwesterly direction may be seen about one mile south of the site of the fort.

## Creek County

*BIG POND:* Site (T 14 N, R 6 E) less than ten miles southeast of Depew, and west of State Highway 48.

A number of large ponds in low swampy ground north of the Deep Fork of the Canadian were first noted in the *Journal* of Thomas Nuttal on his visit up the Arkansas River as far west as the Cimarron in 1819. One of these ponds, called "Big Pond," marked the settlement of a band of the Yuchi who came west with the Creeks from Alabama in the early 1830's. These Yuchi were aligned with the Upper Creek Division, of which Opothleyahola was a noted leader.

"Big Pond" was one of the camp sites of Opothleyahola's followers on their way north toward the Union lines in 1861. A Confederate scouting party visited Big Pond to find the Union Creeks had left there a week before, leaving a dim trail north toward the Cimarron. The Confederate scouts were a part of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper's Confederate command on its expedition against Opothleyahola who had refused to recognize the treaty that the Confederates signed with the Creek Nation on July 10, 1861.

*SELL'S STORE:* Site (T 15 N, R 10 E) about three miles southeast of Slick, near the Brown Creek bridge on State Highway 16.

Sell's Store was established by a trader, as an outpost trading point for the Yuchi and the Creek Indians whose settlements were south of the Cimarron in the eastern edge of the Cross Timbers, Creek Nation. This store was at the junction of the trail west from the old Creek Agency on the Arkansas, which approximates present State Highway 16 from Muskogee, and the old so-called "Dawson Road." This road was worked out in 1835 by Captain J. L. Dawson, along an old Osage hunting trail from the Arkansas River (near the first Fort Arbuckle) to Fort Holmes on the Canadian River.

Sell's Store was the temporary headquarters of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper and a detachment of his Confederate troops who made a reconnaissance west to Thlopthlocco near Greenleaf Town the last of October, 1861, in an attempt to meet Opothleyahola for a conference. The Creek leader had departed from his headquarters at Greenleaf Town (*q. v.*) with a large party of followers.

Colonel Cooper was at Sell's Store again on November 17, 1861, with his Confederate command (some 2,000 troops) before the Battle of Round Mountain, fought with the Union Creeks two days later. The Seminole Confederate troops joined Cooper at Sell's Store.

## Delaware County

*COWSKIN PRAIRIE ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Secs. 33 and 34, T 25 N, R 24 E) about two miles northeast of Grove, near State Highway 25.

Colonel Stand Watie's Cherokee Confederate Regiment of more than one thousand men had held undisputed control of the Cowskin Prairie area near Grand River since the outbreak of the war. The date was June 1, 1862, when Colonel Charles Doubleday's thousand-man command of the Union Indian Expedition started south from Kansas into Indian Territory. For the first time in more than a year, Confederate authority in Indian Territory would be challenged. Doubleday's infantry, cavalry, and artillery commenced the attack after sundown on June 6, caused considerable commotion in Watie's camp, and continued to skirmish sporadically until 1:00 A.M. the next morning. Watie and his men slipped away in the confusion and dark of the night, and marched rapidly toward Fort Smith, leaving behind 500 to 600 horses and cattle. Doubleday did not pursue, heeding the order of Colonel William Weer not to proceed further south. The engagement itself was indecisive.

In the vicinity of Cowskin Prairie the Cherokee Emancipation Act of 1863, freeing Negro slaves, was approved by the northern faction of the Cherokee Council under the leadership of Thomas Pegg.

*FORT WAYNE ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Sec. 28, T 22 N, R 25 E) of Fort Wayne about five miles southwest of Maysville, Arkansas, and two miles west of the Oklahoma-Arkansas boundary line. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 20, about one mile west of the Oklahoma-Arkansas line.

On Beattie's Prairie, near old Fort Wayne, on October 22, 1862, the Indian Territory invading force of General James G. Blunt attacked the Confederate command of Colonel Douglas

H. Cooper, including the troops of Colonel Stand Watie. The Confederate forces stubbornly resisted the onslaught for a time but gave way before superior numbers. After a half hour they retreated from the field, leaving behind their artillery and much camp equipment. Watie's Cherokee forces covered the rout to Cantonment Davis, near present Muskogee, where the troop units were regrouped. Five of Blunt's men were killed, while five were wounded; the Confederate dead numbered six, with thirty wounded. Federal forces again controlled Indian Territory north of the Arkansas.

Earlier in the war, in July 1861, Watie had opened Fort Wayne, an abandoned U. S. Army post, and there organized the Cherokee Mounted Rifles, the first Cherokee unit formed for Confederate service.

Fort Wayne had been established in 1839 by Captain John Stuart, and named for General "Mad" Anthony Wayne, noted soldier of the Revolution and hero of the Battle of Fallen Timbers. The post was originally intended as a link in an extensive line of forts extending north and south on the frontier of the unknown West. The original site of Fort Wayne was that now occupied by the high school at Watts, Adair County. The location proved unhealthful and was only occupied a few months. Some of the soldiers, including Captain Stuart, died here. Shortly afterward, the post was re-established farther north in the Cherokee Nation, southwest of Maysville.

It was soon realized that such extensive precautions were unnecessary, and the locations were abandoned. Fort Wayne was deactivated in 1842, with one building complete and four under construction. The improvements were given to the Cherokee Nation, and were in use until after the Civil War. The buildings have disappeared and today nothing remains to mark the location of this frontier army post.

## Garvin County

*FORT ARBUCKLE:* Site (SE¼ Sec. 25, T 1 N, R 1 W) about one-quarter mile north of Hoover. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 7 at Hoover.

When the Civil War began, two companies of cavalry were stationed at Fort Arbuckle. The post was evidently not considered of much importance at that time, although it was one of the three garrisoned U. S. Army posts (including Forts Washita and Cobb) in Indian Territory. Fort Cobb had been constructed farther west, and Fort Washita commanded the southern section of Indian Territory. In fact, Arbuckle would probably have soon been decommissioned had it not been hastily abandoned on May 3, 1861, as a phase of Federal troop withdrawal from Indian Territory. Two days later it was temporarily occupied by Texas Confederate forces under Colonel William C. Young.

The post played no major role in the war, although it was generally occupied by units of the Confederate Chickasaw forces. A section of the Chickasaw Battalion, one of the best known Indian cavalry units of the South, was stationed here in 1862, and provided protection for the remnants of the Tonkawa tribe that had fled to the post following their massacre near present Anadarko.

Established in 1852 near Wild Horse Creek, Fort Arbuckle had been constructed to keep order among the Plains Indians, to protect the Chickasaws, and assist emigrants then moving

to California. The post was again garrisoned by the U. S. Army following the war, but was abandoned in 1870 when the need for military emphasis farther west brought Fort Sill into prominence.

The site of Fort Arbuckle is on private property, and may be visited upon prior permission. The footings of the barracks and officers' quarters, and the remains of other buildings are to be seen. The Initial Point for land surveys is on a rocky hill one mile south of the fort at the intersection of the Indian Meridian and the Base Line. From here all public lands in Oklahoma are measured, except for the three counties in the Panhandle.

*FIRST ENCOUNTER, UNITED STATES ARMY VERSUS CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY:* Site (approximately Sec. 34, T 4 N, R 1 E) about seven miles northeast of Pauls Valley, east of the Washita River, and near State Highway 19.

During the withdrawal of the Federal forces from Indian Territory, as ordered by the War Department, Colonel William H. Emory captured on May 5, 1861, by a sudden reverse movement, the advance guard of the pursuing Texan forces under Colonel William C. Young. The Texans were taken without bloodshed, held overnight, and released after a conference; they retraced their steps toward Fort Washita, recently evacuated by the U. S. Army. Colonel Emory then marched to the relief of the garrison at Fort Cobb before removing all Federal forces to the safety of Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Available Civil War records point to this encounter as the first between U. S. forces and Confederate troops in Indian Territory.

## Grady County

*U. S. TROOP ARMY CONCENTRATION FOR WITHDRAWAL NORTH, 1861:* Site (Sec. 15, T 10 N, R 6 W) about seven miles east of Minco, at the old Silver City community, and two miles north of Tuttle and State Highway 37.

At the opening of the Civil War, U. S. Army troops were stationed at Fort Washita, Fort Arbuckle, and Fort Cobb. Colonel William H. Emory, in command of these forts, was ordered by army headquarters in Washington, D. C., on April 17, 1861, to evacuate the garrisons and their equipment to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Lieutenant William W. Averell left Washington with the message the day it was written and, after harrowing travels, delivered it to Emory on the Fort Washita-Fort Arbuckle road in the vicinity of present Reagan, in Johnston County, on May 2, 1861. Emory had withdrawn from Fort Washita on April 16 when Texas Confederate forces closed in on the post.

The main body of troops from Fort Arbuckle and two companies from Fort Cobb joined Emory and the Fort Washita garrison on May 3, on the east side of the Washita River, about five miles east of Fort Arbuckle. Early the next day, when the loaded wagons came over from Fort Arbuckle, the entire column moved north with Black Beaver, the Delaware scout, as guide on the march to relieve Fort Cobb. A Confederate advance guard from Fort Washita followed close behind, and on May 5 Emory ordered a sudden reverse movement to capture these men. They were taken without bloodshed and released after a conference.

Then followed three more days of marching west on the California Road, and on the fourth day, May 9, at a point thirty-five miles northeast of Fort Cobb, at the old Silver City

(Photos 1965, courtesy Southeastern Oklahoma State College)
RUINS OF BARRACKS, OLD FORT WASHITA

THE CABIN OF BRIGADIER GENERAL DOUGLAS H. COOPER, AT FORT WASHITA

community, Emory found the command from that post. The troop concentration complete, Emory marched his whole command, consisting of about 750 officers and men, and 150 women, children, teamsters and other non-combatants, on the most direct route to Fort Leavenworth. The traces on the road left by the departing Union troops were followed by the great cattle herds driven north from Texas after the war, a road that became famous as the Chisholm Trail.

*CAMP NAPOLEON:* Site (Secs. 7 and 18, T 17 N, R 8 W) includes the area now the village of Verden. The stone marker erected by the Oklahoma College for Women is in the Verden school grounds located on U. S. Highway 62 and State Highway 9.

Here on May 26, 1865, a compact to maintain permanent peace and friendship was entered into between the Confederate Indian tribes and the Plains Indian tribes then infuriated at conditions resulting from the war. This was one of the largest, if not the largest, Indian peace council ever held on the Plains of Indian Territory, with an estimated 5,000 Indians in attendance. The compact signed at Camp Napoleon was an attempt at union by the Confederate Indians to protect themselves against further aggressions by the Plains tribes. The Confederate Cherokee, Choctaw, Muskogee, Seminole, Chickasaw, Reserve Caddo, Reserve Osage, and Reserve Comanche signed the compact negotiated with the Plains Kiowa, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Lipan and several bands of Comanche, in addition to Jim Pockmark's Caddo and Anadarko.

The Camp Napoleon council was a part of the movement of the Confederate government in its plans to retreat to Mexico when its forces in the war were crumbling, a foregone conclusion of Confederate leaders months before the surrender in April, 1865. The word of General Lee's surrender had not yet reached the Indian Territory when the council convened in May. General E. Kirby Smith, Trans-Mississippi Department, C. S. A., had issued detailed instructions to General Albert Pike for the meeting of the Indian tribes and nations. The latter declined but was represented by Colonel W. D. Reagan at the council. General James W. Throckmorton of Texas was also present, one who was held in deep hatred by the Comanche. There is reason to believe that Emperor Maximilian of Mexico had a representative at this great conclave, hence the name "Camp Napoleon."

## Haskell County

*CAMP PIKE:* Site (Secs. 7 and 8, T 10 N, R 16 E) about one mile northeast of Whitefield on U.S. Highway 9. Camp Pike was located in the Choctaw Nation, south and east of the Canadian River during the Civil War. This old site covers approximately a square mile of level ground, once well timbered extending north of present Highway 9 to a spring on the bank of the Canadian River. While never a regularly garrisoned post, large forces of Confederate troops were at Camp Pike from time to time, especially during the campaigns of the war in the Arkansas and Canadian river valleys in 1863 and 1864.

The name of Camp Pike was given as the headquarters of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper in command of about 2,000 Confederate Indian forces, in correspondence dated November 10, 1861. After the Battle of Honey Springs on July 17, 1863, Brigadier General W. L. Cabell's Confederate troops—some 2,000 men—were encamped at Camp Pike. Followed to this point by Colonel

W. F. Cloud, Second Kansas Volunteers, in command of Federal cavalry troops and two sections of batteries, a skirmish took place against the Confederate rear guard at Camp Pike on August 28, 1863. Cabell's forces had already begun their march east toward the Poteau River. They were followed by Cloud's Federal scouts, and several skirmishes took place, including those at Sans Bois Creek and Skullyville (*q.v.*) on August 30 and 31.

Brigadier General Stand Watie in command of 800 men of his First Indian Brigade joined Brigadier General R. M. Gano commanding 1,200 Texas Cavalry at Camp Pike, on October 13, 1864. Plans were here made for a joint expedition against the Federals north of the Arkansas. The next day Watie and Gano set out on this expedition which resulted in the outstanding Confederate victory in the Indian Territory—the Second Battle of Cabin Creek on October 18-19, 1863.

*IRON BRIDGE SKIRMISHES:* Site (NW¼ Sec. 22, T 9 N, R 22 E) about two and one-half miles southwest of Keota, and a mile south of the bridge across San Bois Creek on State Highway 9.

After successfully capturing the Federal supply steamer *J. R. Williams* at Pleasant Bluff on the Arkansas River on June 15, 1864, Brigadier General Stand Watie's Confederate command was confronted by a detachment of Federals of superior strength, in his position south of the Arkansas. Watie ordered a detachment (150 men) of the Chickasaw Battalion, under command of Major Campbell, to the Iron Bridge on the San Bois. A skirmish took place early in the morning of June 16, 1864, when a detachment of General James G. Blunt's Federal advance guard appeared shortly after the Chickasaws arrived at the bridge. In the skirmish, the Federals used artillery, but finally fell back. The Union forces were checked and retreated toward Fort Smith. News of the approach of these Federals on the south side of the Arkansas River had caused Watie to burn the unloaded commissary stores from the *J. R. Williams.*

When Watie's command lingered in the vicinity of the iron bridge on San Bois Creek, Federal forces returned three days later, on June 19, and another skirmish took place. No report remains of this action.

The present community of "Iron Bridge" takes its name from the iron bridge on San Bois Creek erected by the United States government in 1859, as one of a series of iron bridges constructed across streams in Indian Territory for the purpose of carrying the mails to California on a new route. The bridge was burned during the Civil War, and the mail route planned by the government along this section of the California Road was never in full operation. The government contracts for both the building of these iron bridges and for carrying the mails over the new route were destroyed by fire in the Post Office Department before the Civil War.

The Iron Bridge Baptist Church today is about one quarter of a mile southeast of the site of the old iron bridge. Confederate soldier graves are reported in a burial ground a short distance east and south of the bridge site.

*PLEASANT BLUFF ACTION:* Site (Secs. 11 and 12, T 11 N, R 22 E) on the northeast edge of Tamaha, on the Arkansas River, about thirteen miles north of State Highway 9.

Five thousand Federal Indian refugees from Kansas arrived at Fort Gibson on June 15, 1864, swelling the total under the protection and care of the post to sixteen thousand. Since it was late in the growing season, these refugees could not raise

FORT ARBUCKLE

Scene from a drawing of Fort Arbuckle made during the Civil War. Established and buildings erected near Wild Horse Creek, 1852. U. S. garrison withdrawn in May, 1861. Occupied by Confederate troops during most of the Civil War.

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)

RUINS OF OLD FORT TOWSON

Photo taken 1914

Fort Towson was established in 1824 and abandoned in 1829. Reactivated in 1831 and continuously garrisoned until 1854. The old buildings were used as the headquarters of the Confederate command of Indian Territory the latter part of the Civil War.

crops to feed themselves during the winter ahead, and were already experiencing shortages.

On the same day that the last group of refugee Indians reached Fort Gibson, a three gun battery of artillery and a cavalry party operating with Colonel Stand Watie's command, attacked and captured the Federal supply steamer, the *J. R. Williams* at Pleasant Bluff (sometimes known as Pheasant Bluff) on the Arkansas River, just below the mouth of the Canadian. The vessel was enroute from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson with quartermaster goods and food for the Indians. The Federals grounded the ship on the opposite side of the river from the Confederates, and then its military guard, consisting of Lieutenant Horace A. B. Cook and twenty-five men, hastily fled. Watie's men steered the boat across the river and unloaded its cargo on a sandbar.

The next morning Colonel John Ritchie and a detachment from the Federal encampment (guarding a salt works and lime kiln) near the mouth of the Illinois River drove the Confederates from the *J. R. Williams,* but not until she had been set afire. Ritchie's men also kept Watie's force from removing most of the cargo from the sandbar until a sudden rise in the river washed it away. Even the flour and bacon Watie's men had carried to higher ground could not be transported for lack of wagons.

Although the Confederates did not gain substantial resources from their exploit, they were encouraged, and the supplies were kept from the Federal forces and refugee Indians at Fort Gibson. Watie complained that the greater portion of the Creeks and Seminoles in his command immediately broke off to carry their booty home, and with the men remaining he could no longer adequately protect his artillery.

*SAN BOIS CREEK ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Secs. 14 and 15, T 9 N, R 22 E) about three miles west of Keota, and south of State Highway 9, on the west side of the bridge across San Bois Creek.

Confederate scouts of Brigidier General William L. Cabell's brigade encountered the Federal advance guard of General James G. Blunt's cavalry, on the road to Skullyville, two miles west of San Bois Creek, on August 30, 1863. Skirmishing continued some ten miles east along the road, the Confederates falling back toward General Cabell's camp on the Poteau, about eight miles south and east of Skullyville.

## Johnston County

*AVERELL-EMORY MEETING PLACE:* Site (Secs. 3 and 4, T 3 S, R 6 E) about three miles southeast of Reagan, and slightly over one mile south of State Highway 7.

At the opening of the Civil War, United States Army troops were stationed at Fort Washita, Fort Arbuckle, and Fort Cobb. Lieutenant Colonel William H. Emory, in command of these forts, was ordered by army headquarters in Washington, D. C., on April 17, 1861, to evacuate the garrisons and their equipment to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Second Lieutenant William W. Averell left Washington alone with the message the day it was written. After harrowing travels, the message was delivered to Emory on the Fort Washita-Fort Arbuckle road in the vicinity of present Reagan, in Johnston County, on May 2, 1861.

Colonel Emory had withdrawn the garrison from Fort Washita on April 16 when Texas Confederate forces closed in on

the post. He had waited until all the garrisoned forces at Fort Washita had come up to his camp near Pleasant Grove Mission, near present Emet, on the road to Fort Arbuckle. His command of cavalry and infantry had advanced westward on this road, and was breaking the overnight camp when Lieutenant Averell dashed up with the message from Washington on the morning of May 2. Emory at once communicated the information to his officers.

Lieutenant Averell, exhausted from his journey, accompanied Emory's force in an ambulance to Fort Arbuckle and points north toward Fort Leavenworth. The course of the Civil War in Indian Territory was set.

*PLEASANT GROVE MISSION SCHOOL:* Site (SE¼ Sec. 15, T 4 S, R 7 E) about two miles west of Emet, and about two miles west of State Highway 78.

It was near Pleasant Grove Mission on the Fort Washita-Fort Arbuckle road that Colonel William H. Emory encamped for several days, awaiting the garrison forces to come up from Fort Washita in April, 1861. He had ordered Fort Washita abandoned with news of the approach of the Texas Confederate forces marching to this post. He was joined here by Captain S. D. Sturgis with his command of cavalry from Fort Smith on April 30. Colonel Emory started his whole column of the First Infantry Regiment and the First Cavalry on the march west toward Fort Arbuckle May 1.

Established in 1844 by the Methodist Episcopal Church to serve the children of the Chickasaw Nation, this school overlooked Fort Washita in the distance, and was the farthest west of any mission on the frontier. The foundations of the main building, an old well, and a few fruit trees mark the site, located on private property, as does the grave of Chickasaw Chief Jackson Frazier, 1852-1856.

*TISHOMINGO:* Site (Sec. 4, T 4 S, R 6 E) on State Highways 78 and 99. The Oklahoma Historical marker is located west of the city on State Highway 99.

The Chickasaws provided for the sale of their country in Mississippi under terms of the Treaty of Pontotoc in 1832. They purchased the right of settlement in the Choctaw Nation by agreement with the Choctaws, in the Treaty of Doaksville in 1837, the Chickasaw district to be located in the western part of the Choctaw Nation.

The Chickasaw Agency and a tribal council house were located at Boggy Depot when the tribe moved west to the Indian Territory. The Agency was relocated near a big spring about three hundred yards west of Fort Washita in 1843. Another council house was erected of logs at the tribal annuity ground a few miles northwest, near Pleasant Grove Mission.

Chickasaw affairs and finances were adjusted under a treaty signed at Washington in 1852. Tribal members began to move to country west of Fort Washita, some of them settling at Good Spring on the east side of Pennington Creek where a log council house was erected.

The village at Good Spring was designated the capital of the Chickasaw Nation organized when the Chickasaws separated from the Choctaws and formed their own government, by terms of the Treaty of 1855 signed at Washington, D. C. The written constitution adopted by a Chickasaw convention at Good Spring the next year, named the new capital "Tishomingo City," in mem-

ory of the beloved Chief Tishomingo who had died at the age of 102 years when the tribe came west from Mississippi.

The new city, soon well known by the name Tishomingo, developed into the commercial and political center of the Chickasaw Nation. The post office at Tishomingo, established in 1857, is in its second century of service. The Chickasaw Manual Labor School (or "Robinson's Academy") for boys was opened in 1851, its site about three miles southeast of the city, a location now on the edge of Lake Texoma. A substantial capitol of brick was erected at Tishomingo in 1858. The last capitol of the Chickasaw Nation was erected in 1898, a handsome stone building that has served, since Oklahoma Statehood (1907), as the County Court House of Johnston County. On the grounds of the Court House is seen the little log council house that once stood at Good Spring. Moved from its original site, it is preserved as a relic in the history of the Chickasaws.

Tishomingo had a part in the many exciting events at the outbreak of the Civil War. Captain S. D. Sturgis, First U. S. Cavalry, brought the news to Tishomingo, May 1, 1861, that Fort Smith had been seized by Confederate troops the week before, (April 23). The next day after receiving word about Fort Smith, citizens of Tishomingo rode over to the Fort Arbuckle trail, a few miles away, to watch the U. S. Army leaving this part of the country toward Fort Arbuckle west.

Chickasaw officials appointed a delegation soon afterward at Tishomingo, to meet Confederate Commissioner Albert Pike at North Fork Town, Creek Nation, where a treaty was signed aligning the Chickasaw Nation with the Confederate States, on July 12, 1861. Tishomingo was the location of a U. S. Commission during allotment of Chickasaw lands in severalty before the close of the tribal government in 1907.

*WAPANUCKA ACADEMY:* Site (Sec. 9, T 2 S , R 8 E) on a high ridge on the south side of Delaware Creek, about two and one-half miles southeast of Bromide, on State Highway 7D. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located at the junction of State Highways 7 and 7D.

Established by the Chickasaw National Council for Chickasaw girls and operated by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, this boarding school was first opened in 1852 with Reverend Hamilton Ballentine as superintendent, assisted by his wife and two young ladies as teachers and workers. Forty Chickasaw girls were soon in attendance in the new handsome building of native gray stone. Salaries for unmarried teachers were $100 in cash per year and room and board. Seven Negro servants were hired to work as teamsters, to cut wood, to wash, and to cook. There were cattle, a team, farm implements, and several outbuildings. All the produce raised from two good gardens, an acre each, and from a field of ten acres, was used by the school. Continuing administrative friction between the Chickasaw National Council and the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions brought about the discontinuance of the school in 1860, when all movable property was sold.

During the Civil War, Wapanucka's stone building was used as a Confederate hospital, with some of the rooms barricaded for a military prison. The school was reopened in 1868 and operated by the Chickasaw Nation, with both boys and girls in attendance. In 1890, Wapanucka was changed to a boys' school, and continued to operate as such until 1911, when it

was permanently discontinued, and the land and buildings sold at public auction.

The academy buildings, on private property, are wholly in ruins, and the large piles of gray stone pay silent tribute to one of the great educational efforts of the Chickasaw Nation. The grave of Mary C. Greenleaf of Massachusetts, teacher in 1857, is located in a cemetery several hundred feet west of the ruins, and is maintained by the Oklahoma Historical Society.

## Kiowa County

*CAMP RADZIMINSKI:* Site (NE¼ Sec. 16, T 3 N, R 17 W) about one and one-half miles north and two and one-half miles west of Mountain Park. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 183 one mile south of Mountain Park.

This camp played no major role in the Civil War, although Texas Rangers and other Confederate units were stationed here from time to time during the Civil War.

Established in September, 1858, by four troops of the Second U. S. Cavalry under the Command of Captain Earl Van Dorn, this camp was named is memory of First Lieutenant Charles Radziminski, a deceased member of the regiment. E. Kirby Smith, Fitzhugh Lee, and William B. Royall, all commissioned U. S. officers, served at this location before the Civil War. Permanent type buildings were never erected, and only log and turf walls were constructed. Following the conclusion of vigorous army operations against bands of hostile Comanche Indians, the post was abandoned in December, 1859. Several piles of stone are all that remain to mark the site.

## LeFlore County

*FORT COFFEE:* Site (SE¼ Sec. 19, T 10 N, R 26 E) is on a bluff, known as Swallow (or Hirondelle) Rock, of the Arkansas River, about six miles north of Spiro. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located one and one-half miles east of Main Street in Spiro on U. S. Highway 271.

During the Civil War the buildings of Fort Coffee were used as barracks by Confederate forces until October, 1863, when they were captured by Federal troops and the principal structures burned. These were never rebuilt. During the latter part of 1862, the Choctaw regiment under Colonel Simpson M. Folsom was stationed here.

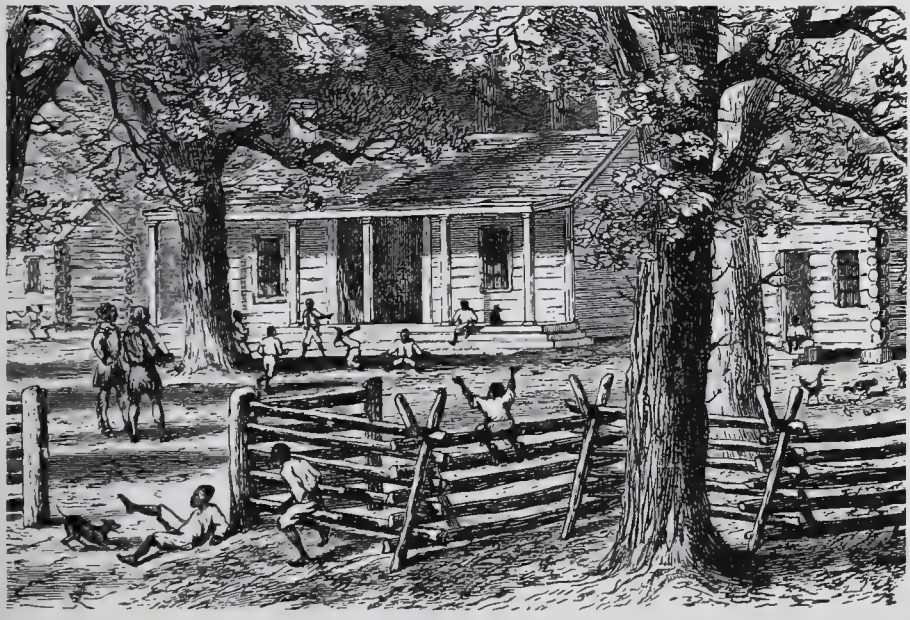
Fort Coffee had been established on June 16, 1834, by the U. S. Seventh Infantry Regiment, and named in honor of General John Coffee of Tennessee. It was intended to place military protection for the newly arrived Choctaws nearer their agency, known then as Skullyville, than was Fort Smith. The buildings were erected in the form of a hollow square of one hundred feet to each side. Three sides were built with connected structures. The fourth side, fronting on the Arkansas River, was open except for the powder magazines which were connected to the other buildings by high picket fences. The entire fort was of inexpensive and temporary construction. All the buildings were of one-story hewn logs, with exterior rough stone chimneys, porches front and rear, batten doors, and wooden-shuttered windows.

Peaceful conditions in the vicinity brought about the aban-

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)

FORT SMITH

Old Commissary Building, Erected 1839, at Fort Smith, Arkansas



(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)

CHOCTAW AGENCY AT SKULLYVILLE

Building erected in Choctaw Nation, 1832. Home of Colonel Tandy Walker, First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment, Confederate Army, during Civil War.

donment of the post by the U. S. Army in November, 1838. The Choctaw Council established in 1842 on the same location the Fort Coffee Academy for boys under the auspices of the Methodist Church, with some new buildings erected later. The old burial ground contains the empty grave and original marker of Major Francis Armstrong (died August, 1835), the renowned U. S. Agent for the Choctaws. The site of this military post is on private property, and apart from the cemetery, only the large stone encased well remains. The beauty of this high promontory above the Arkansas is now gone, the bluff having been blasted for building stone.

*BUCK CREEK CAMP:* Site (Sec. 11, T 8 N, R 24 E) about one and one-half miles southeast of Bokoshe, on the prairie on the north side of Buck Creek, about one mile south of State Highway 31.

At various times during the Civil War Confederate troops were stationed here. At this location in 1861, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper organized and trained the forces of the First Choctaw and Chickasaw Regiment for Confederate Army service. This camp was often mentioned in military dispatches of the period.

*SKULLYVILLE SKIRMISHES:* Site (Secs. 14, 16, 17, and 18, T 19 N, R 26 E) somewhat south of State Highway 9 at Spiro.

At a point on the Fort Towson Military Road (constructed 1826-27 from Fort Smith) south of Skullyville (near present Spiro), cavalry elements of Major General James G. Blunt's advance, under command of Colonel William F. Cloud, U. S. Army, skirmished intermittently with the forces of Brigidier General William L. Cabell, C. S. Army, throughout the early morning, day and night of August 31, 1863. The Federals, after bringing up infantry and artillery, drove the Confederates soon after dark to a point near the Poteau River, where Cabell decided to withdraw across the border into Arkansas. On the following day, September 1, additional action in the same campaign occurred at Backbone Mountain, near Jenny Lind in Arkansas.

*BACKBONE MOUNTAIN ACTION:* Site (Sec. 30, T 9 N, R 27 E) on State Highway 112 about one mile south of Pocola community.

At a gap in Backbone Mountain on the Fort Towson Military Road, forces under the command of Major General James G. Blunt of the U. S. Army fought a three hour action on September 1, 1863, with Brigadier General William L. Cabell of the C. S. Army. Following an ambush of a portion of the Federal forces, the Confederate rear guard was driven up the mountain side to their main line of battle on the summit. Soon one battalion and three regiments of Confederates hastily retreated, leaving behind their dead, wounded, arms, and baggage, and ran through General Cabell's provost guard, and carried off with them eighty prisoners, most of whom were Union men held under sentence of death for treason and desertion. Confederate deserters then flocked to the Federal lines. Confederate losses were five killed and twelve wounded. Federal losses were two killed and twelve wounded. This action was a continuation of the skirmishes near Skullyville the previous day, and assured Federal control of Fort Smith.

In another action at this gap on Backbone Mountain, the Confederate forces of Captain Jackson McCurtain of the Choctaw Battalion forced the retreat of a detachment of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry, U. S. Army, toward Fort Smith on July 27, 1864.

## Marshall County

*BURNEY INSTITUTE:* Site (NE¼ Sec. 4, T 7 S, R 4 E) about two and one-half miles east of Lebanon. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on State Highway 199, one and one-half miles east of Lebanon. The first post office here was established as "Burney Academy" on July 3, 1860, Robert S. Bell, Postmaster.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church founded Charity Hall, a mission station among the Chickasaws in Mississippi in 1820. It was located near Old Cotton Gin Port, Monroe County, on the east side of the Tombigbee River. The mission was near the residence of Major Levi Colbert, a prominent Chickasaw chief, whose younger children attended the school—six of his twelve sons and three of his eight daughters. The mission station was closed in 1830 because of the Indian Removal. After the removal to Indian Territory, the work of the Cumberland Church was led by Israel Folsom, who promoted education for Choctaw girls and established boarding schools. Reverend Israel Folsom's influence extended among the Chickasaws in the country south and west of Fort Washita. His work resulted in the establishment of Burney Institute. Israel Folsom was an active member of the United Nations (Indian Grand Council) that sided with the Confederate States. He was a leader in the great peace council of Indian tribes meeting at Camp Napoleon in May, 1865.

Established in 1854 by the Chickasaw National Council, a handsome brick building was erected and opened as Burney Institute, a school for Chickasaw girls, in 1859, under the auspices of the Cumberland Presbyterian Mission Board. Reverend and Mrs. Robert S. Bell of the Cumberland Church operated the school and served as teachers through the Civil War and later. This mission school was farthest west of any in the Indian Territory until after the war.

The name of Burney Institute was changed to Chickasaw Orphan Home and Manual Labor School in 1887, continuing in operation until about 1910. The early buildings accidentally burned and others were erected from time to time during the years. A spacious brick building, the last erected, in 1896, is now used as a barn. It may be viewed on private property several hundred yards south of the Oklahoma Historical Society marker.

## Mayes County

*LOCUST GROVE SKIRMISH:* Site (Secs. 22 and 23, T 20 N, R 20 E) on the south edge of Locust Grove, near the south side of State Highway 33. The Oklahoma Historical marker is in the roadside park at Pipe Springs, on the east side of Locust Grove. The battlefield site is on the ridge, west and south, above the springs.

In late June, 1862, a Federal force of about 6,000 soldiers under the command of Colonel William Weer departed from Baxter Springs, Kansas, and passed down the Neosho River where Colonel Stand Watie, Colonel John Drew, and other Confederate organizations had been raiding. Colonel Weer, with a detachment of about 300 men, completely surprised the camp of Confederate Colonel J. J. Clarkson near Locust Grove about sunrise on July 3, 1862. Clarkson's force of about 300 men was so completely demoralized that they were unable to form a battle line, though gunfire continued in the woods all day. Colonel

(Oklahoma Historical Society)
RUINS OF FORT GIBSON HOSPITAL
Building erected early 1850's, used by Federal troops during Civil War.

(Print from *The Chronicles*, 1948)
TULLAHASSEE MISSION
Building begun 1848, under auspices of Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and opened in 1850 for boys and girls of Creek Nation. This building used as a barracks and hospital by Confederate troops during the Civil War. At the end of the war, the place was in ruins.

Clarkson surrendered the men that remained with him after the attack in the morning.

Those that escaped went to Tahlequah where their story of Clarkson's defeat gave a powerful impulse to Union recruiting of Cherokees. Sixty wagons of ammunition and salt, sixty-four mule teams, and large quantities of provisions were captured by the Federals, together with 110 men who surrendered.

The day following the Locust Grove Skirmish was the Fourth of July, and the Federal forces celebrated the occasion by dividing up the captured clothing among the ragged refugees and soldiers, and the powder and equipment among the heads of military units. Colonel Weer's next move was to Flat Rock, within fourteen miles of Fort Gibson, then in Confederate hands.

*FIRST CABIN CREEK ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Sec. 12, T 23 N, R 20 E) about three miles north of Pensacola, on the west bank of Cabin Creek. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker, emphasizing the Second Cabin Creek Engagement, is located on U. S. Highway 69, about one mile north of Patton and eight miles west of the combat location, and also marks the location of the First Cabin Creek Engagement. A portion of the combat area is now a memorial plot owned by the Vinita Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. A stone memorial erected in 1961 on this location by the Vinita Chapter commemorates the Second Cabin Creek Engagement. Both engagements at Cabin Creek were fought in the same approximate location.

On July 1-2, 1863, Colonel Stand Watie of the Confederate Army attempted to intercept on the U. S. Military Road at Cabin Creek a Union supply train enroute from Fort Scott, Kansas, to Fort Gibson, Indian Territory. Watie was expecting 1,500 reinforcements from Brigadier General William L. Cabell in Arkansas as he stationed his men on Cabin Creek preparatory to the attack.

Colonel James M. Williams, acting as wagon train guard, had news of Watie's plans, and when the flooding waters of the creek receded, drove the Confederates from their positions across the creek with brisk artillery fire and two cavalry charges. Watie had hoped to hold out for a day or two awaiting help from Cabell, who could not cross the Grand River because of high water. Thus the advantage rested with the Federals, and the wagon train then proceeded unmolested to Fort Gibson.

This engagement is significant because Federal victory meant Fort Gibson received reinforcements and supplies, making it possible for the United States not only to hold this position in Indian Territory, but to take the offensive that removed a large Confederate Army from the Honey Springs Depot and ended in the capitulation of Fort Smith, Arkansas.

*SECOND CABIN CREEK ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Sec. 12, T 23 N, R 20 E) about three miles north of Pensacola, on the west bank of Cabin Creek. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker, emphasizing the Second Cabin Creek Engagement, is located on U. S. Highway 69, about one mile north of Patton and eight miles west of the combat location, and also points out the site of the First Cabin Creek Engagement.

A portion of the combat area is now a memorial plot owned by the Vinita Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. A stone memorial erected in 1961 on this location by the Vinita Chapter commemorates the Second Cabin Creek Engagement. Both engagements at Cabin Creek were fought in the same approximate location.

The outstanding Confederate military achievement of 1864 in Indian Territory was the brilliant capture by Brigadier General Stand Watie and Brigadier General Richard M. Gano of a Federal supply train at Cabin Creek on September 18 and 19. Watie and Gano, with a combined force of 2,300 men, were making a demonstration up the Grand River valley above Fort Gibson, simultaneous to the raid of Major General Sterling Price of the Confederate Army through Missouri toward Kansas.

Watie and Gano had recently burned 3,000 tons of hay and had killed a party of about forty Federal Negroes engaged in the harvest. They continued by the Texas Road to Cabin Creek, where they encountered a large Federal supply train, enroute from Fort Scott, Kansas, to Fort Gibson. The train contained food, clothing, and other provisions valued at $1,500,000 intended for the 16,000 refugee Indians loyal to the United States in and around Fort Gibson.

The Confederates partially encircled the Federal force of 610 men guarding the train and subjected it to an effective fire. Meantime, the mule teams became unmanageable and stampeded, causing teamsters and wagon-masters, along with the train guard, to hastily retreat in the direction of Fort Scott. The Confederates burned the disabled wagons, killed the crippled mules, and took over the remaining 130 wagons and 740 mules.

Success came too late. While Confederates in the Territory were greatly encouraged by this victory, the Federals soon replaced their loss, supplied Fort Gibson, and no longer considered Watie and Gano a serious menace. This was the last major engagement of the Civil War in Indian Territory.

Aside from the United Daughters of the Confederacy memorial plot, the Cabin Creek engagement area is located on private property. The mass, unmarked graves of the Confederates who fell at Cabin Creek in 1864 may be seen immediately outside the fence surrounding the memorial plot. Nearby, at the edge of the bluff on the south and west side of the creek, is where Confederate cannons were placed in defense of the crossing. Tradition has it that one of the cannons was knocked off the bluff during the 1864 engagement, and still lies in a deep pool in the creek below.

*PRYOR CREEK ACTION:* Site (approximately Secs. 16 and 17, T 22 N, R 19 E) on Pryor Creek, about three miles southwest of Adair, on U. S. Highway 69.

When Brigadier General Stand Watie and Brigadier General Richard M. Gano moved their combined force of 2,300 Confederates southwest following their capture of the $1,500,000 Federal wagon train at the Cabin Creek ford on September 19, 1864, they were met later that same day by a strong force of Federal infantry and artillery.

Under the command of Colonel James M. Williams, the Federals had made a forced march of eighty-two miles in forty-six hours from Fort Gibson for the purpose of relieving the beleaguered wagon train, and now that it had been captured, set about to retrieve what remained of it. The first clash came at 11:00 a.m., and skirmishing continued until dark, when the Confederates withdrew before the powerful Parrott artillery of the Federals. Colonel Williams bivouacked in combat formation on the field, but the Confederates withdrew during the night. Moving southwest, Watie and Gano crossed the Arkansas River at Tulsa, meantime strewing the road with captured quartermaster and commissary stores.

## McCurtain County

*HARRIS FERRY:* Site (Sec. 31, T 10 S, R 25 E) on the Red River at Pecan Point, about two miles south of Harris on State Highway 87, and west of Lonlodge Lake. The Oklahoma Historical Society Pecan Point marker is on U. S. Highway 259, in Lonlodge Park.

The name Pecan Point was applied to the region on both sides of the Red River, the Point noted for its river crossing until long after the Civil War. It was called the Buffalo Crossing by the Caddo Indians who had one of their villages in the vicinity in 1800, before the purchase of Louisiana.

The Reverend William Stevenson, the earliest Methodist circuit preacher in Southern Arkansas, held the first Protestant church services in what is now Oklahoma at Pecan Point in 1818. White settlers had come into this region by 1815, but they had to move out when this country was assigned to the Choctaw Indians.

The country north of Red River was Choctaw country from 1820 to 1907. In about 1838, a frontiersman by the name of Harris, of Choctaw descent, established a ferry at Pecan Point, which was in operation in the late 1890's. The name "Harris' Ferry" is found on maps at the time of the Civil War, the name finally taking the place of the old name, "Pecan Point," among the Choctaws living in this region of Red River.

*WHEELOCK MISSION:* Site (Sec. 34, T 6 S, R 22 E) about one and one-half miles east and one and one-half miles north of Millerton. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 70, one and one-half miles east of Millerton, at the junction with the Wheelock road leading north.

The Wheelock school buildings were used by Confederate Choctaw forces from time to time early in the Civil War, until the old church and school were temporarily abandoned.

The Presbyterian congregation at Wheelock was organized in 1832, and the present church structure, erected in 1846, is the oldest church building in the state still standing. Across the road from the church is the Wheelock Cemetery where the Reverend Alfred Wright, founder of the church and missionary to the Choctaws for thirty-three years, is buried. Reverend Wright also served as a physician, and translated the New Testament and many other books into the Choctaw language. Near the church, and several hundred yards to the northeast, are the buildings and grounds of Wheelock Girls' Seminary, established in 1842 by the Choctaw Council.

After the Civil War, the mission was reopened. The church was repaired, and new school buildings erected under provisions made by the Presbyterian Church (South) and the Choctaw Council, in 1884. The school was opened at this time for the education of Choctaw orphan girls. Wheelock Academy, as it was generally known, continued in operation with Choctaw tribal funds until 1932, when the institution was taken over by the U. S. government. Wheelock was maintained as a school for Indian girls until 1955, when it was closed and finally abandoned. The old buildings still stand making the Wheelock Academy—with the old mission church near—one of the most beautiful historic sites in Oklahoma.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)
WHEELOCK MISSION CHURCH, CHOCTAW NATION
Used by Confederate forces in the Civil War.

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)
DWIGHT MISSION
One of the log buildings at Dwight Mission, erected 1832. This building among the others at Dwight was used by Confederate troops during the Civil War. The scene shows the children and teacher of the Mission School in the Cherokee Nation, in 1880's.

## McIntosh County

*FISHER'S STORE:* Site (Sec. 18, T 10 N, R 16 E—inundated by Eufaula Reservoir) on the north side of the North Canadian River, about four miles north and one and one-half miles east of Eufaula, near U.S. Highway 69. This place became known as Fishertown after the Civil War.

In the autumn of 1861, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper of the Confederate States Army maintained his headquarters near here while he assembled troops to drive Opothleyahola's Union Creeks and Seminoles from Indian Territory into Kansas.

This settlement on the Texas Road was established about 1847, and soon became an important commercial center in the Creek Nation. Samuel Fisher, who first settled here, had served in the Creek (Red Stick) War of 1812. His son, William, started a store known as Fisher's Store to travelers along the Texas Road in 1855. By the outbreak of the Civil War he had accumulated a large stock of goods and was rated a wealthy man. He joined the Confederate Army and served under Colonel Chilly McIntosh. When he returned to Fishertown at the end of the war, he found that his store and other property had been dissipated. He re-established his store business to its former prosperity, operated a cattle ranch fifteen miles west of Fishertown, and owned a saw mill and cotton gin.

When the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad bypassed Fishertown in 1872 a few miles to the west, most of the town's merchants moved to Eufaula. William Fisher, however, went north to Checotah, also on the railroad. Three years later, upon retirement, he returned to his old home in Fishertown, where he died in 1902.

*ASBURY MANUAL TRAINING SCHOOL:* Site (T 9 N, R 16 E—inundated by Eufaula Reservoir) about one-half mile east and one mile north of Eufaula, and east of U. S. Highway 69 about one-half mile.

Located one and one-half miles north of North Fork Town, Asbury was established in 1848 by the Methodist Church as a boarding school for Creek children. The institution was opened in 1850 with 100 students under the direction of Superintendent T. B. Ruble, and consisted of several substantial outbuildings and a main brick structure 110 feet long, 34 feet wide, three stories high, with a wide porch in front. There were twenty-one rooms in addition to the halls. The Methodist Church purchased thirty acres of cultivated land nearby for the training of the students.

Asbury School closed at the beginning of the Civil War, and during this conflict all outbuildings were burned and everything movable was carried away from the main building. The school was adequately restored by 1869 and training resumed, but in July of that year it was totally destroyed by fire. Rebuilt, it continued in operation until about 1889, when it burned again, never to reopen on the original site. Two years later the work of the school was carried on in a new plant built at the west edge of Eufaula where it was known as the Eufaula Boarding School for girls.

*BATTLE OF HONEY SPRINGS (ELK CREEK):* Site (Secs. 33 and 34, T 13 N, R 17 E, and Sec. 2, T 12 N, R 17 E) spread over an area approximately two and one-half miles long, northeast to southwest (across the Muskogee County-McIntosh County

line), and one mile wide, northeast to southwest, and from one to two miles east of U. S. Highway 69, northeast of Rentiesville and east of Oktaha. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 69, south of Oktaha, in Muskogee County. The United Daughters of the Confederacy marker is located in the Oktaha Cemetery, northeast of Oktaha.

Even after Federal units under the command of Colonel William A. Phillips temporarily occupied Fort Gibson, near present-day Muskogee, during the autumn of 1862, and then came to stay for the duration of the war in the spring of 1863, Confederate forces encamped nearby at Honey Springs Depot on the Texas Road continued a threat to Union supremacy north of the Arkansas River. On July 1-2, 1863, a large Federal supply train enroute to Fort Gibson from Kansas was attacked by Confederate cavalry units under Colonel Stand Watie, but successfully defended by the train guard, aware of Watie's plans. This suggested in no uncertain terms the need for a Federal offensive.

When Major General James G. Blunt, then at Fort Gibson, heard of Confederate plans to attack that post with troops encamped around Honey Springs Depot, and learned also that a large group of Confederates were moving from Fort Smith, Arkansas, under the direction of Brigadier General William L. Cabell, he decided to attack Honey Springs Depot at once. Blunt and his forces, now strengthened by additional units from Kansas, Colorado, and Wisconsin, were also heartened by news of recent Federal victories at Gettysburg and Vicksburg. Blunt's troops numbered three thousand and were newly equipped with the best uniforms, rifles, artillery, and ammunition available to the U. S. Army. The Confederate forces at Honey Springs, commanded by Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, consisted of from five to six thousand men poorly armed and equipped. The climactic clash came in the undergrowth of Elk Creek and vicinity, and resulted in the burning of Honey Springs Depot and defeat of the Confederates.

The Confederates were also at a decided disadvantage because of wet powder and the vigorous attack of the First Kansas Colored Infantry, informed before the battle that if taken captive no quarter would be given. While decisive militarily, Honey Springs was significant also as one of the first battles of the war in which Negroes proved their qualities as fighting men.

This battle destroyed the opportunity of Confederate forces to control the area north of the Arkansas River, and it was the beginning of a vigorous Federal offensive which ended with the capture of Fort Smith six weeks later. Colonel Stand Watie, nevertheless, made frequent guerrilla raids and kept the Federals close to Fort Gibson and Fort Smith for the rest of the war, although the United States was in nominal control of Indian Territory after the Battle of Honey Springs.

Clear flowing Honey Springs can be seen on private ground about one and one-half miles east and north of Rentiesville, in McIntosh County. Nearby is the foundation of the Confederate powder magazine.

*NORTH FORK TOWN:* Site (Sec. 25, SW¼, T 10 N, R 16 E—inundated by Eufaula Reservoir) about two miles east of Eufaula, and about one and one-fourth miles east of U. S. Highway 69. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 69, on the north side of Eufaula.

While at North Fork Town, Albert Pike of Arkansas, Con-

federate Commissioner to Indian Territory, signed treaties of alliance in July, 1861, with the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek nations. This settlement soon became an important Confederate supply base. A company of Confederate Creek volunteers was raised and stationed here at various times during the war.

Located on the Texas Road, North Fork Town had been an important Creek Nation trading center from 1836. Intertribal Indian meetings were held here, the International Tribal Council (five Indian Nations) of 1859 one of the most important. The post office was established as *Micco* in 1853. Old graves, one dating back to 1845, marked the site of North Fork Town, the only evidence of this important settlement.

## Muskogee County

*BAYOU MENARD SKIRMISH:* Site (Secs. 11 and 12, T 15 N, R 20 E) about seven miles east of Fort Gibson, near the bridge across Bayou Menard, on the south side of U. S. Highway 62.

In the first Federal effort to retake Indian Territory, Major William A. Phillips penetrated to a point about seven miles east of Fort Gibson. Here on the banks of Bayou Menard (erroneously reported by Phillips as Bayou Bernard) he met and routed a force of Colonel Stand Watie's Confederates in a brief skirmish on July 27, 1862, taking twenty-five prisoners and killing and wounding about 100 men. Among the Confederate dead were a lieutenant colonel and three captains. Phillips was pleased with the conduct of his Indian forces in this skirmish. His only difficulty was in restraining their impetuous charge and in keeping back a reserve and guards for the wagons.

*FORT GIBSON:* Site (Secs. 1, 2, and 11, T 15 N, R 19 E) of the Civil War location of New Fort Gibson is on the east side of the Grand River at the town of Fort Gibson. The restored stockade and buildings of the first post stand on the location of Old Fort Gibson, the well marking the center of the original stockade.

The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on the public school grounds of the town of Fort Gibson, on U. S. Highway 62. The site (Sec. 6, T 15 N, R 20 E) of the Fort Gibson National Military Cemetery is east of the town of Fort Gibson and about one mile north of U. S. Highway 62.

Fort Gibson was a deactivated U. S. Army post when the Civil War began, for it had been abandoned to the Cherokees in September, 1857. Rather than occupy it, the Confederates chose to construct Fort Davis, considered more defensible and within viewing distance, across the Arkansas River. Federal forces invading Indian Territory in 1862 visited the unoccupied post, which had miraculously escaped destruction at the hands of the Confederates. When the Federals came to stay in April, 1863, Fort Gibson became the center of Federal military activity in Indian Territory, and continued to serve this purpose until the end of the war.

Colonel William A. Phillips, in charge of the garrison during this period, operated gristmills, sawmills, and salt works to supply his command and the dependent refugee Indians. With Indian labor he erected commissary buildings and built ferry boats and enclosed fifteen or sixteen acres with defensive earthen breastworks (still to be viewed between the restored stockade and the Military Park) that made the fort impregnable to any force that the Confederates could hope to send against

it. Sandstone buildings were erected on the site of the new post on a hill to the east of the present stockade of the original post.

Phillips also rigorously trained at Fort Gibson a three-regiment brigade of Indians into an effective fighting force. In addition, Phillips administered the affairs of several thousand Indian refugees who were gathered in the immediate vicinity of the post. He personally directed a military intelligence bureau by means of which he kept well informed on the movements and plans of the Confederates.

During the Federal occupation of Fort Gibson, more than a dozen skirmishes were fought nearby, the result of Confederate scouting, although they were never able to organize an all-out attack on the post. Colonel Phillips had renamed the post Fort Blunt in 1863, a designation that it carried until the close of the war, in honor of his commanding officer, Major General James G. Blunt.

It was from this post that General Blunt opened the campaign against the Confederates that resulted in Federal victory at the Battle of Honey Springs and climaxed in the fall of Fort Smith, Arkansas, about six weeks later. Colonel Phillips remained at the post until the end of the war, a period in which he endeared himself to Union Indians, for having provided food to 16,000 refugees at the fort in the summer of 1864. During this same period, Confederate Indians came to detest him. He increased this hate when he devastated the country along his route in the Creek and Chickasaw Nations, and killed more than 200 of their inhabitants on a wide, month-long march to south of the Canadian River in February, 1864, his scouts reaching some points on Red River.

Established in 1824, Fort Gibson was the farthest west in a chain of U. S. forts, north to south, guarding the western frontier. It had an important influence on the entire southwest, for it served as a frequent conference site, outfitting point, and rendezvous for army officers, government commissioners, artists, writers, traders, missionaries, and adventurers. Not only did Fort Gibson command the navigation of the Arkansas River, but it was also strategically located on the important Texas Road running southwest from Missouri. The government permanently abandoned this military post in 1890.

*FORT DAVIS:* Site (SE¼ Sec. 7, T 15 N, R 19 E) about one mile north of Bacone College, overlooking the Arkansas River, northeast of Muskogee. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 62, about one mile east of Bacone College.

When Brigadier General Pike assumed command of the Confederate Department of Indian Territory in November, 1862, he ordered construction of a new permanent military post to serve as his headquarters. The location he chose was on the south side of the Arkansas River, about two miles south of the mouth of the Verdigris River, and directly across the Arkansas River from Fort Gibson, a deactivated U. S. Army post. Pike named the post Cantonment Davis, soon to be known as Fort Davis, after Confederate President Jefferson Davis, who had been stationed at Fort Gibson while a lieutenant in the U. S. Army in 1834.

Fort Gibson was at that time in poor repair, and Pike believed he could better maintain a headquarters south of the Arkansas River than on the north side. Fort Davis also commanded the Texas Road crossing of the Arkansas River. Pike

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)
FORT COFFEE BLUFF

Photo taken in 1930, looking eastward down the Arkansas River. Called "Hirondel Rock," (Swallow Rock), from its French name in 1700's. Fort Coffee was built in 1834, with a blockhouse on this bluff above the Arkansas.

(M. H. Wright, Photo Collection)
PREHISTORIC INDIAN MOUND
SITE OF FORT DAVIS

A Confederate flag floated from the top of this mound at Fort Davis established in November, 1861. The fort was burned by Federal Troops in December, 1862.

considered the location formidable, healthy, well watered, and well timbered. Even before the war, he had often recommended the establishment of a post at this location.

Constructed by Pike's brigade quartermaster, Fort Davis consisted of thirteen plank and log buildings for administration, officers' quarters, barracks, storage facilities, kitchens, and also stonewalled wells, all put together as inexpensively as possible. It is unlikely that the post cost nearly a million dollars, as contemporary authorities reported. It was built around a prehistoric mound standing some twenty-five or thirty feet above the surrounding ground, and this gave the Confederates a commanding view of Fort Gibson and nearby areas, and also hid their own activities.

After Confederate defeat at the Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, in March, 1862, Pike withdrew south with most of his forces to a point near the Red River, believing that it would be impossible to hold Fort Davis longer. In this new location he constructed Fort McCulloch near the Texas Road, on the Blue River, about three miles north of present Kenefic, in Bryan County. This was the other major military installation erected by the Confederate forces within Oklahoma.

Various Confederate units continued to occupy Fort Davis from time to time until December 27, 1862, when Colonel William A. Phillips crossed the Arkansas River at Frozen Rock east of Muskogee. He captured the fort, without defenders at the time, and burned most of the buildings. He spared the house, near the fort, of Colonel D. N. McIntosh, Confederate Creek leader, with whom he hoped to open negotiations.

The site of Fort Davis is on private property. All that may be seen today is the prehistoric mound and heaps of stone from the chimneys and fireplaces scattered over the six to eight acres once the fort.

*WEBBERS FALLS:* Site (Secs. 13 and 14, T 12 N, R 20 E) is the present village of Webbers Falls, on the Arkansas River. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 64, at the west end of the Arkansas River bridge, at Webbers Falls.

When the Federal forces occupied Fort Gibson about the middle of April, 1863, several skirmishes occurred at Webbers Falls as U. S. Army units attempted to clear the area of Confederates and open the Arkansas River. These were on April 11 and 25, September 9, and October 12. The most important of these occurred on April 25, when Colonel William A. Phillips marched overnight from Fort Gibson and attacked at daybreak Colonel Stand Watie's command of 500 men present at Webbers Falls to protect a meeting of the national council of Confederate Cherokees scheduled later that day. With 600 men, Phillips surprised and routed Watie's men and captured their supplies. The Confederates fled in the direction of Fort Smith and North Fork Town, and Phillips returned to Fort Gibson.

While at Webbers Falls, Dr. Rufus Gilpatrick, a military surgeon with Phillips, was asked to dress the wounds of a Confederate. Although unarmed, he was intentionally slain by several of Watie's men while on the errand. Legend has it that U. S. forces set fire to the village of Webbers Falls after the battle of Honey Springs, July 17, 1863, out of revenge for the killing of Dr. Gilpatrick, who was unusually popular with the military personnel at Fort Gibson.

Webbers Falls was named for Walter Webber, a Western

Cherokee chief, who established a trading post at this location about 1829. This important early-day commercial center on the Arkansas River had a falls nearly seven feet high in 1806, but today these have all but disappeared. They were located some few hundred yards north of the present highway bridge, and were of sufficient size to block travel for river steamers. The falls formed a barrier so that much early-day steamer traffic up the Arkansas River terminated at this point.

*CREEK AGENCY SKIRMISH:* Site (Sec. 8, T 15 N, R 18 E) about three miles northwest of Muskogee, and about one mile west of U. S. Highway 69.

On October 15, 1863, immediately east of the Old Creek Agency community, a skirmish occurred between Creek and Cherokee Confederate forces and Cherokee and Osage Union forces.

## Nowata County

*COODEY'S BLUFF:* Site (Sec. 26, T 26 N, R 16 E) about four miles east of Nowata on the north side of U. S. Highway 60, at the bridge crossing the Verdigris River. When Oologah Reservoir is completed, Coodey's Bluff will be on the west shore.

Colonel John Drew, with a force of about 500 Confederate Indians, was stationed at Coodey's Bluff settlement in the Cherokee Nation when Confederate units under the command of Colonel Douglas H. Cooper engaged the Union Indians of Opothleyahola at Round Mountain on November 19, 1861. Soon after Drew was ordered by Cooper to march from Coodey's Bluff and join him for another attack on Opothleyahola's forces, which were withdrawing north to sanctuary. A trading store had been established at Coodey's Bluff in the 1830's by John Coodey, of Cherokee descent. A large party of Cherokees on their way in 1850 to the California gold fields, crossed the Verdigris River at Coodey's Bluff. Some of the members of these Cherokee "gold seekers" were later known as officers in the Cherokee Confederate troops during the Civil War.

## Okfuskee County

*GREENLEAF TOWN:* Site (NE¼ Sec. 21, T 11 N, R 9 E) about four miles southwest of Okemah, on the north side of the North Canadian River, and east of State Highway 48 less than a mile.

About August 1, 1861, Opothleyahola, revered elder statesman of the Creeks, established a camp on the North Fork of the Canadian River a few miles above Greenleaf Town. His purpose was to collect his tribe and harmonize the dissident groups within it, split over sectional issues. Then he planned to take his people north to unsettled country in Indian Territory, to avoid U. S. Army forces rumored to be coming from Kansas. By these procedures he hoped to remain in peace and safety until the storm of war had passed.

Greenleaf Town had been established in the 1830's as a trading center in the Creek Nation. It was located about five miles northwest of Thlopthlocco, another early Creek settlement associated with the Civil War. Thlopthlocco Methodist Church, organized among the people of the Creek Indian Community since the Civil War, is located on State Highway 27, about ten

miles west and south of Weleetka, in Okfuskee County. This church is about a mile east of the old Thlopthlocco Town, which was visited by Colonel Douglas H. Cooper on October 29, 1861. Cooper was seeking a meeting with Opothleyahola in the hope of securing his willingness to accept the treaty recently made between the Creek Nation and the Confederate States.

Opothleyahola and his followers, however, had left Greenleaf Town, traveling north "over the waters of the Deep Fork." Cooper returned east to North Fork Town, organized his troops, and in less than a month fought the first battle of the Civil War in Indian Territory—known as the "Battle of Round Mountain" on November 19, 1861. This battle was fought about sixty miles due north of the Greenleaf Town-Thlopthlocco Town region.

*OLD THLOPTHLOCCO TOWN:* Site (Sec. 30, T 10 N, R 10 E) about eight miles southeast of Okemah, south of the North Canadian River and one mile west of State Highway 27. Present-day Thlopthlocco Methodist Church (Sec. 30, T 10 N, R 10 E) is one mile east of the site of the old town, on State Highway 27.

Opothleyahola, revered leader of the Creeks, probably hoped to negotiate peace among the factions of his tribe at Old Thlopthlocco soon after the outbreak of the Civil War. Sometime after the middle of October, 1861, a skirmish took place near this settlement when a party of Confederate Creeks attacked the Union Creeks on the North Canadian River. This brought Colonel Douglas H. Cooper and a detachment of Confederate forces to the outskirts of Thlopthlocco by late October, and there he established temporary headquarters.

It was at Thlopthlocco that Colonel Cooper learned of the traffic in stock, principally horses, from Santa Fe, that were being driven north to Federal lines. Cooper left Thlopthlocco in a few days, going as far north as Sells' Store, on Brown's Creek, where he gained suspicion of the movement of Opothleyahola's followers north to the Arkansas. He returned to North Fork Town, raised his forces, and set out from Fort Gibson on November 15, 1861, west, again passing Sells' Store enroute.

Cooper's command now consisted of six companies of the First Regiment of Choctaw and Chickasaw Mounted Rifles, a detachment of the Ninth Regiment of Texas Cavalry, the First Regiment of the Creek Mounted Volunteers, and the Creek and Seminole Battalion, traveling north toward the Cimarron River.

Colonel Cooper's purpose in this expedition was to overcome the Opothleyahola forces withdrawing northward to sanctuary in friendly Cherokee country, near the Union lines. Three engagements followed before the end of December, 1861, and in these Opothleyahola's refugees were decimated and sent fleeing into Kansas.

Thlopthlocco was established in the Creek Nation during the 1830's. Greenleaf Town, another early Creek settlement associated with the Civil War, was about four miles northwest.

## Oklahoma County

*COUNCIL GROVE—CHISHOLM TRADING POST:* Site (SE¼ Sec. 30, T 12 N, R 4 W) in Council Grove Township, west side of Oklahoma City, at the end of the 10th Street bridge across the North Canadian River. This location is about one mile south of U. S. Highway 66. A stone monument erected by the Daughters

of the American Revolution, in the parkway north of 10th Street, marks the site of the Chisholm Trading Post.

Jesse Chisholm established this trading post in 1858 at a spring on the banks of the North Canadian River, in Council Grove. This grove covered an area of more than six miles, some of the trees (post oak, cottonwood, elm) measuring five feet in diameter. The spring was the scene of many Indian councils held through a long period of time by the Plains Indians, especially Comanches and Kiowas.

In 1859, Colonel Benjamin L. E. Bonneville with a company of U. S. troops escorted Congressman J. B. Phelps to meet the Comanches at Council Grove. When the Comanches approached and saw the U. S. soldiers, they left, and the council failed.

In the spring of 1865, one of the last military orders issued by General E. Kirby Smith, commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department of the Confederate Army, called for a council of Comanches and other Plains Indians with Confederate Commissioners to meet at Council Grove on May 15, 1865, for the purpose of forming a special alliance with the Confederate States. There was a delay in getting this organized, as Albert Pike refused to receive the appointment by General Smith. The meeting was held some weeks later on May 25 at Cottonwood Grove, south of the Washita River. The Confederate Commissioners and their party called their encampment "Camp Napoleon" (*q.v.*).

A tract covering about six square miles (present Council Grove Township) was set aside as a timber reserve before the opening of the Oklahoma country in 1889. The fine timber, especially post oak, was to be used for building purposes at Fort Reno and the Darlington Indian Agency.

## Okmulgee County

*COUNCIL HILL:* Site (SW¼ SE¼ Sec. 31, T 13 N, R 15 E) about four and one-half miles south of Eram, on the north edge of the McIntosh County line, and about four miles south of U. S. Highway 62.

Council Hill was the location of the first Creek Council House, constructed about 1840, and the immediate area became a well-established Creek council ground before the Civil War. Early in May, 1861, soon after the war began, some of the Creek leaders had gone west with a delegation of Cherokees, Chickasaws, and other tribes, to urge neutrality and a united front of all Indian people in the conflict. When the delegation returned to Council Hill the latter part of July, Opothleyahola and Chief Sands were already determined in their stand against the Confederate Creek Treaty, negotiated meanwhile with the Southern faction of the tribe, and a council meeting was held on this problem in early August.

War was a reality a month later between the Upper and Lower divisions of the Creek Nation. Consternation spread among all the Creeks when Chief John Ross signed the Confederate Cherokee Treaty with Commissioner Albert Pike on October 7, the same day that Pike wrote a pardon for the Union Creeks. Opothleyahola spurned this, and bitter feeling between the Creek divisions heightened in the confusion that followed.

At Council Hill, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper organized a group of Confederate Creeks for the campaign against Opothleyahola.

This unit, under Colonel D. N. McIntosh, maintained its headquarters here during the war.

*SHIELDSVILLE:* Site (SW¼ Sec. 36, T 14 N, R 12 E) on the north edge of Okmulgee, about one-half mile south of the present New Town Methodist Church, and about one mile west of U. S. Highway 75.

This settlement was an important trading center in the Creek Nation before and after the Civil War. In 1860, George W. Stidham and J. A. Patterson established a large store in this location. Soon after the Civil War opened they moved their stock back to the Creek Agency. Following the war, Captain Frederick B. Severs of the Confederate First Creek Regiment, set up a store at Shieldsville, which he moved to Okmulgee in 1868. While in Shieldsville, Captain Severs served as a private secretary to Creek Principal Chief Samuel Checote, and made suggestions in the adoption of the first written constitution of the Creeks. The cities of Okmulgee and Muskogee absorbed the business and population of Shieldsville, and today nothing remains of this settlement.

## Osage County

*CHUSTENAHLAH ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Sec. 13, T 22 N, R 11 E) on Battle Creek approximately four miles west and one and one-half miles north of Skiatook, and north of State Highway 20, one and one-half miles.

About noon on December 26, 1861, Confederate forces from Arkansas, under the command of Colonel James McQueen McIntosh, attacked the Union Creek and Seminole Indians under the aged Creek leader, Opothleyahola, estimated at about 3,500 men, women and children. The Union forces were secluded in the underbrush on the slope of a rugged hill, but the Confederate onslaught could not be resisted, and the defenders fell back from cover to cover in the direction of their camp, located in a small valley surrounded on three sides by rugged, brush-covered hills. A severe sleet storm during the height of the fighting added to the suffering of Opothleyahola's refugees as they fled into the hills. Families were separated in the rout, and as the survivors trudged over the icy hills to haven in Kansas, some were hunted down while others died of exposure.

The site of the "Battle of Chustenahlah" is shown on the map of Opothleyahola's campaign drawn by U. S. Agent John Cox in 1864. The map shows the rugged hill region with the name "Patriot Hills." A beautiful view of this prominent topographical feature may be seen driving west from Skiatook. The camp site of the families of the Union Creeks and Seminoles is in a well protected cove on Battle Creek.

Approximately 250 Union men were killed, while 160 women and children were taken captive, together with 20 Negroes, 30 wagons, 70 yoke of oxen, 500 Indian ponies, several hundred head of cattle, 100 sheep, and much valuable personal property. Opothleyahola's band of soldiers and families had earlier been attacked by Confederate forces at Round Mountain on November 19, 1861, and at Chusto-Talasah on December 9, 1861. With final defeat at Chustenahlah, safety in the Osage hills near the Union-minded Cherokees of Chief John Ross was no longer possible. The only refuge remaining was Kansas, loyal to the United States.

## Pawnee County

*U. S. CROSSING OF THE ARKANSAS RIVER:* Site (Sec. 29, T 20 N, R 10 E—inundated by Keystone Reservoir) northeast of Old Keystone about three miles, on the Pawnee-Osage County line, which is the Arkansas River, about eight miles north of State Highway 51.

The U. S. Crossing had been traveled by U. S. military expeditions in the early 1830's, including the Rangers accompanied by the noted Washington Irving in his "Tour on the Prairie." Some one thousand followers of Opothleyahola crossed the Arkansas River at this point making their way to a rendezvous in the Cherokee country, before the "Battle of Round Mountain" in November, 1861.

## Payne County

*"TWIN MOUNDS BATTLE":* Site (Sec. 6, T 19 N, R 5 E) about seventeen miles east of Stillwater, on State Highway 51, and about five miles west of Yale.[1]

The "Twin Mounds Battle" probably occurred sometime during the spring of 1865, the year the Civil War ended, but was not so much an action between Unionists and Confederates as between Texas Rangers, combined with a contingent of Texas cattlemen, against cattle thieves from the North. About thirty men were killed and wounded. The Texans were trying to recapture their large herd of steers confiscated by outlaws from Kansas. This engagement brought to an end the wholesale stealing of large herds of marketable beef grazing as far south as Red River in the Chickasaw Nation, the stealing of cattle having gone on since 1862. During this three-year period, some 300,000 cattle were stolen, driven north from the Indian Territory, and sold.

The site of this battle near the Twin Mounds, in Payne County, was on the general course of the West Shawnee Trail that had developed during the Civil War, on the west edge of the Cross Timbers.

## Pittsburg County

*PERRYVILLE:* Site (Sec. 34, T 5 N, R 14 E) about four miles south of McAlester on the west side of U. S. Highway 69 and the Missouri, Kansas, and Texas Railroad. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located about four miles south of McAlester on the west side of U. S. Highway 69 (at the intersection of the secondary road between Sections 26 and 35).

After the climactic Battle of Honey Springs on July 17, 1863, Brigadier General William E. Steele's Confederate forces took the field and penetrated as far north as the outskirts of present-day Muskogee. Major General James G. Blunt again left Fort Gibson (Fort Blunt, 1863-1865), recrossed the Arkansas River, and took pursuit with about 4,500 men. Due to extensive desertions, Steele decided to withdraw south on the Texas Road. His rear guard was overtaken on August 25, 1863, at Perryville,

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[1] A stone marker erected by the Payne County Historical Society identifies this as the location of the "Battle of Round Mountains" of November 19, 1861, the first major Civil War action in Indian Territory. —See reference, Tulsa County, "Battle of Round Mountain."

the site of an important Confederate military post and supply depot. A sharp skirmish followed, involving artillery and dismounted cavalry, before the Confederates evacuated Perryville. Because there were large stores of Confederate supplies distributed throughout the buildings of the town, Blunt decided to burn it, Steele escaped with his troops in a difficult retreat to Middle Boggy, deep in the Choctaw Nation, and Blunt proceeded to Fort Smith, Arkansas, which he occupied on September 1. This concluded significant military operations during 1863 in Indian Territory.

Originally the trading post of James Perry, a post office was opened at Perryville in 1841, and by 1849 the village was one of the most important commercial centers in the Choctaw Nation. Here was the intersection of the Texas and California Roads, and many noted expeditions passed along these routes. Colbert Institute, a Methodist school for Chickasaws, was established at Perryville in 1855.

At present only the site of this frontier village and Civil War skirmish are to be seen on the grounds of a private residence and property about three hundred yards west of the Oklahoma Historical Society marker.

*CAMP JUMPER:* Site (Sec. 20, T 6 N, R 15 E) about five miles north of McAlester on the east side of U. S. Highway 69.

This Confederate camp was named for Chief of the Seminole Nation John Jumper, who held the ranks of Major and Colonel in the First Seminole Volunteer Cavalry Regiment. Active in most of the military campaigns in Indian Territory throughout the war, Chief Jumper led his command in noted action that brought Confederate victory in the Second Battle of Cabin Creek, September 19, 1864.

The site of Camp Jumper is now owned by a private group, known as the "Fin and Feather Lake Club." There is evidence that the spring once used by the Confederate camp now feeds the "Fin and Feather Lake" itself. This small lake is in a meadow area of several acres down from the ridge, where the present club buildings are located. This same meadow was where the track of the M. K. and T. Railroad was constructed in 1871-2.

The railroad track originally was near the Texas Road through this region. Traces of this old road that was followed by many expeditions and travelers before and during the Civil War can still be found just west of the present club house.

Also, near traces of the road, footings of a rock house have been found. This could be the stone house referred to in a letter written during the war by Sarah Belle Watie to her husband, General Stand Watie. She mentions this as if she had been stationed here with her husband for several months. She further says that this camp is ten miles north of Perryville on the Texas Road.

## Pottawatomie County

*CHISHOLM SPRING TRADING POST:* Site (SE¼ Sec. 16, T 6 N, R 4 E) at Chisholm Spring, about two miles east of Asher on State Highway 39.

Jesse Chisholm established this trading post long before the Civil War, one of two well known posts opened by him in the present day Oklahoma. The other was located at Council Grove (*q.v.*), west of Oklahoma City.

Chisholm's first establishment was at the big spring east of

Asher. It soon became a clearing house for prisoners captured by the Plains Indians in Texas. Some of these prisoners were sold to Chisholm, or negotiations with him brought a reward for their return. Chisholm sometimes held for ransom white children that were given over to him by their captors. In general, trading posts were used for protection as bases of operation for trade with the Indians in the surrounding area, as well as trading and selling in the post itself.

A Scot-Cherokee born in 1805, Chisholm earned lasting fame as a pioneer merchant, trader, explorer, and guide in what is now Oklahoma. He preferred neutrality for Indian Territory during the Civil War, since involvement of that area in the conflict interfered with his business. He withdrew to Kansas for the duration of the war and lived near the present site of Wichita.

Jesse Chisholm returned to Indian Territory at the close of the war in 1865, following the trail that renowned Delaware Indian scout, Black Beaver, had made when he guided Lieutenant Colonel William H. Emory's Federal command north from Indian Territory to Kansas at the opening of the Civil War. This route followed approximately the 98th Meridian, and later became known as the famous Chisholm Trail, one of the main routes over which more than a million cattle were driven north from Texas to Kansas in the years following the Civil War.

*SEMINOLE AGENCY:* Site (Secs. 32 and 33, T 7 N, R 3 E) about two miles east of Trousdale, and about seven miles north of State Highway 39.

Established in 1859, this was the original location of the Seminole Agency, which was removed to Wewoka soon after the Civil War. The Seminole Council House of this period was on Council Creek about eight miles west of the Seminole Agency.

*SEMINOLE COUNCIL HOUSE:* Site (Sec. 4, T 17 N, R 2 E) on Council Creek about six miles west of Trousdale and about six miles north of State Highway 39.

On August 1, 1861, Albert Pike of Arkansas, Confederate commissioner to Indian Territory, signed an alliance treaty with Principal Chief John Jumper of the Seminoles and his Confederate adherents at the Seminole Council House. At first the Seminoles as a tribe were against an alliance with the Confederacy, and hoped to remain neutral. But when Billy Bowlegs, another principal chief of the Seminoles, announced he would not sign, and stated his intention of joining Opothleyahola and others loyal to the United States government, Jumper and his followers decided to sign with the Confederacy.

The original location of the Seminole Agency, and its site during the Civil War, was about six miles southeast of the Seminole Council House, at the site of present Trousdale. Soon after the war, the Seminole Agency was removed to Wewoka.

## Sequoyah County

*DWIGHT MISSION:* Site (NW¼ Sec. 2, T 12 N, R 23 E) about three miles southwest of Marble City. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker is located on U. S. Highway 64 at Vian, at the junction with the road northeast to Marble City.

Dwight Mission was a landmark during the Civil War, although the institution was not in operation during the years of

the conflict. Confederate troops were stationed here at intervals during the war.

Dwight was first established in 1821 by the Presbyterians among the Western Cherokees in Pope County, Arkansas Territory, but was moved in 1829 to this location in the new Cherokee country in Indian Territory. The mission was named in honor of Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College and a charter member of the Presbyterian Mission Board. The first log dwellings at Dwight had been erected on the site, originally called Nicksville, and purchased by the Mission Board. The Dwight Mission post office was Nicksville, named for Lieutenant Colonel John Nicks, whose widow, Sarah Perkins Nicks, in 1832 was the first woman appointed to a U. S. government position in Oklahoma.

The old mission cemetery, containing many graves of early missionaries, some dating back to the 1830's, is on the north side of the mission grounds. The mission is now owned by the United Presbyterian Church Synod of Oklahoma, and many of the buildings of recent construction are used for assembly and convention meetings.

*MACKEY'S SALT WORKS:* Site (Secs. 11 and 14, T 13 N, R 21 E—inundated by Greenleaf Lake) on the east bank of the Illinois River about ten miles northeast of Gore.

Mackey's Salt Works were near the military road from Fort Smith to Fort Gibson. First operated by Samuel Mackey in 1828, and later by others, this establishment also furnished lodging and food to travelers. It became well known throughout the area and was frequently mentioned in military reports and dispatches during the Civil War and in other contemporary accounts before and after.

By the eve of the Civil War, the manufacturing operation at Mackey's Salt Works had developed to the point where it consisted of many pumps and other machinery. There were also one hundred immense evaporating salt kettles, arranged in batteries in two rows of hewed log buildings several hundred feet long. At Mackey's was also a store, stocked with general merchandise for the area, and where bartering for wood and labor took place. Nearby stood a large warehouse for the salt. There were in addition wagons, oxen, horses, and mules, used for hauling salt, provisions and wood for burning under the kettles.

When the Civil War broke out, the Confederates made Mackey's Salt Works a public gathering place where soldiers were drilled. These forces also manufactured salt for the use of the Confederate Army and the surrounding inhabitants. When the Confederates were driven out by the Union forces in 1863, two companies of Federal troops were stationed there to hold the salt works, the adjacent country, and the nearby military road. These troops also manufactured salt to supply the Union forces and the thousands of Indian, Negro, and white refugees gathered near Fort Gibson. The Union forces abandoned the salt works about two years later. All the equipment was completely destroyed to keep the place from falling into the hands of the Confederates. The houses were burned. The iron kettles, pumps, and other machinery were broken up.

For many years the heirs of the Civil War owners of Mackey's Salt Works tried unsuccessfully to secure compensation from the United States government for the loss of the salt works and a large number of cattle and hogs belonging to it that were taken by the Union Army. In the lean days of Reconstruction fol-

lowing the war, the broken kettles were repaired by straps of iron riveted to the fragments and used again for making salt. One of these, the gift of the late Grant Foreman, may be seen on the campus of Bacone College in Muskogee.

*MARSTON'S SKIRMISH:* Site (Ca. T 11 N, R 26 E) several miles southeast of Muldrow, and several miles south of U. S. Highway 64, in Sequoyah County.

Late in July and for the first few weeks in August, 1864, there was a general campaign of Confederate forces against the Federals stationed at Fort Smith. Brigidier General Douglas H. Cooper, commanding the Confederate forces, held his troops at Buck Creek Camp, twenty miles southwest of Fort Smith. Captain B. W. Marston, Acting Adjutant-General, with Captain Samuel H. Gunter, of Stand Watie's Cherokee troops, and four other men traveled north and swam the Arkansas River, making a reconnaissance against the Federals on the north side of the river. In an encounter, the Federal arms, horses, rigging, and greenbacks were captured and prisoners taken. Captain Marston and Captain Gunter with their men recrossed to the south side by swimming the river in sight of the enemy's forces, and returned to Cooper's camp. General Cooper's statement on this deed is given in his report: "This feat is unsurpassed in the annals of the war." The reconnaissance and Marston's Skirmish occurred early in August, 1864.

## Tulsa County

*ROUND MOUNTAIN ENGAGEMENT IN THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST OPOTHLEYAHOLA:* Site (Sec. 13, T 20 N, R 8 E) north of the Cimarron River, about five miles north of Old Mannford. This location is now on the west bank of Keystone Reservoir, State Highway 48.

When the five Indian Nations of Indian Territory allied with the Confederacy, a group of Creeks under the leadership of Opothleyahola remained loyal to the United States. They were joined by a like-minded group of Seminoles, and accompanied by a large number of Negroes—mostly slaves, some freed. They traveled with wagons containing their families and household goods, herding along their cattle and ponies. They were hoping to join a Union faction of the Cherokees north of the Arkansas, in the northeastern section of what is now Oklahoma.

Initial Confederate recruiting efforts in Indian Territory were highly successful. The commander of the Confederate forces was Colonel Douglas H. Cooper. A contingent of Texas cavalry, Creek and Seminole units, together with six companies of Choctaw and Chickasaw mounted rifles under Colonel Cooper's command advanced from Fort Gibson up the Arkansas, in a general direction west via Sell's Store (*q.v.*) and north toward the Cimarron, or Red Fork River. The Confederates overtook the rear guard of Opothleyahola's forces at Round Mountain, a low hill—a prominent, old land mark—in the southwestern corner of present-day Tulsa County, on the morning of November 19, 1861. The first skirmish of the day took place at the south edge of Round Mountain, from which came the name "Battle of Round Mountain" given in Colonel Cooper's original notes and report on the engagement. The Confederates followed the Union Creeks as they moved forward in wagons and on foot all day toward the Cimarron. There was some skirmishing, and a few Indians were taken prisoners. In the late afternoon the main

camp of Opothleyahola was found by a detachment of Cooper's troops, five miles north of the Cimarron in present Pawnee County. A brisk but brief encounter took place after nightfall. The Union Creek forces held out against the Confederates, then withdrew under cover of darkness. The prairie had been set on fire, and Cooper was forced to withdraw his forces from the field. The Union Creek warriors numbered about 1,700 men, while Cooper's troops came to about 1,300.

The campaign against Opothleyahola was brought to a halt for a few weeks. Cooper lacked forage since the country had been burned over during the night after the battle of November 19. His troops were needed to hold the Arkansas River line of defense for the Confederates. He immediately retreated his command of Texas cavalry and mounted Indian troops to his supply train at Concharty which they reached by November 25.

Setting out again on the trail west up the Arkansas, Cooper made an attack on the Union Creeks on December 9, at Chusto-Talasah (*q.v.*), or Caving Banks on Bird Creek. A hot battle took place, in which the Confederates were not overwhelmed although they were forced to withdraw from the battle ground, returning again to Concharty.

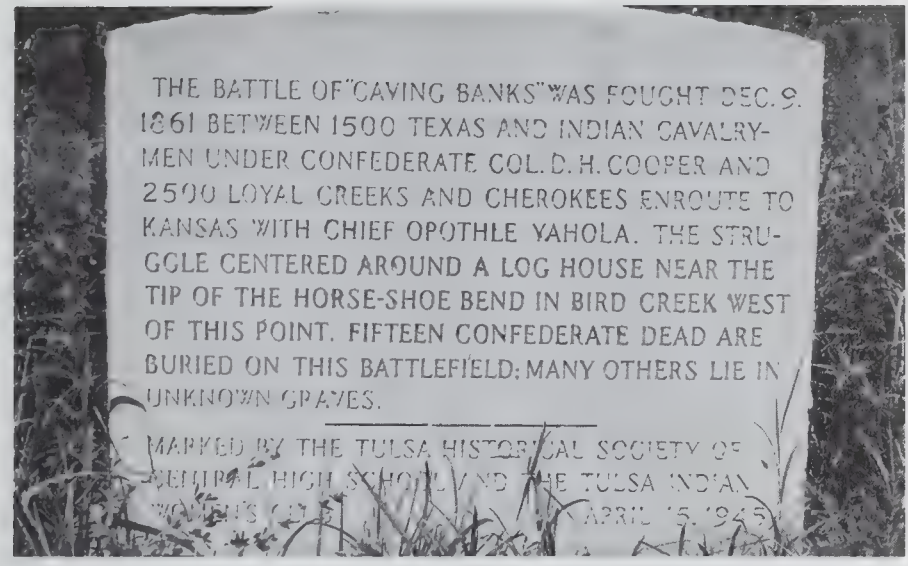
Victory for the Confederates finally came in the campaign against Opothleyahola when forces of Colonel James McQueen McIntosh, Second Arkansas Cavalry, defeated the Union Creeks at Chustenahlah (*q.v.*) on December 26, 1861. The Creek forces were completely routed, and were sent fleeing as refugees to safety in Kansas, a Union state.

*CHUSTO-TALASAH ENGAGEMENT:* Site (Sec. 20, T 21 N, R 13 E) on Bird Creek, about three and one-half miles southeast of Sperry, near State Highway 11. A stone historical marker commemorating this engagement is in Mohawk Park, Tulsa, and was erected by the Historical Society of Tulsa Central High School and the Tulsa Indian Women's Club. Oklahoma Historical Society marker on State Highway 11, 2 miles south of Sperry.

After the refugee Union forces of Opothleyahola were attacked by Confederate units at Round Mountain on November 19, 1861, they continued their withdrawal northward to sanctuary. They were again overtaken by the Confederates under Colonel Douglas H. Cooper on Horseshoe Bend of Bird Creek at a place known as Chusto-Talasah (Caving Banks), where a severe engagement took place on December 9. The refugees of Opothleyahola numbered about 1,700 men and 2,300 women and children. Cooper's troops came to about 1,300 men.

Opothleyahola's forces awaited Confederate attack on the heavily timbered Horseshoe Bend of Bird Creek. The main body of Cooper's command advanced rapidly across the prairie opposite the timbered area, clearing the ravines of skirmishers and sharpshooters. Opothleyahola's advanced units made a stand on the west side of Bird Creek, in an almost impregnable position at the bend. For the four hours of the engagement a series of attacks and flanking movements occurred, with the Union forces finally being driven east across Bird Creek about dark. Losses were indefinite, with Colonel Cooper reporting fifteen killed and thirty-seven wounded among his men, and estimating Opothleyahola's loss of killed and wounded at 500.

Cooper bivouacked for the night on the prairie. The Confederate dead were buried on the east side of the creek where a historical marker can be seen today marking the location of the graves. Cooper advanced up Bird Creek about two miles




(Oklahoma Historical Society Photo Collection)

**MONUMENT MARKING SITE OF THE BATTLE OF CHUSTO-TALASAH, OR CAVING BANKS, ON BIRD CREEK, DECEMBER 9, 1861**

**Monument erected by Tulsa organizations, 1942, east of Bird Creek, marking site of Battle of Caving Banks, or Chusto-Talasah, at the beginning of the Civil War.**

(Tulsa Historical Society of Central High School)

**HORSE SHOE BEND ON BIRD CREEK**

**Site of the Battle of Chusto-Talasah fought in the Confederate campaign against the Opothleyahola's Union Indian forces in December, 1861. Scene from an original painting.**

early in the morning, but seeing no sign of the enemy, he decided against pursuit due to a short supply of ammunition. More important, however, his command had been greatly weakened by the wholesale desertion of his Union-minded Cherokee troops to Opothleyahola, a loss of some 460 men the evening before the battle. His order was given, and the men remaining in his command turned back to Choska. A short time afterward, on the same morning after the battle, the Union Creeks advanced to meet the Confederate troops at their position on Bird Creek but found that they had left and were nowhere in sight.

The Federal Indians were not long permitted security in the Osage hills near the sympathetic Cherokees, for on December 26 they were again sought out by Confederate forces under Colonel James McQueen McIntosh, at "Patriot Hills" known as the Battle of Chustenahlah, west of present Skiatook. This time, short of ammunition, Opothleyahola's warriors were thoroughly defeated, their forces disorganized and scattered, and sent retreating into Kansas, a Union stronghold.

*TULSEY TOWN:* Site (NW½ Sec. 18, T 19 N, R 13 E) on the south edge of present Tulsa, and on the north bank of the Arkansas River, probably around the springs which were once in use along what is now Riverside Drive.

When the Civil War came to Indian Territory, Tulsey Town was an important Creek trading center, dating from the 1830's. Initially, many of its young men enlisted in the Confederate forces, but when the United States returned to take possession of the area, some changed their allegiance.

The Confederate campaign of late 1861 against Opothleyahola was conducted in the vicinity of Tulsey Town, and its engagements were fought nearby. In the withdrawal eastward after the Round Mountain Engagement, Opothleyahola probably passed through Tulsey Town, where the Lochapokas furnished him with provisions and joined the exodus. Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, preparing to make a second attack on the withdrawing Unionists, arrived at the Tulsa site some days later. Following the engagement at Chuste-Talasah on December 9, Cooper again passed through Tulsey Town enroute to his main force at Choska.

Cooper had intended to participate personally in the third and final assault on Opothleyahola's forces, known as the "Battle of Chustenahlah" (*q.v.*), on December 26, but he had only reached Tulsey Town on the evening of the battle. Cooper's men did, however, participate in the hunt-down of Opothlyahola's shattered forces as they fled toward Kansas, and then returned to Tulsey Town, where they had left their wagon train.

The Indian settlement of Tulsey Town did not figure prominently in the war after the campaign against Opothleyahola. In September, 1864, following the Confederate capture at Cabin Creek of a $1,500,000 Federal wagon train enroute to Fort Gibson, the victorious forces of Brigadier General Stand Watie and Brigadier General Richard M. Gano crossed the Arkansas River at Tulsey Town on the way to present Eufaula.

Tulsey Town experienced fully the desolation and destruction of the Civil War. Its livestock had been driven away by thieves from Kansas; the cabins of the Lochapokas were no more; the cornfields and the town square were overgrown with weeds and brush; and the slaves of the Creeks had joined the refugees.

*FORT ARBUCKLE ON THE ARKANSAS:* Site (Sec. 2, T 19 N,

R 10 E) less than one mile north of U. S. Highway 64, Wekiwa Township, about eight miles west of the city of Sand Springs. Footings of old buildings and chimney stones can be seen on the grounds of this U. S. military post, erected in 1834. The Oklahoma Historical Society marker, sponsored by the Tulsa County Historical Society, is located on U. S. Highway 64, about one-half mile southwest of the old fort.

Fort Arbuckle was established by Major George Birch, in the summer of 1834. Buildings were erected, and the new stockade fortification was named "Fort Arbuckle" for Colonel Mathew Arbuckle, the commandant at Fort Gibson. Fort Arbuckle was abandoned as a garrisoned post in the fall of 1834. Captain J. L. Dawson, Seventh Infantry, selected the site of this post on "a fine body of land, six miles square" on the north side of the Arkansas River, less than two miles east of the mouth of the Cimarron. He marked a road south through the Creek Nation on the east side of the Cross Timbers to Fort Holmes on the Canadian River. Opothleyahola's followers traveled this "Dawson Road" north before the Battle of Round Mountain, at the beginning of the Civil War. About 900 of these Creeks, mostly women and children led by the old men, encamped at Fort Arbuckle early in November. Some of the buildings were still standing and were repaired as a shelter. One of the buildings stood on the site after the Civil War, and was used as a trading post in this part of the Creek Nation. The location was about one-half mile south of the Cherokee Outlet boundary. Cherokees in the settlements north toward Skiatook traded at this post.

## Wagoner County

*CHOSKA:* Site (Sec. 32, T 16 N, R 16 E) near present Choska and State Highway 104. A small settlement of Creeks with a trading store at the well-known crossing of the Arkansas River.

Following the attack on the Union forces of Opothleyahola at Chusta-Talasah on December 9, 1861, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper reached Choska, in the Creek Nation, about twenty-two miles west of Fort Gibson, on December 13. Cooper put the main body of his command into camp at Choska, and hurriedly moved on with two companies of the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment to a point on the Grand River opposite Fort Gibson, where he camped. After conferring with other Confederate units located at Fort Gibson, Cooper returned on December 20 to Choska, where other Confederate forces were concentrating. When ammunition finally arrived three days later, he hurried back to Tulsey Town to again take up the campaign against Opothleyahola. When the third and final attack came at Chustenahlah on December 26 under the direction of Colonel James McIntosh, Cooper had not caught up. When he heard of the engagement on December 28, he ordered his men to scout after Opothleyahola's scattered refugees fleeing toward Kansas.

Old Choska developed as a trading town near the Arkansas River about 1830, and continued until well after the Civil War, when it was relocated on its present site.

*CONCHARTY:* Site (T 16 N, R 15 E) south of the Arkansas River on Concharty Creek, east of Stone Bluff, and northeast of U. S. Highway 64.

A Creek settlement for some years before the outbreak of the Civil War, this location served as headquarters for Colonel Douglas H. Cooper in November, 1861, both before and after the

attack on Opothleyahola's Federal Indians at Round Mountain on November 19. His supply train was parked here during the Round Mountain engagement. He reorganized his forces at Spring Hill, near Concharty, and gave his men a few days' rest before taking up once more the pursuit of Opothleyahola's contingent moving north to hoped-for sanctuary in the Osage hills, near Federal-minded Cherokees.

*KOWETA MISSION:* Site (NW¼ Sec. 18, T 17 N, R 16 E) about one mile east of present Coweta, on the north side of State Highway 51, near the Oklahoma Historical Society marker.

In July, 1861, Confederate Creeks took over the buildings and grounds of Koweta Mission, and the school children were sent to their homes. The superintendent, Reverend Robert M. Loughridge, who was an ardent secessionist, moved into the Cherokee Nation where he preached until the Federals returned in July, 1862. He then went to Texas, where his relatives lived. In the campaign against Opothleyahola, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper used the buildings of Koweta Mission as his supply depot, with which he was careful to maintain lines of communication while in the field. This school did not reopen following the war.

Koweta Mission was a Creek Indian School founded in 1843 by Reverend Loughridge of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. The village of Koweta, an ancient Creek town in Alabama, was re-established in this vicinity by Creeks who arrived at Fort Gibson in 1828 on the steamboat *Facility*. Koweta was the home town of Roley McIntosh, the principal chief to 1859 of the Creek Nation West.

The mission site north of the highway is a few hundred yards west of the Oklahoma Historical Society marker. Only one of the smaller mission buildings remains, and is on the grounds of a privately owned residence.

*HAY CAMP ACTION:* Site (Sec. 19, T 18 N, R 19 E) northeast of Wagoner about seven miles, and about two miles east of U. S. Highway 69. This action is also referred to as the "Battle of Flat Rock."

When Major General Sterling Price of the Confederate States started a raid from Arkansas through Missouri toward Kansas City and Fort Leavenworth, Brigadier General Richard M. Gano and Brigadier General Stand Watie, also of the Confederate forces, were ordered to make a diversionary demonstration up the valley of the Grand River above Fort Gibson. With a combined force of about 2,000 men, Gano and Watie chanced across a Federal Hay Camp on September 16, 1864, on the Fort Scott-Fort Gibson military road about fifteen miles above Fort Gibson. Three companies of infantry, one a Negro unit, were cutting and stacking hay. Watie and Gano carefully encircled the camp, captured eighty-five Federals, and killed as many more, mostly Negroes. Only a few Federals escaped. The Confederates burned about 3,000 tons of hay, together with wagons and mowing machines. From this success, Watie and Gano moved to Cabin Creek, where they captured on September 19 a Federal wagon train valued at $1,500,000.

*TULLAHASSEE MISSION:* Site (NE¼ Sec. 27, T 16 N, R 18 E) about three miles east of present Tullahassee, and about one mile east of U. S. Highway 69.

In July, 1861, Confederate Creeks forced the Reverend S. Robertson and his family to leave the Tullahassee Mission.

Robertson was superintendent of the mission and a Federal sympathizer. During the war the buildings that were used as hospitals, barracks and stables by the Confederates were almost destroyed by rough treatment. Some of the bricks from the kitchen were taken to Fort Gibson to be used to build a bakery. The window frames and door casings were used for fuel, as was the rail fence around the grounds. The Robertsons spent the war in Wisconsin, Illinois and Kansas. In 1867, they were asked to return to the Tullahassee Mission. By the spring of 1868 they had reconditioned the buildings and reopened the school.

Tullahassee Mission first began operations in 1850, opposite the Creek Agency, with the main building a large three-story brick structure. Established by the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, the school was attended by Creek boys and girls until the brick building was destroyed by fire in the winter of 1880-81. The Creek Council soon rebuilt the school for the education of their Negro freedmen. Tullahassee was in operation as a Negro school until the close of the Creek government in 1907 before Oklahoma Statehood.

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# NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

## Oklahoma Historical Markers and Monuments 1960-1966

Fourteen Oklahoma Historical Markers have been erected on the main highways in the state, from January, 1960 to July, 1966, under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society with the co-operation of the State Highway Commission. These markers are the roadside type consisting of a large aluminum plaque with the official Oklahoma design in enamel colors at the top, bearing a brief history of the site on both sides of the plaque. A local group or committee interested in promoting and preserving community history, provided the funds ($150.00) in each instance, to pay for casting the metal plaque at the studio factory that has made the roadside markers since the beginning of this program by the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1949. The Society has had charge of determining the location of the sites and has prepared the inscriptions of all these markers. The State Highway Commission has erected them on the U.S. Highway or the State Highway near the historic site.

Also, in the same period (1960-66), thirteen on-site markers have been provided and placed by the Committee on Historic Sites, under the sponsorship of the Historical Society. The on-site markers consist of a low concrete base mounted with a small bronze plaque bearing a brief inscription of history. These markers are paid for by the Society. Some of the on-site markers are on ground off in old fields and others are beside traces of old roads, indicating the actual sites for future references in history.

Since the beginning of the Historical Marker Program in 1949, the Oklahoma Historical Society, to 1966, has erected a total of 156 roadside markers and 39 on-site markers, for outstanding historic sites in the state. The following list gives the inscriptions and other data of the markers erected since 1960.

—M.H.W.

### Roadside Markers

1. *PECAN POINT:* Early Methodist Circuit. This was an area on both sides of Red River where, in 1818, Rev. Wm. Stevenson, Methodist preacher, held the first Protestant church services in what is now Oklahoma. The region north of Red River was Choctaw country from 1820 to 1907. About 2 mi. northwest of here, Harris Ferry was well known for many years.
   *Location of marker:* In McCurtain County, south of Harris in Sec. 9, T 10 S, R 25 E., between Lake Lonlodge and highway now under construction leading south to new bridge on Red River.
   (Funds provided by the Oklahoma Methodist Historical Society.)

2. *HISTORICAL SOCIETY BIRTHPLACE:* Oklahoma Historical Society was organized May 27, 1893, by the Oklahoma Press Association, in convention at Kingfisher. The Society headquarters were established in the first courthouse, at Sixth and Admire, and remained in this city until 1895.
*Location of marker:* On grounds of the new Kingfisher County courthouse, on U. S. Highway 81, at Kingfisher.
(Funds provided by Kingfisher "Altrua Literary Club.")

3. *CALIFORNIA ROAD:* First Crossed Here 1849. Near here on May 28, 1849, was the camp of a large party of "gold seekers," en route to California with a military escort under the command of Captain R. B. Marcy. The California Road was used by travelers for over 50 years. East of here about 4 miles are traces of the Western Cattle Trail to Dodge City, Kansas.
*Location of marker:* North of Leedey, Dewey County, on State Highway 34, as near as possible to a spot 1.9 miles north, south of north line of Sec. 4, T 16 N, R 20 W.
(Funds provided by Dr. William E. Boswell, Leedey, Oklahoma.)

4. *OKLAHOMA'S FIRST COMMERCIAL OIL WELL:* Nellie Johnstone No. 1, first commercial oil well in Indian Territory, completed April 15, 1897, by the Cudahy Oil Co., on south bank of Caney River. Site is 3.1 mi. N.W. of this marker.
*Location of marker:* At point on U. S. Highways 75 and 60, just across from new Presbyterian Church, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.
(Funds provided by the Oklahoma Petroleum Council, Tulsa, Oklahoma.)

5. *SHAWNEE MISSION:* Established in 1871. The Society of Friends opened this Mission for the Absentee Shawnee, this Christian work continuing 53 years among all Indian tribes living near here. The first log house was replaced by the present church building at the same site, 1885, now a museum owned and kept by Pottawatomie County Historical Society.
*Location of marker:* On State Highway 18, two miles south of Shawnee in Pottawatomie County, at the entrance to the old Shawnee Mission Church just east of the road across from the Mission Cemetery (now Tecumseh Cemetery).
(Funds provided by Pottawatomie County Historical Society, Shawnee, Oklahoma.)

6. *FORT ARBUCKLE:* Site less than one mile north. One of two U. S. military posts on the western frontier of the Creek Nation, this "first" Fort Arbuckle in Indian Territory was built in 1834, by troops of the 7th Infantry, Maj. George Birch in command. The stockade buildings were garrisoned only a few months. (Marker sponsored by the Tulsa County Historical Society.)
*Location of marker:* On paved highway 4 miles west of R. R. sign for "Wekiwa," near point where section line road turns north (site of old Fort in Sec. 2, T 19 N, R 10 E.), Tulsa County, Oklahoma.
(Funds provided by Tulsa County Historical Society, Tulsa, Okla.)

7. *BATTLE OF CHUSTO-TALASAH:* This battle site is 2 miles, N.E., at the "Caving Banks" bend on Bird Creek. Here—Dec. 9, 1861—, Opothleyahola's Union Indians forced the retreat of Col. D. H. Cooper's Confederate troops. (Marker sponsored by the Tulsa County Historical Society.)
*Location of marker:* On State Highway 11, at or near south side of Sperry, Tulsa County.
(Funds provided by Tulsa County Historical Society, Tulsa, Okla.)

8. *WASHINGTON IRVING'S CAMP:* "A Tour on the Prairies" by the great writer, Irving, describes his tour on horseback in Oklahoma with the U. S. Rangers from Fort Gibson. Irving camped on the creek near here, Oct. 12, 1832. (Marker sponsored by the Tulsa County Historical Society.)
*Location of marker:* On U. S. Highway 64 north of Bixby, Tulsa County, in a Churchyard near the place where this highway crosses "Jill Creek" north of the Highway bridge on the Arkansas River.
(Funds provided by the Tulsa County Historical Society, Tulsa, Oklahoma.)

9. *OSAGE CHIEF FRED LOOKOUT & JULIA LOOKOUT:* The last hereditary Osage Chief, Fred Lookout was a man of integrity and great wisdom; died 1949, aged 98 years. Julia, his wife was a descendant of Chief Pawhuska. Their graves are 5 miles east.
*Location of marker:* East city limits of Pawhuska, Osage County, on U. S. Highway 60 (and State 99), a location which will be 5 miles west of the Chief Lookout grave on top of the hill.
(Funds provided through Mr. and Mrs. Sylvester Tinker, Pawhuska, Oklahoma.)

10. *STATE'S EARLIEST OIL REFINERY:* Muskogee Oil Refining Company, organized in March, 1905, built a "finishing plant" near this site in November, 1904. It soon was producing lamp kerosene, lubricating oil and industrial fuel—the beginning of oil refining in Oklahoma, a leading industry today.
*Location of marker:* South city limits of Muskogee, Oklahoma, in Muskogee County.
(Funds provided by Oklahoma Petroleum Council, Tulsa, Oklahoma.)

11. *BATTLE OF LOCUST GROVE:* Federal troops suddenly attacked a Confederate camp along the ridge near here at dawn, July 2, 1862. The surprised Confederates hardly returned fire before their officers and heavy supplies were captured. Yet hot fighting in the woods lasted nearly all day.
*Location of marker:* On east side of Locust Grove, Mayes County, in parkway at "Pipe Spring" State Highway 33.
(Funds provided by Chamber of Commerce, Locust Grove, Okla.)

12. *SAMUEL CHECOTE:* Grave 1.9 miles N.W. This noted Creek leader, b. 1819 Ala., had attended old Asbury Mission before he came to Ind. Ty. He was a Methodist preacher for 32 years till his death, 1884. He served as Lieut. Col., First Regt. Creek Mounted Vols., CSA, during the Civil War. Elected for his first term as Principal Chief, Creek Nation, in 1867.
*Location of marker:* On west side of Creek Council House Square, Okmulgee, Oklahoma, nearest State Highway 56 which runs east and west on Main Street in front of Council House.
(Funds provided by Creek Indian Memorial Association, Okmulgee, Oklahoma.)

13. *CLAREMORE MOUND:* Due west 1.5 miles. Chief Clermont's Osage band was settled near this Mound, 1802, at instance of fur traders from St. Louis. A Cherokee war party defeated this Osage band in a battle at the Mound, 1818. This region was in Cherokee hunting outlet from that time. Famous Will Rogers was born 1879 on ranch near Oolagah, 6 mi. N.W.
*Location of marker:* At point approximately 4.3 miles north of the Will Rogers Memorial on State Highway 88.
(Funds provided by Oklahoma Historical Society.)

14. *CARR-BARTLES MILL:* Site immediately north. Here in the Cherokee Nation, in 1870, Nelson F. Carr erected a grist mill on the Caney River. The Delawares had also settled in this region. The mill was sold to Jacob Bartles who added a flour mill and had a store near in 1878. The settlement soon spread south to higher ground—the beginning of Bartlesville.
*Location of marker:* At a point on the immediate north edge of Bartlesville, Washington County, on west side of State Highways 123 and 75D, between these highways and the Caney River.
(Funds provided by the Washington County Historical Society.)

*ON-SITE MARKERS*

1. *CREEK COUNCIL GROUND:* Site directly east. On this hillside into valley east Creek counselors met Commissioner Albert Pike here when making the Creek Treaty with the Confederate States, signed on July 10, 1861 at North Fork Town—site about 2 mi. E.
*Location of marker:* On side of Foley Hill, west edge of Eufaula, McIntosh County.

2. *BRICK OVEN:* This oven for baking bread was constructed with the new Bakery erected at Fort Gibson, about 1863.
*Location of marker:* On properties of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Fort Gibson.

3. *POWDER MAGAZINE:* This building for storage of gunpowder and ammunition supplies was erected at Fort Gibson, about 1842.
*Location of marker:* On properties of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Fort Gibson.

4. *BY KING CHARLES II CHARTER, 1663 CAROLINA INCLUDED OKLAHOMA:* Oklahoma was a part of Carolina, a strip of land from the Atlantic to the Pacific, by English grant. This event commemorated by the Society of Colonial Dames XVII Century, 1963.
*Location of marker:* On the Oklahoma Historical Society grounds, west side of front of Historical Society grounds south of the front entrance walk.

5. *BATTLE OF CHUSTO-TALASAH:* December 9, 1861. Heaviest action in this battle between Confederate troops and Union Indian forces, on these grounds, took place E. and N.E., about 400 yards, along Bird Creek and at "Caving Banks."
*Location of marker:* In Tulsa County about 2 miles south of Sperry (State Highway 11), west side of Bird Creek in Section 20, T 21 N, R 13 E.

6. *FORT ARBUCKLE:* Established June, 1834. This U. S. post on these grounds, site selected by Maj. George Birch, 7th Inf., was built as a stockade—with blockhouse, log barracks, 2 stone kitchens. It was garrisoned less than a year.
*Location of marker:* In Tulsa County, Wekiwa Township, about 8 miles west of Sand Springs (U. S. Highway 64) in west ½ of Section 2, T 19 N, R 10 E.

7. *WASHINGTON IRVING CAMPSITE:* During a tour on the prairies, famous author and party made trip with company of U. S. Army Rangers. While in this camp Pierre Beatte, attendant to Irving, caught a wild horse nearby.
*Location of marker:* In Payne County, about 9 miles south of Stillwater on State Highway 40, about 4 miles west along State Highway 33, then about one mile north, on Wild Horse Creek.

## Monuments Erected

Four large, granite monuments have been erected under the auspices of the Oklahoma Historical Society, through the work of Committee on Historic Sites in 1964-1966. These are of granite set up at important sites, the inscriptions giving brief histories of three noted characters and an important event in Oklahoma.

1. Monument at the traditional, unmarked grave of Choctaw Chief Mosholatubbee in Hall Cemetery, near site of old Kuli Chaha in Le Flore County, the inscription of which reads:

*CHIEF MOSHOLATUBBEE*

*Amosholi-T-Vbi "Warrior who Perseveres"*
*Born 1770*

Chief Mosholatubbee of Northeastern District, Choctaw Nation in Mississippi, received his name as a young warrior. He was dignified in bearing, of fine physique, steady and thoughtful in disposition. As Chief, he was noted for his orders banning liquor traffic and drinking in his country. He strongly favored education, and a mission school (ABCDFM) was located at his prairie village near the Natchez Trace in 1824. Mosholatubbee was one of the three head chiefs who signed the early Choctaw treaties with the United States, including that at Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830 which provided for the removal of the Choctaws from Mississippi. He had high hopes in coming west with his people in 1832, and made his new home in the prairie off the Fort Towson Road, north of Sugar Loaf Mountain, near which was a Baptist mission school in 1836. He died at his home, August 3, 1838 and was buried nearby, his grave covered with unmarked stones. The region from the Arkansas River to the Winding Stair Mountains was called "Mosholatubbee District" in law books of the Choctaw Nation, 1834 to 1907.

Oklahoma Historical Society, 1965

2. Monument erected at the grave of the noted Cherokee, Elias Boudinot, on the west side outside the enclosure of Worcester Cemetery at Park Hill, Cherokee County, the inscription of which reads:

*ELIAS BOUDINOT*

*— Kilakeena "Buck" Watie —*
*1802-1839*

A son of Oo-watie and Susanna Reese Watie. Educated at Moravian Mission, Spring Place, Georgia and at Cornwall Mission, Connecticut. He became known as "Elias Boudinot," this name adopted from that of his friend, a noted leader in New Jersey. He made his home at New Echota, the Cherokee capital in Georgia, where he served as Clerk of the Cherokee National Council (1825 to 1828); and was editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper and translator of biblical works in association with the Rev. Samuel A. Worcester. Elias Boudinot, his brother Stand Watie, their relatives, the Ridges, and other tribesmen signed the Treaty of 1835 at New Echota, providing for the removal of all the Cherokees to the Indian Territory. Here in the West, Boudinot again served with Rev. Worcester in the work of the Park Hill Mission Press, near which he was assassinated, June 22, 1839, by enemy tribesmen, ostensibly for having signed the New Echota Treaty. His burial was near the spot where he fell, his grave covered by a large slab of stone with no inscription. One who knew him well spoke of Elias Boudinot as

a Cherokee of honor, an earnest Christian, a man of exceptional ability and fine intellect whose life was devoted to the vision of advancement and well being for all the people of the Cherokee Nation.

Erected by the Oklahoma Historical Society, 1964.

3. Monument erected on the grounds of the Pioneer Woman Museum at Ponca City, Kay County, to point out an important event in Oklahoma History. The inscription reads:

*BIRTHPLACE OF INTERSTATE OIL COMPACT COMMISSION*

Original plans for creating Interstate Compact to conserve oil and gas were developed on December 4, 1934, at home of Governor-Elect E. W. Marland, located one-half mile northeast of this spot.

Participants from twelve oil producing states took part in these discussions of national and international significance.

Purpose was to form a compact for bringing about conservation and prevention of waste in petroleum resources, through coordinated efforts of states.

Compact, creating the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, was approved February 16, 1935, in Dallas, Texas, and was ratified the same year by legislatures of Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, Illinois, Kansas, and consented to by Congress August 27, 1935.

By 1966, thirty states were active members, and three were associate members. Official observers included representatives from Alberta and Saskatchewan in Canada; Colombia and Venezuela in South America; U. S. Departments of Defense and Interior; and the Federal Power Commission.

Headquarters of Compact Commission established on Capitol grounds in Oklahoma City.

— Oklahoma Historical Society, 1966 —

4. Monument erected on the grounds of Old Fort Washita, Bryan County, as a memorial to the life of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper, Confederate States Army, in the Indian Territory. The inscription reads:

*GENERAL DOUGLAS HANCOCK COOPER*

"Kind and sympathetic by nature, generous to a fault, he was an honest man of noble impulses, and born and bred a gentleman." These were the words of a contemporary of Brigadier General Douglas Cooper, C.S.A.

Cooper was appointed U. S. Agent to Choctaws, 1853, and to the Chickasaws, 1856. Under his supervision the two agencies were consolidated and office was located at Fort Washita.

With outbreak of War Between the States, Cooper was designated by his friend Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederacy, to be Choctaw-Chickasaw Agent, C.S.A.

In June, 1861, he was appointed Commander of Choctaw-Chickasaw mounted riflemen, C.S.A., and saw action in many hard battles. Recognition of his military ability led to his being promoted to Commander of Indian Territory Military District, C.S.A.

In 1865, he was appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs for District of Indian Territory, Trans-Mississippi, C.S.A.

General Cooper was born in Mississippi, November 1, 1815, and died at Fort Washita, Chickasaw Nation, April 29, 1879.

He lies buried on these grounds in an unmarked and unknown grave.

— Oklahoma Historical Society 1966 —

## A Report on Research for the Record of Sue McBeth, Missionary

"The Diary of Sue McBeth, A Missionary to the Choctaws, 1860-1861," annotated by Dr. Anna Lewis appears in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* under Notes and Documents, Vol. XXI, No. 1 (March, 1943), pp. 186-195. The original manuscript of this "Diary" in Indian Archives Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society interested Mrs. W. R. Holway to search elsewhere for other materials on Sue McBeth's life as a teacher and missionary, who left the Choctaw mission field at the outbreak of the Civil War. Mrs. Holway has contributed the following report of her research:

### *THE RECORD of a MISSIONARY: SUE McBETH — 1833-1893*

Between 1820 and 1865 there were approximately 380 women teachers who served in Indian Territory, mostly in the mission schools. To the historian it is disappointing that so few of these women have left any record except for names, dates, and casual listing in the missionary reports. Probably not even twenty can be traced in any detail today.

There is Cassandra Lockwood of Dwight Mission and her letters to former pupils; there is Mary Ann Lilley of Kowetah Mission and her autobiography written when she was an old lady; there is Christiana McCoy and the record her husband kept; there is Catherine Fay whose care for orphan children after service at Good Water has kept her name alive in her home town of Marietta, Ohio; Sophia Byington's daily life in the Choctaw country is fairly well detailed in her husband's letters and diary; the Worcester and Robertson families of Park Hill and Tullahassee live in their correspondence and publications for three generations. That is almost all.

But Sue McBeth, who was stationed at the Good Water Mission among the Choctaws for the two years before the Civil War, has left an almost complete record of an unusual life. The intriguing aspect of this record is that it is scattered from coast to coast, with a somewhat large portion of it in Oklahoma, and unlike many divided records, the reason for these different locations is plain, although the trail is a little difficult on the first traverse.

The story of my acquaintance with this teacher may be interesting, even if personal, for it is an example of how many clues it may be necessary to follow if the record is to stand complete.

My first contact wtih the name *Sue McBeth* was probably in some report of one of the Missionary Boards under which she served,—her name, the mission where she taught, and the dates of service. I was compiling a bibliography of "Early Women Teachers in the South and West,—1820 to 1865" and planned to deposit it in the Women's Archives of Radcliffe College. I was conferring one day with the Director, Mrs. Elizabeth Borden, and when she saw the name "Sue McBeth" she jumped up and said "I want to show you something." She brought out two very beautiful volumes, hand-written and illustrated with drawings and photographs. It was the story of Alice Fletcher's four summers, in 1889 to 1892, with the Nez Perce Indians, directing the allotment of their land to individual ownership.

When the Fletcher party came to Kamiah on the Reservation, they were told that they could use the cabin, then empty, which had been built for Sue McBeth by that same Mrs. Thaw who befriended Alice Robertson. Upon inquiry Miss Fletcher was informed that Miss McBeth

had been sent "up into the Mountains" because she had "made trouble" on the Reservation. The "trouble" as suggested in these volumes, presented an obligation to the historian to find the other side of the story, if possible. Knowing the dates, it was permissible to write the division of the National Archives which preserves the papers of the Indian Bureau and to inquire whether there were any records on this point. Soon I received thirty pages of copied letters, most of them from the Nez Perce Indian Agent of that day, vehemently requesting the removal of both the McBeth sisters from the Reservation. According to the Agent, they "made trouble," but the aspects of this trouble were a little different than told in the Fletcher manuscript.

Early in my search I found the little book, "The Nez Perce since Lewis and Clark," written by Kate McBeth after her sister's death. It can be well called an "original" source, colored by sisterly devotion. Kate speaks rather casually of the removal to Mt. Idaho, and goes no farther than to say that Sue protested against some of the Agent's measures, which is a different story than that of the other two sources. I thought surely the reports of the Commissioners for Indian Affairs would have some comment on this problem, but there was no mention in the 1885 report, or in the few years preceding, of the McBeth sisters, except to say what faithful and devoted missionaries they were, this written by the same Agent who penned the letters complaining about them.

Reading Dr. C. M. Drury's biographies of Whitman, Spaulding, and Cowley,—those early missionaries to the Northwest, makes evident the fact that the situation among the Nez Perce that greeted Sue McBeth was a very difficult one—prejudice and intolerance, factions and cliques, and not the best of feeling between the Roman Catholics and the Protestants. It is possible that some of the "trouble" existed before Sue's coming to the Reservation. The value of good secondary material is well illustrated by these books, setting a background for the original source material.

My first real acquaintance with Sue McBeth was gained in the Indian Archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society, where lie the papers concerned with her teaching days in the Choctaw Nation. These papers came to the Historical Society late in the 1930's, due to the recognition by Grant Foreman that these records were valuable. They had been sent by Miss Mary Crawford, a niece of Sue McBeth's, to Mrs. A. S. Risser of Blackwell, Oklahoma, evidently an officer of the Women's Synodical Society (Presbyterian) of Oklahoma. These papers consist of a journal or diary, beginning in April, 1860, and running to June, 1861, perhaps only a part of what she recorded, for there is evidence that an attempt was made by someone to edit his diary by interlineation, notations, and deletions.

Among the papers there is what purports to be a "Preface" by "Author," (the handwriting looks like Sue's), to a history of the Choctaw Missions, written from Father Kingsbury's papers, lent to Sue by his daughter. There are sixty-nine ledger sheets of "Life of Rev. C. G. Copeland" by his wife (1869), and other sketches and "Brief Notice" of other missionaries to the Choctaws. The funeral sermon for Electa May Kingsbury by Cyrus Byington is thirty-six closely written pages with Table of Contents, far more a history of the Choctaw Missions than a tribute to Electa May, but funerals were then often an opportunity to put events on record and this is an excellent one.

There are also many disconnected sheets covered with Sue's characteristic purple ink, but many hours of effort have failed to match them

up and search in other repositories has not yielded those missing. We do know that a member of the Lawyer family in Lapwai, Idaho, did have part of a diary and some other papers, but they are at the end of a long journey and it was never possible to secure a description by mail.

A very interesting portion of the McBeth papers in the Oklahoma Indian Archives are the letters which Sue received, practically all of them in 1872, from persons who formerly had some connection with the Good Water Mission. She planned to write the history of the Choctaw Missions and scoured the country for the recollections of those who were a part of the missionary effort before the War. Although the letters are somewhat gossipy, it is interesting gossip which makes these persons more real. Sue worked hard to collect the material for her history and the sad fact is that this manuscript has disappeared. According to a letter written to Dr. Spaulding in 1874 she completed it and "mailed" the last pages the week before she left for Idaho. It behooves the historian to attempt to discover to whom it was mailed, but so far such effort has met with no result. This letter to Spaulding, the original found by chance in the library of Whitman College in Walla Walla, Oregon, by Dr. Drury, came to me in copy through his kindness.

The war years and those up to 1873 were spent mostly in St. Louis and it might have been during this period that she began sending meteorlogical reports to the Smithsonian Institution where they can still be seen. Also in the Bureau of Ethnology of the Institution is the correspondence on the Nez Perce dictionary which she planned and found herself unable to complete. There one may see that attempt at a dictionary in an Indian tongue, bound in calico and water-stained from its sojourn in the Snake River on its way to Washington after Sue's death. Other papers of Sue's on the Nez Perce Indians are in the Peabody Museum of Harvard University.

In the Nez Perce papers of the Indian Bureau at the National Archives in Washington are letters concerning the difficulties between the Agent and the McBeth sisters, many of them, and in the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia are letters—and more letters—giving Sue's version of the "trouble" at Lapwai. They are difficult to read, for she crowded her lines and had the peculiar habit of speaking of herself and sometimes of the person she was writing to (especially dignitaries of the church) in the third person. She was not consistent about this and the sudden switches are confusing.

In a very roundabout fashion I learned, through Mrs. Sam Swayze, historian of Clearwater County, living at Orofino, Idaho, that Sue McBeth's papers concerning her life in Idaho had come into the posession of her niece, Miss Maizie Crawford, also a missionary to the Nez Perce, and about 1941 she had placed them, together with many Crawford papers, in the care of Dr. C. M. Drury, Professor of Church History at the San Francisco Theological Seminary at San Anselmo, California. I wrote Dr. Drury and asked him if I could see those papers and he very cordially invited me to come to the Seminary and stay as long as necessary to find the material I wanted. Those disconnected sheets were still on my mind.

When I arrived he took me up into the tower of the Seminary building to a pleasant room where a very large trunk was reposing. Dr. Drury made the familiar statement that he had not had time (this was in 1958) to find out just what was in the trunk, but I was welcome to look it over. He had to meet a class and left me shortly after eleven o'clock in the morning.

In that trunk were letters to and from the Crawford sisters as well as the McBeth sisters (most of them not removed from the envelopes); here were articles and manuscripts, Nez Perce language material, pamphlets, clippings, scrap books, photographs (unidentified), programs, lists of contributors to the mission, diary of someone unknown concerning a trip to Portland, personal items, and a mention of the diary of Sue's journey of 1860 as if it were in Little Rock, Arkansas, in Crawford family possession, but upon inquiry this proved to be elusive.

I soon saw that I could not possibly peruse everything in that trunk but must concentrate only on Sue's papers. I was bending over the trunk, sorting out letters in her familiar hand, when the most horrible noise I had ever heard burst out around me. I was immediately under the Seminary chimes and they struck twelve o'clock and thundered through two hymns before silence fell—and I was exhausted. When Dr. Drury came back he apologized for not warning me and said it always scared him, too. Thereafter I worked on the papers farther down in the tower and even took the letters to my room in the Women's Dormitory and spent most of two nights reading and entering them in a calendar. Some of the beginning of her story was there—a diary she called a "Sabbath Journal," written in her teens, and a record of her call to the missionary field, written at Fairfield University (Iowa) about 1857. There were a few letters written in the 1860's and '70's, but most in the years from 1885 to 1893. It was a sad and depressing labor, for these letters were the last of her life. The story of last years is always a sad one. The person has changed, trivialities are important, the real values recede. Ill and lonely, she still desperately held on to the last vestiges of what had been her control over the relations of her pupils she had prepared for the ministry to the Walla Walla Presbytery. She died in May, 1893. The record of the last few months is shadowy, but the determined spirit is still there, even though the handwriting becomes illegible and the words trail off along empty lines.

—Hope Holway

## A Historical Relic at Tahlequah

The "Resolution" passed by the Cherokee National Council in 1890, relating to the disposition of the sword of Cherokee Chief Bowles, has been brought to light by Judge N. B. Johnson in his recent research of old Cherokee documents found in the Indian Archives Department of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Notes on this historical relic and the old National Hotel at Tahlequah are here contributed by Judge Johnson:

### *THE SWORD OF CHEROKEE CHIEF BOWLES*

Prior to the removal of the Cherokees from their homes in Georgia in 1839, about one fourth of them had migrated to the territory as early as 1800. This tribal group had settled by treaty between the Arkansas and White Rivers.[1] The American frontier was gradually moving toward the country west of the Mississippi

[1] Sources used in preparation of these notes: Dorman H. Winfrey, "Chief Bowles of the Texas Cherokee," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XXXII, No. 1 (Spring, 1954), pp. 29-41; Emmet Starr, *Early History of the Cherokees* (n.d.), pp. 176-211.

River. Pressure by the white settlers increased on the Cherokees in Arkansas Territory.

Cognizant of this fact, there was a general desire among many of the Cherokees, who felt insecure in their rights to the Arkansas Territory, to move to Texas which was then under Spanish rule. Chief Bowles, commonly referred to as the Bowl, was the first chief of the Western Cherokees and served as such from 1795 to 1813.

A portion of the Western Cherokees consisting of sixty families migrated in 1819-1820 to territory in east Texas under his leadership. This region was then known as the eastern part of the Province of Texas. For some years all went well with the Cherokee band. Sam Houston, who had married a Cherokee girl, became President of the Republic of Texas on October 28, 1836. He was a close friend of Chief Bowles, with a sympathetic understanding of the problems of the Cherokee in their Texas country. He wanted to carry out the treaties that the Republic had made with the Cherokees, in respect to the lands they occupied. However, before these matters were resolved, Sam Houston as President was succeeded by Mirabeau B. Lamar, the vice-president, who was unfriendly to the Cherokees. He ordered them to leave the Republic of Texas peaceably, if not, then by force.

The Cherokees refused to leave their Texas settlement, which resulted in the battle of the Noches, July 15-16, 1839. War Chief Bowles was killed in the fighting. The defeated Cherokees left Texas to join their kinsmen in Indian Territory. The forced removal of this band was comparable to the removal of the Eastern Cherokees from Georgia to the Indian Territory during the same year.

When Chief Bowles was killed in battle, his sword, a gift from Sam Houston, was taken from him by a Texas officer, Robert Smith, who presented it to the Clinton Masonic Lodge 23 of Henderson, Texas, where it was kept for some years. The Clinton Lodge 23 loaned this sword to Colonel James H. Jones who used it during the Civil War. After the war, he returned it to the Clinton Lodge where it remained until 1890. It was presented by the lodge to the Cherokees; upon dissolution of the Cherokee Nation in 1907, this sword came into the possession of the Masonic Blue Lodge at Tahlequah. The Nation had accepted and acknowledged it by a Resolution which reads:[2]

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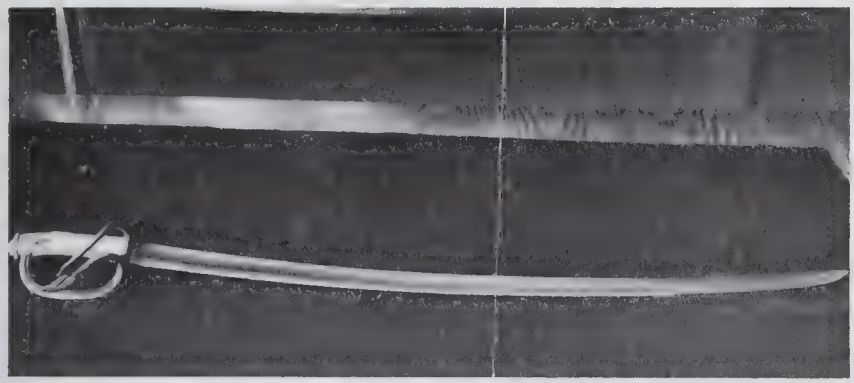
[2] Laws of the Cherokee Nation—Cherokee Council 303, p. 58 in manuscript, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. The text of the Resolution given above follows that of the original manuscript.



(Masonic Lodge, Tahlequah, 1966)
CHIEF BOWLES'S SWORD
Gift from Sam Houston to Chief Bowles of the Texas Cherokees.

*RESOLUTION*

Whereas Clinton Lodge No. 23 AF&AM of Henderson Texas has furnished us with additional evidence of that Fraternal and Brotherly felling which ever has and we trust ever shall continue to actuate the Masonic Fraternity in all their dealings with our people and realize that to the Masonic Fraternity the Indian is indebted for many privileges which we now enjoy and which might not have fallen to our lot had it not have been for their Brotherly assistance in the hour of our need. Therefore:

Be it resolved by the National Council: That the Cher. Nat. tender to Clinton Lodge No. 23 AF&AM of Henderson, Texas our heart felt thanks for their kindness in having restored to this Nation and people the Sword [formerly] the property of our Chief Bowles whose memory we revere.

Be it *further Resolved*

That we recognized in this act of Clinton Lodge the hand of God in his direction the affairs of men as well as of Nations and we pledge our faith and good offices to Clinton Lodge in return and acknowledgements of its kind and generous gifts

Be it *further Resolved*

That the Nation recognized with thanks the kind offices performed by the Hon. William H. Barker, Ex Speaker, Speak of Council as a medium. Through whom the presentation of the Sword was made.

*Be it further Resolved*

That these Resolutions be spread in full on our Journals, and be printed in the proceedings of the National Council. And that a copy thereof be properly engrossed and forwarded to the Clinton Lodge Henderson, Texas.

N. B. Johnson

## The Old National Hotel at Tahlequah

Only a few of the old landmarks, the historic buildings of the Cherokee Nation that played important roles in its colorful, eventful history, remain. They have been razed one by one to make way for larger and more modern buildings in keeping with the progress of this supersonic age.

One of the first of the old houses to be built and the last to go in Tahlequah was the National Hotel erected in October, 1844 by Mrs. Susan Taylor, a native of the old Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi River. It is said that she had the building built by a Morman elder and two of his followers who stopped in Tahlequah on their way to Texas in the early 1840's.[1] She originally intended the house for her own residence, but found it more feasible and lucrative to use it as a hotel, or tavern. She resided at the tavern and managed it in a most efficient manner.

The structure was an imposing brick edifice with four large rooms downstairs and four very large rooms upstairs, with a large front porch and halls fifteen feet in width both upstairs and down. An old fashioned stairway led to the upper floor. The dining room and kitchen were in a separate building in the rear of the larger structure. There were a number of small guest houses, similar, but not as elaborate as some of our modern motels, in the yard. They were used during the busier seasons of the year. There was no water supply system in those days. Water used by the hotel for cooking, washing, and other purposes was carried by servants from nearby springs of clear, sparkling water.

While the capacity of the hotel seems small in comparison with hotel space today, a surprising number of people could be accommodated at one time at the old hostelry. It is said that on some occasions anywhere from 15 to 20 Indians would occupy one of the large rooms. The hotel was conveniently located just across from the Cherokee Capitol Square.

The hotel was famed throughout the Indian Territory, and it did a thriving business, usually filled to capacity. Mrs. Taylor had as her guests many celebrities of the region both before and after the Civil War. During the legislative sessions of the Cherokee Nation, the members of the Cherokee Senate and Council boarded at the hotel. Members of the United States Congress as well as Federal Court judges who happened to be in the Cherokee capital on businesss lodged there. Walnut loggers, teachers who happened to be attending summer institutes—all entered the wide front door of the old hotel and enjoyed its hospitality.

Lewis Downing, one of the noted chiefs of the Cherokee Nation after the Civil War, was a guest of the hotel when he died in 1872. It has been said that around the fire places in the

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[1] Carolyn Thomas Foreman quoting from the *Cherokee Advocate*, October 19, 1844, p. 3, Col. 1, in Cherokee-Tahlequah papers in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

large rooms of the inn many a deep-laid plot of state was perfected, and many bills incorporated into the Cherokee laws were drawn up in the low-ceilinged rooms of the National Hotel.

During the Civil War practically all business interests in Tahlequah were suspended, including this tavern which had been operating for sixteen years. It became an arsenal for the Confederate soldiers who had possession of the town until 1862. Every room in the building was packed full of arms and ammunition.

Mrs. Taylor died in 1872. Mrs. Eliza Alberty, affectionately and widely known as "Aunt Liza," a close relative of Principal Chief Dennis W. Bushyhead, took over the hotel and managed it for many years. A kind, upright, educated Christian woman, she exerted her talents and influence to help the less fortunate Cherokees. She would often have large gatherings of Indian women and their husbands assemble in the parlor of the hotel to meet important persons who were guests at her place. The hotel was at all times run on a high plane. Anyone who became disorderly, or got out of line in his conduct, was promptly ousted from the hotel. Mrs. Alberty took great pride in the fact that she was a relative of Chief Bushyhead and that her father was a Baptist minister in the early days of the Nation.

A modern structure now stands on what was once the site of the old National Hotel, which served a useful purpose and left its imprint on Cherokee history. Today there remains only the memory of the useful role it played in the life of the Cherokee Nation.

—N. B. Johnson*

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### Correction on the Name of the Post Office Bettina

Through the courtesy of Mrs. M. R. Henderson, of Sayre, this is to report an error in "The Post Offices of Oklahoma", in Volume XLIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1966), page 39. Betkins and Bettina are in fact one and the same.

Accordingly, the entry should be corrected, as well as that in Volume XXX, No. 1 (Spring, 1952), page 45, as there was never a postoffice named Betkins.

Betkins should be deleted entirely and the date for the establishment of Bettina should be shown as 16 May 1899, with the name of Bettie Price as postmaster.

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*Judge N. B. Johnson is engaged in historical research on the Cherokees. He is member of the Executive Committtee of the Cherokee Tribe, and President Emeritus of the American Indian Hall of Fame at Anadarko.—Ed.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Otoes and Missourias: A Study of Indian Removal and the Legal Aftermath.* By Berlin Basil Chapman. Foreword by Luther Bohanon, Chief Counsel, Otoe and Missouria Tribe. (Times Journal Publishing Co., Oklahoma City. Pp. xviii, 405. Maps, Illustrations, Index. $7.50.)

This is a well-documented account of the Oto and Missouri from the earliest traces of their history in the vicinity of the Great Lakes to the present. Nebraska is an Oto word, and the Missouri gave their name to a river and state. The tribes are of national importance in jurisprudence, because of lands they held in Iowa, Nebraska, and Oklahoma. At "Otoe Village" in 1833, Henry L. Ellsworth wrote that "the Otoes and Missourias are here called Otoes."

Thirteen reservations for Indian tribes were established in Indian Territory west of the home tracts of the Five Civilized Tribes. The "Otoe and Missouria Reservation," established in 1881, was the last of the thirteen. This book is a case study on the removal of Indian tribes, and the legal aftermath, including the Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946.

The book has 21 chapters and 37 illustrations. The matter of allotment illustrates the nature of the work. The Nemaha Half-Breed Reservation in Nebraska was established by a cession of the Oto Tribe in 1830. There in 1860 was made the first Indian allotment under the first treaty providing for allotments in severalty. In the interim between the treaty and the allotment, some allotments were made under later treaties. A careful treatment is given of the establishment and allotment of the "Otoe and Missouria Reservation" in Oklahoma.

Subjects treated include education, religion, farming and grazing leases, oil and gas lands, and heirship lands. A readable chapter is "On the White Man's Road."

The legal aftermath of the removal of the Oto resulted in two leading cases of national importance. The first case concerned lands in Nebraska. It is the "Otoe and Missouria Tribe *v.* The United States," settled by action of the United States Supreme Court in 1955. It established the principle that the jurisdiction of the Indian Claims Commission extends to the awarding of compensation for Indian title to tribal lands taken by the United States. In dozens of subsequent cases concerning Indian title, this leading case is cited in briefs.

A cardinal principle in the case was that the Oto and

Missouri as one tribe had exclusive possession of certain lands, from time immemorial. Across the Missouri River in present Iowa, the Oto tribe in conjunction with three other tribes, had a similar claim. Again the Oto were in a leading case, the point being whether the Commission could make an award to four tribes acting as a unit. The matter was settled by compromise, and the Oto in 1964 were awarded the sum of $1,750,000.

Chapman appeared as an expert witness before the Commission in 1950, and reviewed his manuscript then in preparation. The United States Court of Claims, in an appeal, termed the manuscript "thorough and painstaking," and agreed to an award to the Oto of $1,156,000. Luther Bohanon, chief counsel for the tribe, summarized the matter thus: "The manuscript was so documented and footnoted that no one, not even opposing counsel, chose to disagree with the findings and conclusions he made." The book, based largely on sources in the National Archives, was developed from the manuscript.

—T. H. Reynolds

*Oklahoma State University*
*Stillwater, Oklahoma*

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*Cow Country*. By Edward Everett Dale. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1965. P. 258, Western Frontier Library Series, Vol. 27. $2.00.)

"In extent of territory this was truly an empire. It stretched from the southern point of Texas to the Canadian border, a distance of some sixteen hundred miles, or approximately that from London to Moscow, and its width, to the base of the Rockies, averages from four hundred to six hundred miles . . . It covered by that time (the middle eighties) a region comparable in size to all of western Europe upon which grazed more than twelve million head of cattle." This was the former home of the buffalo, the "land of magnificent distances," as described by Dr. Dale, on pages 68 and 85.

Cow Country was first published by the University of Oklahoma Press in 1942. It was twice reprinted. This re-issue as a part of the Western Frontier Library Series gives the book a deserved place in distinguished company.

The author's preface explains that the inspiration for this volume came from research for his previous book "The Range Cattle Industry," an economic study covering the years 1865 to 1924. In that work it was necessary to omit much material of human interest, the accounts of comedy and tragedy and the colorful characters who peopled the great empire of grass. One senses that the writing was a labor of love by one who knows whereof he speaks from his own days as a cowman.

As there must have been pleasure for the author in the writing, so also there is pleasure in the reading. Discussions of social and economic impact of the range cattle industry on the life and times of the nation are mixed with cowboy humor. How Texas paid for its state capitol, "cow custom," the "tragedy of eighty six and seven," the influence of men and money from Great Britain—all these are here. Dr. Dale contends, contrary to popular impression, that a cowboy's camp was seldom dirty or disorderly, that the average cowhand was only a fair marksman with a pistol, and that the cowboy's reputed delight in riding wild and vicious horses is "another myth." He does not deny however the cowboy's skill as a teller of tall tales or a singer of doleful ballads; he confirms the tradition of rancher hospitality. There is a short but revealing history of the Cherokee Strip Live Stock Association which is characterized as "an excellent example of the ability of the American pioneer to organize in a region without law or courts extra legal institutions that seemed to function with surprising efficiency . . ." The abrasive relationship of cowmen and "nesters" is recounted and how they were eventually integrated into a beneficial union in a "barbed-wire world."

It is a privilege to commend this book to anyone who ever owned a cow or helped drive a herd home from summer pasture, or, for that matter, to any one who ever enjoyed a steak from a well fed descendant of the historic Longhorn. The book is rounded out by chapter introductions of charming poetry of Dr. Dale's own composition. It is a worthy and pleasurable book.

—Austin Mills

*Midwest City, Oklahoma*

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*Three Plays By J. W. (Capt. Jack) Crawford.* By Paul T. Nolan (Mouton & Co., The Hague, The Netherlands, 1966. An illustration, index, addendum. Pp. 287. No price given.)

John Wallace (Captain Jack) Crawford, poet-scout and Indian fighter during the heyday of the opening West after the close of the Civil War was also a playwright. This last activity came to light in recent years when three of his unpublished plays were discovered in the old copyright files of the Library of Congress.

This book is divided into two parts. The first quarter is an introduction by Paul T. Nolan in which he briefs the reader on the way of thought at the times when the plays were written. He gives a biographical sketch of Captain Jack and reviews the plays as they relate to the writer. Following this interesting preview come the plays themselves.

*Fonda:* or the Trappers Dream deals with two highly colorful events of the times, the westward movement of emigrants and friction between Mormons and Gentiles.

*The Mighty Truth:* or In Clouds or Sunshine is a drama which again touches upon troublesome questions of the day, woman suffrage, the evils of drink and the problem of what to do with the Indians and their drunken agents.

*Colonel Bob:* This is Western Pastoral, the story of the late days of the west. The opening up of new country is over, and mining and the gain in wealth by some through the labor of others raises a new moral question of wealth versus poverty.

Crawford's heroes are all good. His villains are all bad. His plots are stereotyped. Yet the plays have importance because of the clean-cut presentation, good and bad. The attitudes of that day are pointed out—attitudes which have led to actions, the results of which are with us today.

—Leola Lehman

*Lawton, Oklahoma*

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*Experiences of a Special Indian Agent.* E. E. White. Introduction by Edward Everett Dale. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman. The Western Frontier Library, volume 29, 1965. p. 340. Illustrations, appendix. Price $2.00)

*Experiences of a Special Indian Agent* is a delightful addition to the Western Frontier Library. E. E. White, Special Indian Agent, 1887-1889, tells in his own uninhibited style the adventures that he encountered while in the Indian Service. White traveled to many agencies throughout the West as a trouble shooter. His experiences in Oklahoma will be of interest to all students of the state's history. White's meeting with the Sac-Fox so strongly portrays their character that the perception of the author can only be marveled at.

*Experiences of a Special Indian Agent* was first published in 1893 by the "Diploma Press" of the Arkansas Democrat Company at Little Rock. The reprint edition appears with an introduction by Dr. Edward Everett Dale. It is difficult to tell which is more charming: Dr. Dale's introduction or Agent White's story. The two men, although separated in time, are matched in personality.

*Experiences of a Special Indian Agent* is a good tale for those who like history, those who seek humor, and those who enjoy people. An evening with E. E. White is a rare privilege and a great joy.

The University of Oklahoma Press has done another, among many, jobs of superb book production. A hard cover book at paperback book price. The Press should be congratulated for their publishing achievement.

—Carol K. Rachlin

*Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

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*My Life in the Mountains and on the Plains:* The Newly Discovered Autobiography, by David Meriwether. Edited and with an introduction by Robert A. Griffen. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1965. Pp. xi, 301. Maps, photos, Illus. $5.95.)

Happiness is adventure remembered in tranquility. When he was in his eighties, David Meriwether dictated to his granddaughter, Belle Williams Morgan, his memories of his experiences as a young man, discovering the world of the West.

Meriwether was trader, scout, soldier, and administrator. His experiences over-lapped the lives of such personalities as Kit Carson and Father Jean de Smet, diverse as those personalities were. Incidentally, his appraisal of Carson, which was based on his acquaintance with Fremont's scout after Carson became Indian Agent in New Mexico, is an interesting one. The glamor of Carson is stripped away, and we are left with a man who was almost illiterate and certainly incapable of carrying out the duties of the office to which the Government had appointed him.

Meriwether's experiences as Territorial Governor of New Mexico, deal with land speculators, timber companies who wanted to strip the mountain sides of wood, while struggling with a language which he spoke fluently and coloquially but by ear. One admires his forethought and genuine concern for the peoples of a remote territory, which many persons in the Eastern United States today still believe lies outside our national boundaries.

Dr. Griffen has done an excellent job of editing. He has left the manuscript to speak for itself. Footnotes have been kept to a minimum and are brief and to the point. This reviewer is prejudiced against footnotes in general, but is willing to accept Dr. Griffen's.

The volume is well-indexed. It also provides an excellent bibliography. Last and most important on the plus list: The University of Oklahoma Press uses fresh photographic material for illustrations. David Meriwether's *Autobiography* is as blessedly free of illustrative cliches as his writing is of verbal ones. The war-horses have been retired to pasture, in large measure.

*The Indians and the Nurse:* By Elinor D. Gregg. (The University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1965. Pp. xiv, 173. The Western Frontier Library. $2.00.)

Once again Indians are "in the news," and books about Indians are selling readily. This is encouraging, until one examines the contents of most of the books and articles currently appearing. The reading public still wants its Indians nostalgic and romantic. It is not much interested in the real facts about Indians.

This is what makes Miss Gregg's book both endearing and appealing. Her own quality as a woman is forthrightness and complete honesty. She is also endearing and appealing to her many friends because she is one of those rare people who can make honesty and forthrightness seem simple possibilities for any human being.

Miss Gregg joined what was known as the Indian Service at the end of World War I, after service as an Army nurse overseas. This was the low point in Indian history. Health, administrative, and educational conditions were appaling. The Indian death rate had reached an all-time low, and the Federal authorities responsible for that fact were almost cheerfully predicting that "the Indian" would soon be extinct .

With courage, determination, and superhuman physical endurance, Miss Gregg started a one-woman war against dirt, neglect, and corruption. She started on horse-back and ended with Boeing B 707s. She set up on paper, and put into operation, a nursing service that faced frontier conditions of sanitation and ignorance with her own force. In large part, her work was responsible for the Brooking Institute's investigation of Indian Affairs and the publication of the *Merriam Report.*

This is intended to be a book review, not a tribute to a deeply-respected friend. Miss Gregg wrote down what she did. She wrote it well—unforgettably. She is one who survived the ups and downs of the Service, and she never fails to give credit where credit is due. She has written a piece of first-hand Americana that should be in every American's library. Its simplicity, directness, and honesty are so clear that one reads the book, and knows he has read something great.

—Alice Marriott

*Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

## MINUTES OF THE 74th ANNUAL MEETING OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 28, 1966

Held at Stillwater on the campus of Oklahoma State University, the 74th Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society was called to order by President George H. Shirk at 9:30 a.m.

Mr. Shirk entertained a motion that the minutes of the 73rd Annual Meeting of the Historical Society held April 29, 1965, and that all acts and decisions made by the Board of Directors within the past year be approved. It was so moved by Mr. Fisher Muldrow and seconded by Mr. Joe W. Curtis. The motion was unanimously carried.

Dr. Mark Everett, Dean Emeritus of the University of Oklahoma Medical School, was introduced by President Shirk. Dr. Everett then gave a tribute in memory of Mrs. Anna B. Korn. His address was a vivid testimonial to the accomplishments and ideals of Mrs. Korn, and it will be published in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* sometime in the near future.

"Our Heritage" was presented by Oklahoma history students of the university. Because of the centennial tour on the Chisholm Trail next year, they featured songs used by cowboys on the Trail and showed how some tunes are centuries old. The students explained how the popular "O.A.M.C." song has the tune "In Old New York." In all cases old and new versions were sung.

The students of Oklahoma history then presented to Dr. E. E. Dale a copy of their book, *Chosen Songs of the Civil War,* used to supplement his text, *Oklahoma History.* Miss Eleanor Anderson, who made the presentation, said, "Dr. Dale, we want you to feel free to sing the songs any hour of the night, because for 18 years Aggies have read your test at all hours of the night."

Other participating students were: Sally Akin, Jon Bayouth, Venita Bettinger, Judy Bradbury, Jim Dunlap, Carol Elliott, Donald Green, Gondalo Haza, Sidney Hester, Sue McKinister, Ronald Merrill, Donna Moore, Sue Sherill, and Joyce Wilson.

Mr. Shirk expressed appreciation to all of those appearing on the program, and after determining there was no further business to be transacted declared the meeting adjourned at 10:45 a.m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

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## MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

April 28, 1966

The Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society held its regular quarterly meeting in the Circus Room of the Student Union Building on the Oklahoma State University campus at Stillwater. Called to order by President George H. Shirk, the meeting began at 10:45 a.m. Thursday, April 28, 1966.

Mr. Shirk asked that the minutes show that he had gone to the Board Room of the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, which is the official place of meeting for the Society, and as provided by the statutes had recessed the meeting to Stillwater.

Answering roll call were the following: Lou Allard, Edna Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, B. B. Chapman, Joe W. Curtis, E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Bob Foresman, Emma Estill-Harbour, W. E. McIntosh, James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, Milt Phillips and George H. Shirk.

Members not present were: Henry B. Bass, J. G. Clift, Morton R. Harrison, Robert A. Hefner, John E. Kirkpatrick, Joe McBride, R. G. Miller, Earl Boyd Pierce, and Genevieve Seger. It was moved by Mr. Mountcastle and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that the members that had so requested be excused from the meeting. The motion, when put, was approved.

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary, began his report by asking for a motion that the usual gifts and memberships be accepted. Mr. Mountcastle so moved, and Mrs. Bowman seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

Mr. Fraker reported that plans were being formulated to begin a drive for funds to complete the oil museum project. He stated that the first distribution of folders will go to the International Petroleum Exposition in Tulsa sometime near the middle of May.

He described the turnpike markers and plans for use of this style, which is the newest type of marker. The first one of these said Mr. Fraker has already been erected and marks the crossing of the Chisholm Trail on the H. E. Bailey Turnpike near Chickasha. Plans are being made, with authority of the Oklahoma Turnpike Authority, to erect several of this style of marker on super highways and turnpikes of Oklahoma.

A motion was made by Mr. Phillips and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that Mr. W. D. Hoback and Mr. H. E. Bailey be commended for their splendid cooperation with the Society in this program. When put, the motion carried.

The Administrative Secretary concluded his report by distributing this year's tour brochure among the members of the Board, and urging them to sign up for that event.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, gave the financial report for the third quarter of the fiscal year 1965-66 beginning July 1, 1965, and ending June 30, 1966. Her report reflected that all accounts of the Society were in excellent financial condition. Mr. Muldrow moved that the Treasurer's report be approved, and with a second from Mr. Curtis, the motion was adopted.

Chairman of the Microfilming Committee, Mr. Phillips, reported that satisfactory progress was being made in the production total of pages, and that a million pages of microfilming will be exceeded this year. He stated that a new machine was in use, and that old newspapers, as soon as they were on microfilm, were being offered to public and school libraries.

Historic Sites Chairman, Mr. McIntosh, described the new turnpike marker, repeating that the Chisholm Trail marker had been erected and listing the following as being proposed for the future:

Cherokee Nation, northern region, near Big Cabin, Will Rogers Turnpike
Cherokee Nation, southern region, near Muldrow, I.H. 40
Creek Nation, northern region, near Kellyville, Turner Turnpike
Creek Nation, southern region, near Pierce, I.H. 40
Choctaw Nation, northern region near McAlester, Indian Nation Turnpike
Seminole Nation, northern region, near Sylvian, I.H. 40
Chickasaw Nation, central region, near Wynnewood, I.H. 35
Cherokee Strip, east region, near Billings, I.H. 35
Oklahoma Territory, northern region, near Guthrie, I.H. 35
Western Trail, near Canute, I.H. 40
Cheyenne-Arapaho, central region, near Clinton, I.H. 40
Kiowa-Comanche, eastern Region, near Geronimo, H. E. Bailey Turnpike
Chisholm Trail, south of Yukon, I.H. 40

He continued by listing the following completed and proposed monolith granite markers:

*Completed:*
Wyandotte, Ottawa County
Fort Cobb, Caddo County
Big Pasture, Tillman County
Colbert Family, Fort Washita, Bryan County
Chisholm Trail, Yukon, Canadian County
Oil Compact, Ponca City, Kay County
*Proposed:*
Creek Nation, Fountainhead Lodge grounds
Choctaw Nation, Arrowhead Lodge grounds
Green Corn Dance, McIntosh County
General Douglas Cooper, Fort Washita

Mr. McIntosh concluded his Historic Sites Committee report by enumerating the proposed medium granite markers in the Lake Eufaula area.

Gaines Creek
Joseph Islands
Missionaries
Brooken
Standing Rock
Belle Starr
Fame

A report on the progress of the restoration of Fort Washita was given by Dr. Morrison. He said that Mr. Merrick is still contributing $1,200 monthly to this project, and that special gifts had been received; one for $1,000 from the Goddard Foundation and another for $700. from Mr. Overton James, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation. Dr. Morrison related that progress was rapidly being made on the monument to General Douglas Cooper and that it should be ready for dedication on Labor Day.

Mr. Mountcastle stated that he had been in contact recently with the Wagoner County Historical Society and that at present they were trying to definitely locate the site of Sam Houston's cabin.

It was mentioned by the Administrative Secretary that a letter had been received regarding the sale of the old Salina courthouse as an historical site, but he added that as no funds had been made available for the purchase of such sites, he had recommended that they contact Mr. W. W. Keeler, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

President Shirk acknowledged a communication received from Col. M. A. Hagerstrand, Vice President of the Cherokee National Historical Society, expressing appreciation for his being allowed to present at the last meeting of the Board the story of his organization and some of its programs.

After it was determined that of the nominations made to fill the unexpired term of Judge N. B. Johnson, who had resigned as a member of the Board, only one candidate was eligible to serve, Mr. Mountcastle moved that the rules be suspended and that Dr. Leroy Fischer be elected by acclamation. Dr. Morrison seconded this motion, which was approved unanimously. The term Dr. Fischer will serve is to end January, 1970.

It was moved by Mr. McIntosh and seconded by Mrs. Bowman that appreciation be expressed to Dr. Chapman and to the officials of Oklahoma State University for the invitation they had extended to hold the Annual and Quarterly Meetings of the Society there and for the fine hospitality they had displayed. The motion was adopted.

It being determined that there was no further business to be placed before the Board, Mr. Mountcastle moved that the meeting be adjourned. Mr. McIntosh seconded this motion, which was carried. Upon passage of the motion, the meeting adjourned at 11:45 a.m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

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## GIFTS RECEIVED IN FIRST QUARTER, 1966

*LIBRARY:*

*South Carolina Pension Abstracts of the Revolutionary War; War of 1812 and Indian Wars*—Vol. 11. Compiled by Annie Walker Burns, Washington, D.C.

*Major Index to Pension List of the War of 1812*—Adamson to Alexander—Vol. 2. Compiled by Annie Walker Burns, Washington, D.C.

*State Historical Society of Wisconsin Bulletin.*

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Autographed Edition: *Flour Milling in America* by Herman Steen.

Autographed Edition: *Saynday's People*—The Kiowa Indians and the Stories They Told, by Alice Marriott.

Willed to Oklahoma Historical Society by the late Miss Maxine Turner, 1404 N.E. 43rd St., Oklahoma City.
Deposited in Research Library by Mrs. A. J. Crabtree, 2404 N.W. 59th St., Oklahoma City.

First Edition: *The First Eight Months of Oklahoma City* by Bunky, 1890.

Donor: Thomas Rucker, Oklahoma City.

Information on Ira Nathan Terrill and the Terrill-Chambers-Stanton Families of Oklahoma.

Newspaper Clipping: "History of Vinco, Payne County, Oklahoma," Jan. 31, 1965, *Stillwater (Okla.) News-Press,* page 9.

"Opening of the Iowa, Sac and Fox Territory on Sept. 22, 1891" by Duane Jack Stanton.

Photograph: Old Stanton Homestead Site at Vinco, Payne County, Oklahoma, March 28, 1965.

Donor: Mrs. Joyce B. Stanton, R. R. #1, Agra, Oklahoma.

*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*—70 Back Issues.

Donor: Herbert L. Branan, Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co., 321 N. Harvey, Oklahoma City.

Commemorative Booklet: *First Presbyterian Church, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary,* El Reno, Oklahoma.

Commemorative Booklet: *First Christian Church, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary,* El Reno, Oklahoma, March 28, 1965.

"The Rootin', Tootin', Sooner Press" by H. Merle Woods, from *El Reno* (Okla.) *American;* reprint from article in *Publishers' Auxiliary,* January 15, 1966.

Donor: H. Merle Woods, *El Reno American,* El Reno, Oklahoma.

*The History of the Cones Family in America,* compiled by Chester W. Cones, January of 1966.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

*Directory of Logan County, Oklahoma,* 1966; containing Plat Maps of Townships in Logan County.

Donor: M. C. Rouse, Coyle, Oklahoma.

Photostat of U. S. Government Survey Showing Exact Location Site of Indian Spring, Lincoln County, Oklahoma.

Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk, requested by County Clerk of Lincoln County.

Folder: "Artillery—The Last Argument of Kings," U. S. Artillery and Missile School & Center, Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Booklet: "Historic North Carolina."

*United States Geographical Surveys West of 100th Meridian,* Report of Department of Engineer, United States Army, Vol. VI—Botany, In Charge of Lt. G. M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineers, 1878.

*The Pioneer Preacher: or Rifle, Axe, and Saddlebags,* by William Henry Milburn, 1858.

*Message and Document, 1855-1856, Part I;* Message from President of United States, First Session of 34th Congress

*Lincoln Herald,* Summer of 1964.

*Lincoln Herald,* Fall of 1965.

*Military Collector and Historian,* Journal of the Company of Military Historians, Vol. 16, #3, Fall, 1965.

Photostat Copies of Official Court Record of Murder Charge and Jury Foreman's Verdict in Murder Trial of Crawford Goldsby alias "Cherokee Bill," notorious Indian Territory outlaw, Fort Smith, Arkansas, February 27, 1895.

Political Campaign Pamphlet: "Republicans vs. Democrats"—Presidential Election; William McKinley, For President and Theodore Roosevelt, For Vice President.

*Report of the Oklahoma Medical Research Foundation,* 1965, Oklahoma City.

*Medical Arts, South*—Oklahoma City, 1965.

*Progress is People,* A Report to the People of Capitol Hill on Outlook of Year 1966 and of 1965.

*Oklahoma City Attains a New Apogee of Action*—1965 Economic Development Report.

*Community Development Program*—City of Oklahoma City, Dec., 1965.

Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Collection of Clippings and Manuscripts of the late J. Y. Bryce of Oklahoma City.

*Oklahoma and Oklahomans* by Mrs. J. B. Harrell, October, 1922.

Donor: The J. Y. Bryce estate by Mr. and Mrs. Hal McNutt, 5208 N. Francis, Oklahoma City.

*The United Daughters of the Confederacy Magazine*—9 back issues.

Donor: Mrs. King Larimore, Oklahoma City.

*The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly.*

*The Mississippi Valley Historical Review.*—Back Issues.

Donor: Dr. Loren Brown, Norman, Oklahoma.

*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*—25 back issues.

Donor: Mrs. T. O. Dewbre, Tyrone School Library, Tyrone, Okla.

Family History of Lewis Givens Harnam, or Harmon.

Donor: Lewis L. Harman, 3615 South Parker Street, Amarillo, Tex.

*The Ancestral Lines of Chester Everts Howell, 1867-1949, of Elmira, New York, U.S.A.* Compiled by Jessie Howell Finch.

Donors: Jessie Howell Finch, R. D. #1, Trumansburg, N.Y.
Edith Howell Riley, Everts Howe Howell and Chester E. Howell, Jr.

*Ancestors and Descendants of Anson Parmilee Stone*—Descended from John Stone of Guilford, Conn. Compiled by Christine and Seymour T. Rose, 1963.

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. Seymour T. Rose, 3676 Manda Drive, San Jose, California.

*The Anthis Family in America,* Vol. II, 1966, by June B. Barekman.

Donor: June B. Barekman, 3302 W. Diversey Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Booklet: "L. Peerless Economy Engine"—The Engine of the Future for Automobiles, Trucks and Tractors; The Lagali Engine Co., El Reno, Oklahoma.

Donor: George Shorney, Arnett, Oklahoma.

Two Ledgers:

A. M. Blake, 1903-1904.

Sales Book and Journal.

Found in farm house that was originally built and owned by a Sanders family on west edge of Harrah, Oklahoma.

Donor: Dr. J. Clyde Wheeler, Minister of Crown Heights Christian Church, 4020 N. Western, Oklahoma City.

*Records Family Records; Laban Records Branch of the Josiah Records Family* by Francis A. Records, 1965.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

"The Creek Indian"—A Summary of their History and Current Conditions, Library of Congress Reference Service.

Suggested Reading List—"The Creek Indians," U. S. Dept. of Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Suggested Reading List—"The Cherokee Indians," U. S. Dept. of Interior Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Donor: Laurie Robins, 48 Buswell Street, Boston, Mass.

*Thrilling Romance of the Civil War* by Mrs. Mollie E. Williams, 1902.

Donor: Mary Merwin, Director; The Massillon Museum, 212 Lincoln Way East, Massillon, Ohio.

"Earl Sneed: An Appreciation" by Maurice H. Merrill—A Reprint from *The Oklahoma Law Review,* Vol. 19, No. 1, February of 1966.

"In Memoriam: Roscoe Pound, Felix Frankfurter" by Maurice H. Merrill—from *The Oklahoma Law Review,* Vol. 18, page 160.

Donor: Dr. Maurice H. Merrill, Research Professor of Law, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

*The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, 1610-1791*—Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France. Edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites.

Donor: Loyola University Press, 3441 N. Ashland Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

"Guthrie's History" and"89'er History."

*Records of Marriages of Bracken County, Kentucky*—1796-1851. by Lucy Kate McGhee, Washington, D.C.

Donor: Dr. B. B. Chapman, Stillwater, Oklahoma.

Medical and Watch Making Collection of Books of the late Dr. B. J. Titus of Oklahoma City.

Donor: Mrs. Sam Tolley, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

## MINUTES

*INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION*

15 color snapshots showing progress of burning of old Red Moon School near Hammon, Oklahoma, in December 1965

Donor: Mrs. Patt Hodge, Hammon, Okla.

Zerox copy roll of Shawnee-Cherokees of 1889

Zerox copy of Shawnee-Cherokee Payment Roll of Aug. 20, 1964

Donor: Muskogee Area Office, Muskogee, Okla.

Zerox copy of Feb. 1965 shipment of records from Muskogee Area Office to Federal Records Center, Fort Worth, Texas.

Donor: Federal Records Center, Fort Worth, Tex.

*Indian Voices,* December 1965 and January 1966

Donor: Robert K. Thomas, Editor, Chicago, Ill.

*Texas Libraries,* Spring 1966

Donor: Texas State Library, Austin, Texas

*Lake Eufaula Fun,* March 1966

Railroad Map of Oklahoma in 1911

Typewritten copy of letters and documents of 1853-1961 signed or having reference to William H. Garrett, Creek Agent, Indian Territory

Donor: Mrs. Eloise Warren, Oklahoma City, Okla.

"Trail by Land and Water," historical leaflet published by Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art in 1965

Donor: Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

*Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly,* September 1965

Donor: The Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.

"Sources of Indian and Eskimo Arts and Crafts."

Donor: Indian Arts and Crafts Board, Washington, D.C.

Zerox copy Act No. 712, Georgia Laws 1962, repealing certain laws and parts of laws relating to Cherokee Indians.

Donor: Ben W. Forson, Jr., Secretary of State, Atlanta, Ga.

*MUSEUM*

Pictures:

Large color print, Street in Oil Field Town

Large color print, Spring Pole Drilling Rig

Large color print, Ancient Chinese Drilling Rig

Large color print, Early Day Wooden Rig

Donor: M. L. Atkinson, Oklahoma City

Restoration of Oklahoma Historical Society Oil Well

Travis W. Brown presents First Piece of Technical Equipment to O.H.S. Oil Museum.

Donor: Travis Brown, Oklahoma City

Negative of Oil Portrait of Dr. Henry Bennett

Donor: copied by the Oklahoma Historical Society

Monument of Joshua M. Harley

Sacred Heart Academy

Government Blacksmith Shop at Sac and Fox Agency

Mission School at Sac and Fox Agency

Choctaw Whipping

First House in Sulphur, Home of Noah Lael

Donor: J. Y. Bryce Jr. Estate, Oklahoma City

Children of Mr. and Mrs. A. N. Spencer, Founder of Yukon, Oklahoma

Donor: Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Whitlow, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Old Blakely House erected on The Chisholm Trail

Construction Detail of the Blakely House

Building used as Fort Sill's Quartermaster's Office

Copy of a Letter from Governor R. M. Harris to Dr. P. J. Hampton

Donor: Rossler H. Henton, M.D., Rush Springs, Oklahoma

Asbury Industrial School, North Fork Town, 1872

Ponca Indian School near Ponca City

Donor: Homes T. Ervin, 1139 Pioneer Drive, Dallas Texas

Rev. Albert Stake and Seminole Indians in Florida

Seminole Indian Family

Seminole Indian Camp

Seminole Indian Village at Pine Island, Florida

Rev. Young Ewing

Mrs. John Harrell

Donor: Mrs. Eloise Warren, Oklahoma City

*MUSEUM*

Exhibits:

Cash Register, Ingle System

Donor: P. K. Anderson, Hobart, Oklahoma

Marriage License Permit—Creek Nation

Donor: Henry G. Turner, Okemah, Oklahoma

Statuette of William H. Murray

Donor: Mrs. Sue Bryce McNutt, Oklahoma City

Degree (BA) Certificate issued by Oklahoma University, 1926

Graduation Program, Oklahoma City University, 1926

MMED Degree Certificate issued by Oklahoma University, 1942
Certificate, Oklahoma City Public School Golden Anniversary, 1889-1939
Oklahoma City Teachers Certificate issued 1920
Oklahoma City Teacher's Contract issued 1922-23
Grammar Grade State Certificate issued 1918
Diploma, Oklahoma City High School May 23, 1918
Oklahoma City High School Annual, 1918
Walnut table with drawer
Two Pitch Pipes used in Oklahoma City Schools.
Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown, Oklahoma City

## THE OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, published quarterly by the Society in spring, summer, autumn, and winter, is distributed free to its members. Each issue contains scholarly articles as well as those of popular interest, together with book reviews, historical notes and bibliographies. Such contributions will be considered for publication by the Editor and the Publications Committee.

Membership in the Oklahoma Historical Society is open to everyone interested. The quarterly is designed for college and university professors, for those engaged in research in Oklahoma and Indian history, for high school history teachers, for others interested in the State's history and for librarians. The annual dues are $5.00 and include a subscription to *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Life membership is $100.00. Regular subscription to *The Chronicles* is $6.00 annually; single copies of the magazine (1937 to current number), $1.50. All dues and correspondence relating thereto should be sent direct to the Administrative Secretary, Oklahoma Historical Society Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

# The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

SCIENCES

*Autumn, 1966*

ROCK BLUFF ON RED RIVER

Volume XLIV Number 3

*Published Quarterly by the*
*OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY*

*(Organized by Oklahoma Press Association, May 27, 1893)*

# OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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H. Milt Phillips, Seminole — George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City
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CHANGE OF ADDRESS—Send notice of change of address to Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma—73105.

Correspondence concerning contributions, books for review, and all editorial matters should be addressed to the Editor, Oklahoma Historical Society, Historical Building, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* is published quarterly in spring, summer, autumn, and winter by the Oklahoma Historical Society with its editorial office located in the Historical Building, Oklahoma City.

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The Oklahoma Historical Society assumes no responsibility for statements of facts or opinion made by contributors, in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma.*

# THE CHRONICLES OF OKLAHOMA

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Autumn, 1966

Volume XLIV — Number 3

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*COVER:* View of the Rock Bluff (or cut bank) at the bend of Red River where the old Rock Bluff Ferry operated in the Chickasaw Nation before the Civil War. The photo was taken in 1930 (by M.H.W.), within a few miles of Preston, Texas, looking due south along Red River and showing a portion of the Coffee Bend country (left) on the opposite side in Oklahoma. The cut bank of Red River and the Oklahoma *vs.* Texas boundary case (1921) are discussed in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

# OKLAHOMA'S RED RIVER BOUNDARY: UNDER U. S. SUPREME COURT DECISION IN 1927

*By Bunyan Hadley Andrew**

A judicial settlement of the twin issues of what constitutes the Red River and the position of the northern boundary of Texas along said river antedated the admission of Oklahoma to statehood. The position taken by the United States Supreme Court on these issues in 1896 stood as no mean heritage, of the new state in 1907. In subsequent years Oklahoma was able to retain her boundary, as against Texas, only after prolonged litigation. In the process, she failed to establish her claim to complete ownership of the river bed where the Red River forms the Oklahoma-Texas boundary. The United States succeeded in retaining ownership of the southern half of the river bed.

When the 1819 treaty with Spain designated the southern boundary line of the United States as following, in part, the Red River westward to the one-hundredth meridian,[1] it was not known that the Red River divides into a north and a south branch east of the one-hundredth meridian. An act of the Texas Congress, December 19, 1836, defined the northern limits of this new republic as "the boundary line as defined in the treaty between the United States and Spain."[2] On March 1, 1845, the United States Congress agreed that Texas might be erected into a state of the Union, "subject to the adjustment of this government of all questions of boundary that may arise with other governments. . . ."[3] On the following December 29, 1845, Texas became a state with "the territory properly included within and rightfully belonging to the Republic of Texas."[4]

A joint United States-Texas commission was set up in 1859 to survey the Texas boundary. The two commissioners who were appointed to do this survey could not agree as to which of the two branches of the Red River is the main branch. The United States commissioner maintained that the South (Prairie Dog)

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[1] W. M Malloy (comp.), *Treaties, Conventions, International Acts, Protocols and Agreements between the United States of America and Other Powers*, 1776 ff., (Washington, 1910), Vol. II, pp. 1652-53.

[2] H. P. N. Gammel (comp.), *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (10 vols., Austin, 1898), Vol. I, pp. 133-134.

[3] 5 *Stat. L.*, p. 797.

[4] 9 *Stat. L.*, p. 108.

Fork is the main stream, and in 1861 so reported to the General Land Office.[5] Texas, meanwhile, holding out for the North Fork, passed an Act, February 8, 1860, declaring the territory between the north and south forks to be a county of Texas, and named it Greer County.[6]

An act of Congress, February 24, 1879, which named Greer County as one of the several counties included in the northern judicial district of Texas created by this act,[7] was interpreted by Texas as giving federal sanction to Texas' jurisdiction in Greer County. The United States never conceded this, however. And despite former assertions of control over Greer County, Texas again authorized, May 2, 1882, a commission to work with representatives of the United States to determine whether North Fork or Prairie Dog Fork "is the true Red River designated in the treaty (of 1819)."[8] Congress matched this act on January 31, 1885,[9] and the joint commission met at Galveston in February, 1886; but still no agreement could be reached.[10]

Recognizing the seriousness of the situation, President Cleveland in a proclamation on December 30, 1887, warned all persons, including Greer County officers, against selling or disposing of, or trying to exercise authority over any Greer County lands, and "against purchasing any part of said territory from any person or persons whatever," since the title and jurisdiction of Greer County was vested in the United States.[11]

Inasmuch as the matter remained unsettled when Congress organized Oklahoma Territory, May 2, 1890, which was contiguous territory to that of Texas along the disputed line, Greer County was excepted until its title could be adjudicated. At the same time Congress authorized and directed the Attorney General to start a suit in equity against Texas in the Supreme Court to determine such title.[12]

The first part of the Supreme Court's decision in the case of United States vs. Texas was rendered February 29, 1892.[13] Texas had demurred, arguing that the question was political and not susceptible of judicial determination; that the United States was incompetent to bring suit against one of its component parts for recovery of a right mutually owned; and that the complainant's cause of action was legal instead of equitable, anyway, and there-

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5 143 U. S. p. 635.
6 Gammel, *The Laws of Texas,* Vol. IV, pp. 1500-1501.
7 20 *Stat. L.,* p. 318.
8 Gammel, *The Laws of Texas,* Vol. IX, pp. 265.
9 23 *Stat. L.,* p. 296.
10 143 U. S. pp. 636-637.
11 25 *Stat. L.,* pp. 1483-84.
12 26 *Stat. L.,* pp. 81-100.
13 143 U. S., p. 621.

fore, the Supreme Court as a court of equity lacked jurisdiction to hear the cause. Texas argued that even the federal law of May 2, 1890, was unconstitutional on the ground that it directed a suit at law to be made a suit in equity. [14]

A majority opinion of the court overruled Texas's demurrer and held that this case was one "for the interposition of a court of equity." However, Mr. Chief Justice Fuller and Mr. Justice Lamar dissented, being of the opinion "that this case is not within the original jurisdiction of the court." [15]

After this jurisdictional question had been determined, the case was argued in October, 1895, and decided March 16, 1896. [16] In an opinion of the Supreme Court of March 14, 1820, Mr. Chief Justice Marshall had said, "where a river is a boundary between states, it is the main, the permanent river, which constitutes that boundary." [17] The court (1896) held that the Prairie Dog Town Fork, or South Fork, constitutes the main branch of the Red River; that Greer County was not and never had been a part of Texas; that Greer County was subject to the jurisdiction of the United States only, and that the inclusion of this county among the counties named by the act of 1879 for the northern judicial district of Texas did not admit the right of Texas to that Territory. The controlling factor in the decision was not purely geographical, but rather the fact that the south fork seemed most nearly to answer to the description of the upper Red River as given on the early Melish map. This was used as a basis for the 1819 treaty line, which the court considered to be a part of the treaty. [18]

Greer County was established as "Greer County of Oklahoma" by act of Congress May 4, 1896. [19]

The Supreme Court, after having ruled in 1896 that the south instead of the north branch of Red River was intended as the line of 1819, and therefore must be accepted by Texas as her northern boundary in this area, specified by decree a northern boundary for Texas "along the south bank, both of Red River and of the . . . South Fork of Red River until such line meets the 100 meridian of longitude." [20] Oklahoma, upon admission to statehood, acquired a southern boundary along the Red River coterminous with Texas.

The exact location of the boundary line following the Red

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14 143 U. S., pp. 622-630.
15 143 U. S., pp. 648-649.
16 162 U. S., p. 1.
17 Handly's Lessee v. Anthony *et al,* 5 Wheaton (18 U. S.) pp. 374, 380.
18 162 U. S. 1, p. 90.
19 29 *Stat. L.,* pp. 113-114.
20 United States v. Texas, 163 U. S., 1 ff, p. 91.

River was not an issue in 1896, and the court's designation of a bank boundary was apparently dictum. This was put to a test in the twentieth century in the most complicated of all river boundary controversies which have come before the Supreme Court—the case of Oklahoma *v.* Texas.

The discovery of oil in 1918-19 along Red River and under the bed of the river itself, made the exact location of the boundary a significant question for property owners who held titles under the United States, Texas, or Oklahoma, and for the states, whether from the standpoint of ownership in the river bed or from that of taxation. [21] Oklahoma would naturally want to establish the boundary as designated by the Supreme Court in 1896, and to establish ownership of the river bed for Oklahoma. She brought suit against Texas for this purpose. But the United States had an interest in the bed of Red River, and asked to intervene in the case. An order of the court, April 1, 1920, granted the United States the right to intervene. The order also appointed a receiver to take charge of the disputed area, and to supervise all oil production here, pending settlement of the case. Proceeds were to be in the hands of the receiver until the titles of claimants could be determined by the court. [22]

Against the court decree of 1896, and the claim of Oklahoma to the south bank, Texas argued that the part of the decree fixing the south bank had been purely dictum; and, anyway, a proper construction of the treaty of 1819 fixed the boundary along the middle of the main channel of Red River. [23]

The treaty of 1819 with Spain had been used as a basis for the court's decision in 1896—both as to the branch and the bank of the Red River boundary. This document is again invoked and interpreted. The court held, April 11, 1921, that it had properly interpreted this treaty in 1896. The line intended in 1819 followed not only the bank of the Sabine River but also that of the Red because, according to much evidence, both rivers were reserved to the United States. While the question of a bank or mid-channel boundary had not been a direct issue in the former suit, the court held that it had been necessary to define this boundary in order to describe the territory to which the United States was establishing her right in 1896. And if a construction of Article III of the treaty of 1819 put the boundary between Greer County and Texas at the south bank, it necessarily applied to the entire

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[21] Isaiah Bowman, "An American Boundary Dispute Decision of the Supreme Court of the United States with Respect to the Texas-Oklahoma Boundary," *The Geographical Review,* 13 (New York, April, 1923), p. 166.

[22] 252 U. S., pp. 372-376.

[23] 256 U. S., p. 70, argument for defendant, pp. 71-81.

course of the Red River boundary. The matter was *res judicata.* The decree of 1896 was conclusive and final. [24]

A decree was entered on June 1, 1921, declaring the boundary to be "along the south bank of Red River." But the same decree recognized that "it still needs to be determined . . . what constitutes the south bank of Red River . . . where along that bank the true boundary line is," and what mode of locating the line should be used. A commissioner was appointed to take further evidence and present to the court for the use of either party in the suit; and the case was set down for subsequent hearing. [25]

A decision on what constituted the boundary, other than the general term "south bank," was not reached until January 15, 1923. Having heard and considered the arguments presented, the court states:

> We hold that the bank intended by the treaty provision is the water-washed and relatively permanent elevation or acclivity at the outer line of the river bed which separates the bed from the adjacent upland, whether valley or hill, and serves to confine the waters within the bed and to preserve the source of the river, and that the boundary intended is on and along the bank at the average or mean level attained by the waters in the periods when they reach and wash the bank without overflowing it. When we speak of the bed we include all of the area which is kept practically bare of vegetation by the wash of the waters of the river from year to year in their onward course, although parts of it are left dry for months at a time; and we exclude the lateral valleys which have the characteristics of relatively fast land and usually are covered by upland grasses and vegetation, although temporarily overflowed in exceptional instances when the river is at flood.

The boundary was to be established according to this definition of bank and bed. But the court also attempted to apply the doctrines of erosion-accretion and avulsion to the boundary, despite the difficulties arising from the many previous changes and anticipated future changes in all parts of the river. Avulsions on the river since 1921, the date that the treaty of 1819 became effective, would be recognized if the facts concerning such changes could be established. [26]

In most instances our interstate river boundaries were defined without reference to the changeableness of rivers. And the first case in which the doctrines of accretion and avulsion are definitely stated and applied in determining a river boundary between states is that of Nebraska *v.* Iowa, decided on February 29, 1892. Applying the doctrine of accretion to the changing Missouri River boundary between Nebraska and Iowa, the court held that, "The boundary . . . is a varying line, so far as affected by . . . changes of diminution and accretion in the mere washing of the waters

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[24] 256 U. S., pp. 81-93.
[25] 256 U. S., pp. 608-610.
[26] 260 U. S., pp. 606-640.

of the stream." [27] In contrast to the rule of accretion the court explained that "where a stream, which is a boundary, from any cause suddenly abandons its old and seeks a new bed, such change of channel works no change of boundary . . . This sudden and rapid change of channel is termed, in the law, avulsion."[28]

In the case of Oklahoma *v.* Texas each party relied heavily upon scientific findings and testimony. Never before was such an array of scientific experts—physiographic, geologic, agrologic, and many other brands—lined up by opposing counsels. [29] Many theories were advanced by the scientists, but few carried much weight as the scientific testimony for one counsel was usually contradictory to the scientific testimony of the opposing counsel. To illustrate, scientists for Oklahoma and the United States claimed that in the area of the Big Bend, the river channel had once followed close to the Texas bluffs, and had shifted north by avulsion. And while no documentary proof could be offered, and the date of the avulsion was uncertain, a physiographic study of the surface land and soil sections made these experts certain that an avulsion had occurred since 1819. On the other hand, Texas scientists were just as sure that the river had followed its course around the Big Bend for more than a century, regardless of how it got there in the first place. No wonder the court thought this scientific testimony "essentially speculative and not a proper basis for judgment." So the boundary was placed at the cut bank around the northerly limits of the Big Bend area.[30] Erosions, accretions, and avulsions occurring between 1819 and 1923 were recognized by the court in certain instances, but on the strength of documentary evidence and personal testimony of eyewitnesses, rather than on scientific evidence.

A decree ordering the general course of the boundary and appointing commissioners to locate and mark the position in the disputed area was entered March 12, 1923. While the jurisdiction of Texas was limited to the southern "cut-bank" of Red River, the decree established the fact, also on the basis of the 1819 treaty, that the inhabitants of Texas have "a right of reasonable access to the waters of the river along the state boundary, such as will enable them to reach the waters at all stages and to use

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27 143 U. S., pp. 368-370.

28 143 U. S., p. 361.

29 E. H. Sellards, B. C. Thorp, and R. T. Hill, *Investigations on the Red River made in Connection with the Oklahoma-Texas Boundary Suits* (Univ. of Texas Bull. No. 2327, July 15, 1923), pp. 18-20.

30 260 U.S., pp. 622-640. (The "Big Bend of Red River" mentioned here is formed by that portion of the river flowing in a general direction east as the boundary of Southeastern Oklahoma and on across the western line of Arkansas. The river continues east to the vicinity of the old town of Fulton where it turns south. The stream thus forms the Big Bend region taking in Northeast Texas, the southwestern corner of Arkansas and the northwestern strip of Louisiana.—Ed.)

the same for beneficial purposes. . . ." [31] The report of the commissioners which described the boundary as surveyed and marked by "wooden posts called 'witness posts,'" was confirmed June 9, 1924. [32] However, the commissioners continued their work on other parts of the boundary until portions of the line all the way from the one hundredth meridian to the eastern boundary of Oklahoma had been marked. Various reports were filed and confirmed. The commissioners' final report was filed March 24, 1927, and confirmed by the court on April 25. [33]

The boundary established along the southern cut-bank deprived Texas, and those holding land titles under Texas, of all property rights in the bed of Red River. In the struggle for control of the oil-producing areas along the river, Texas and property holders in this state could share in only so much as was located south of this cut-bank line. It would not be in order to discuss here the long and complicated process by which conflicting claims to property along the Red River boundary were adjusted. But a general statement on this subject is necessary in order to show how the United States emerged as a property holder in the area.

The boundary as decided upon by the court placed the entire river, where it forms the Oklahoma-Texas boundary, within the limits of Oklahoma. Therefore, Oklahoma claimed complete ownership of the entire river bed. In support of this claim it was contended that Red River is navigable; that the constitutional rule of the equality of states gave to each new state the ownership of soil beneath the navigable waters within its boundaries, since such ownership existed in each of the original states; and, therefore, when Oklahoma became a state in 1907, the title to the bed of the river passed from the United States to this state. After much consideration had been given to the nature of the Red River, the court concluded that [34]

> No part of the river within Oklahoma is navigable and therefore . . . the title to the bed did not pass to the State on its admission into the Union. If the State has a lawful claim to any part of the bed, it is only such as may be incidental to its ownership of riparian lands on the northerly bank. And so of the grantees and licensees of the State.

Too, the court held that north shore riparian owners, including Oklahoma, owned the bed of the river only to the median line between the northern and southern cut-banks. In 1867, there had been created for the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, a reservation with a southern boundary on the Red River along the portion now under consideration. The boundary of this reservation followed the "middle of the main channel" of the river.

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[31] 261 U. S., pp. 340-344. Quote, pp. 342-343.

[32] 265 U. S., pp. 500-505.

[33] 266 U. S., p. 546; 267 U. S. 452; 269 U. S., pp. 536 and 539; 274 U. S. pp. 713-714.

[34] 258 U. S., p. 574, pp. 582-592. (Decided May 1, 1922).

Later these Indian lands were allotted to individual Indians, to Oklahoma, or to others upon entry. The court held that titles so acquired could not extend beyond the boundary of the territory out of which they had been allotted, and since the Red River here was not navigable, the middle of the river could only mean a median line—not a *thalweg* line.

Furthermore, it was held that except for very limited areas, none of which were in dispute in this case, the southern half of Red River had never been opened to entry under the mining laws of the United States. The disposition of Oklahoma lands had been made under laws and treaties exclusive of mining laws. Therefore, all claims to the ownership of land in the southern half of the river, which were based on placer mining laws, were rejected. [35] Having excluded all individual or state titles to the bed of Red River between the southern cut-bank and a medial line in the river, the Supreme Court decreed that "the full title and ownership of so much of the bed of the river as lies south of its medial line are in the United States." [36]

The portion of the Red River bed belonging to the United States, a grotesquely delineated strip, to say the least, acquired the additional novel characteristic (for a tract of the national domain) of variability in both configuration and total area. Inasmuch as the Supreme Court recognized an application of the rule of erosion and accretion, the shifts in the position of the cut-banks and of the medial line, due to these processes, legally carry the boundary with them.

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[35] 258 U. S. pp. 592-602.

[36] 261 U. S., p. 346 (Entered March 12, 1923).

# JOSE MARIA: ANADARKO CHIEF

*By Kenneth F. Neighbours**

At the dawn of history, Europeans found the Anadarkos and other Caddoan kinsmen in East Texas on the Sabine, Attoyac Bayou, Angelina, Neches, and other timbered streams, living in fixed habitations in scattered hamlets from which they went out to farm and hunt. In 1806 the Anadarkos lived on the Sabine seven leagues above Nacogdoches in East Texas.

There among the spreading trees and flowering shrubs, a baby boy was born sometime about the turn of the nineteenth century. He was given the name of *Aish* (or *Iesh*) by his family. When a Spanish padre made his circuit or when the baby was carried by his proud parents to the Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe at Nacogdoches, he was christened "José Maria." [1]

As he was a man when he entered the pages of history, his infancy and youth cannot be documented. We *can* document how members of his tribe lived and assume without a doubt that he grew up in the same surroundings. An Anadarko home was built by inserting long cedar poles in the earth in a circle twenty-five feet or more in diameter and tying the tops together in a conical fashion. Around the outside clumps of swamp grass were tied to parallel laths to thatch the lodge. In the interior, double decked bunks were built around the walls. Some were filled with bear skins and pelts for beds. Others held stores of dried meat and vegetables. In the center of the raised clay floor was the fire hole. In the top of the conical house was a small opening for a smoke hole. The smoke spiraled past the suspended seed corn to ward off weevils.

As an Anadarko mother hoed corn and vegetables in the tribal fields, she placed her baby in a cradle board and tied it to the bough of a tree where he swayed in the breeze. Here the baby could watch the flash of the red bird; a tiny wren might peer curiously at him; and the squirrel might run down a limb to scold him mischievously. Anadarko boys swam in the streams,

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[1] Joseana Oertle to KFN, interview, Midwestern University, May 4, 1964. Miss Oertle is the great granddaughter of Josè Maria's brother, Toban. An observer in 1854 thought that Josè Maria appeared to be about sixty years old.

and in the forests, they hunted bears, timber wolves, deer, and small fur bearing animals. They learned to use the bow and arrow, to use firearms and to ride like Bedouins. We can assume authoritatively that Iesh grew up in this manner.

We do know that Iesh said that as a man he was small in stature; that he said he was a young man in 1845; and that his coolness, courage, and daring marked him when still a youth for the leadership of his and related tribes. We know that the Spaniard was still in the land, and that Iesh also learned melodious Castilian. We know that the Spanish padres built the first Mission San Josè for the Nasonis and the Anadarkos, and later the Anadarkos lived near Mission Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe de Nacogdoches at Nacogdoches. The Anadarkos and other Caddoans had too much dignity and self respect to submit to regimentation in a mission compound. They continued their own tribal life and customs while treating the padres kindly when they appeared among them and making at least nominal allegiance to the Catholic faith.

His tribe was caught up in the games of empire played by the French and Spanish and had been obliged to change locations from time to time. Then the Latins were replaced by Anglo-Americans who came to settle the country solidly. Old Spain had regarded the aboriginals as tenants at will. No pieces of paper in archives fulfilled the European concept of ownership. Anglo-Americans came with the thing that steals the land—the compass. Surveyors in the vanguard were the especial target of the warriors of José Maria's tribe.

After the hostility of Anglo-Americans in 1836 drove the Caddo, Ioni, Anadarko, and Nebedache from their homes in Nacogdoches County on to the prairie, José Maria and his second chief, probably Toweash, while hunting buffalo three or four miles northeast of present Belton with their men captured five surveyors: James M. Norris, a Mr. Taylor and three others. The second chief insisted on killing the surveyors at once. As the warriors strung their bows eagerly, José Maria protested. As he and the second chief argued heatedly, Taylor suddenly made a Masonic sign which José Maria understood immediately and stepped between Taylor and the other chief. After talking briefly in English with Taylor, José Maria again expostulated with the second chief, this time successfully as the latter's men unstrung their bows.

Taylor, a Master Mason, later asked José Maria where he learned Masonry. José Maria is reported to have stated that he was made a Master Mason in a French Lodge in Canada. [2] In-

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[2] Sue Watkins (ed.), *One League to Each Wind: Accounts of Early Surveying in Texas* (Austin: Von-Boeckmann-Jones, 1965), p. 202 f.

quiry in Canada failed to disclose any further information on this head, [3] but there were other instances of Texas Indians displaying knowledge of Freemasonry. [4]

After some raiding in Milam County, Benjamin Bryant of Bryant's Station led forty-eight men in pursuit of the raiders. On the Brazos River near Morgan's Point, Bryant found a band of Indians in the open timber near a dry branch: "The noted chief, José Maria, who was riding in front in perfect nonchalance, halted, slipped off his gloves, and taking deliberate aim, fired at Joseph Boren, who was a few feet in advance, cutting his coat-sleeve. José Maria then gave the signal for his men to fire, and the action commenced."

In the ensuing fight José Maria, although he was struck on the breast bone by a ball and his horse shot from under him, outgeneraled the Texans whose retreat became a rout. As panic seized the Texans, José Maria made the "welkin ring with hideous and exultant yells," as he gave the command to charge in full force. When the Texans were driven from the field, they lost ten killed and five wounded. José Maria was said to have lost about the same number, but the victory was decisively his. Years afterward when he visited Bryant's Station, he offered his pipe, but Bryant magnanimously insisted that the chief smoke first as the victor, and he "proudly followed the suggestion." [5]

While living on Big Creek about ten miles east of present Marlin, José Maria developed a warm friendship for Square Barkley and his large family. When one of the Barkley lads became chronically ill with malarial chills, the chief persuaded the parents to allow him to take the boy with him and his tribe to their winter camp near the Falls of the Brazos to hunt bear:

> The old chief took good care of him, slept with him each night in the master wigwam, and about 4 o'clock every morning, no matter how cold the weather was, he gathered the boy up in his arms, and straightway plunged headforemost into the dark, deep and chilly water and with a snort bounded out and rubbed the fellow dry. This, after a while utterly routed the chills.

The boy went on many a bear hunt with José and his men. Walking in single file with them, the boy returned in the spring to his own family in good health and gay spirits. The lad's respect for José Maria and his people knew no bounds.

Unfortunately a white settler with a bad reputation ac-

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[3] A. J. B. Milborne, Knowlton, P. Q., Canada, to K. F. N. March 6, 1965; Edward S. Rogers, Curator, Department of Ethnology, Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, April 20, 1965 to K. F. N. Notes and Letter Files of Kenneth F. Neighbours, Wichita Falls, Texas.

[4] Evetts Haley, *Charles Goodnight: Cowman and Plainsman* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949), p. 26.

[5] James T. DeShields, *Border Wars of Texas* (Tioga: The Herald Company), pp. 279-280.

cused members of José Maria's tribe of stealing his hogs and threatened the chief with a gun. José gathered some of his warriors together, pursued the man and beseiged him in Barkley's home. Barkley returned in time to persuade José to withdraw. When the disaffected settler threatened to raise a force to kill all the band, Barkley counseled his friend José that it would be wise to change locations. The chief then moved his people to a point on the Navasota River not far from Springfield in Limestone County. From thence they lived at various times on the Trinity and Brazos rivers. [5a]

In the summer of 1841, George B. Erath led military companies from Milam, Robertson, and Travis counties up the Brazos where in an encounter they wounded José Maria and killed one of his men. The Indians killed one of the Erath's men, and they withdrew to the settlement. [6]

José Maria himself was not immune from raids by other Indians. In the spring of 1843, the Tawacanos stole from him one bay horse, one white horse, one roan or Sabine mare, one bay colt, one brown claybank mare, and one black colt. [7]

In the spring of 1843, United States Commissioner Pierce M. Butler interposed his good offices in an effort to effect peace between the Indians of Texas and its white settlers. At the council grounds on Tehuacana Creek seven miles below present Waco, Butler conferred with representatives of the Texas government and the Texas Indians.

Butler made conciliatory speeches, and various chiefs spoke eloquently. When José Maria was called upon, he declined to speak, however, saying that he had heard the other speeches, agreed with them and had nothing to add. He was among the signatories to an agreement designed to end the years of conflict, especially the military campaigns during the administration of M. B. Lamar, President of the Republic of Texas. [8]

In recognition of the services and standing of chief José Maria, president Sam Houston furnished him the following passport: [9]

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[5a] Marjorie Rogers, "The Restoration of a Paleface," *Frontier Times,* Vol. 7, No. 1, p. 3.

[6] Watkins, *One League to Each Wind,* p. 208. Luch A. Erath, "Memoirs of Major George Bernard Erath," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXVII, p. 31.

[7] Dorman H. Winfrey (ed.), *Texas Indians Papers, 1844-1845* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1960), p. 29.

[8] *Ibid., for 1825-1843,* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1959), pp. 149-162.

[9] Executive Record Book No. 40, p. 236, courtesy of James Day, Texas State Archives.

Executive Department
Washington, April 17, 1843

To all whom it may concern: Know ye that Josè Maria with his men, will accompany John Connor through the settlements homeward, and it is hoped the citizens will furnish them with the necessary supplies; and upon proper vouchers being presented the accounts will be paid by the government.

After Texan President Mirabeau B. Lamar's wars of extermination, President Sam Houston returned to his previous policy of peace. In the spring of 1843, he sent out his Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joseph C. Eldredge with Delaware guides and interpreters, including John Connor and James Shaw, to find the Comanches on the plains and bring them to the council grounds. Enroute the Delaware leaders wisely insisted on visiting the Indians. [10]

On the evening of May 27, 1843, Superintendent Eldredge encamped in sight of José Maria's village and sent a runner to apprise the chief of the official's arrival and his objectives. According to Eldredge:

On the evening of the 28th we were notified of the approach of the chief. He appeared escorted by thirty of his warriors, splendidly mounted presenting an exciting, novel and interesting sight from their unequalled horsemanship, fanciful costumes and paint. I invited them to dismount and had scarcely finished eating and smoking with them, when a runner came in announcing the approach of Nah-ish-to-wah the head chief of the Wacoes.

After members of the Keechi band arrived, the circle numbered about seventy-five. José Maria witnessed a painful scene when Eldredge restored some captive Waco girls to the Waco chief. They did not wish to go with him and shrieked distressingly as they rode away. Eldredge arranged for a council of the chiefs of the region as soon as the Caddos could be notified. José Maria sent runners to the Caddos and in the meantime invited the Texan official to accompany him to the Anadarko village.

José Maria's village, north of Comanche Peak, according to Eldredge, was on "a western branch of the Trinity about eight miles from the main river," where the Texas Santa Fe expedition of 1841 had crossed. This location in Parker County was near the present Texas and Pacific Railroad crossing of the Clear Fork of the Trinity River just west of present Aledo. [11] The superintendent noted that there were but few lodges and these of inferior construction in the village, but he noted a considerable planting of corn.

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[10] Winfrey, *op. cit., 1825-1843* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1959), p. 211.

[11] Fred R. Cotten, Weatherford, Texas, to K.F.N., telephone conversation, June 8, 1966. Mr. Cotten has made a thorough exploration of the route of the Texas Santa Fe Expedition through Parker County. The opinion on the location of the village is the author's.

The agreed upon council took place at José Maria's village at noon on May 31. Among those present were José Maria; Nah-ish-to-wah and Acaquash, Wacos; Bintah, a Caddo chief; and the Keechi chiefs, Bedi Ironois, Sah-sah-rogue and Cah-hah-ti, as well as the escorts of the various chiefs. They agreed to come to a council at Bird's Fort; to an exchange of prisoners; Eldredge made them some presents; and the visiting delegations left satisfied. [12]

When a misunderstanding arose, Eldredge's Delaware guides notified him they were leaving immediately and forever for their home on the Caw River in Missouri, thus terminating Eldredge's tour prematurely. In the crisis, the Texas official inquired of José Maria whether he would escort him safely back to the settlements: [13]

> Greatly pleased at such a mark of confidence—his keen black eyes giving full expression to his gratified pride—he promptly and solemnly promised to do so.
>
> On the next morning, while Eldredge was packing and mounting for his homeward march, surrounded by his promised escort of one hundred Anadarco warriors, well mounted and armed with bows and lances, with José Maria at their head, Jim Shaw sent word to Capt. Eldredge that he had changed his mind and would continue the trip.

José Maria bade farewell to his official guests on June 3, 1843.

At Bird's Fort near present Fort Worth, on September 29, 1843, the authorities of Texas and the agrarian tribes of Texas concluded a significant treaty defining their relations. Among the terms was the provision for licensed trading posts, a boundary line, and the appointment of government agents. [14] Among the signatories of this significant treaty was José Maria, chief of the Anadarkos. The treaty of Bird's Fort became the prototype of other agreements and was largely duplicated in a treaty of 1844 between the Republic of Texas and the Indians of Texas including the Comanches. Among the presents given to José Maria by the Texas agents were one kettle and pipe hatchet, one blanket, red strouding flaps, and tobacco.

In preparation for another council, Thomas G. Western, now Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Texas, met various chiefs including José Maria at the council grounds on Tehuacana Creek on April 27, 1844. After smoking the pipe around,

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[12] R. N. Richardson (ed.), "Eldredge's Report of his Expedition to the Comanches," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, Vol. IV, p. 114.

[13] John Henry Brown, *Indian Wars and Pioneers of Texas* (Austin: E. Daniell, Publisher, n.d.), p. 96.

[14] Winfrey, *op. cit., for 1825-1843* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1959), p. 243.

Western made a talk, embraced each of the chiefs, and listened to their talks.

José Maria was present at the same place for council on May 13, 1844, where efforts were made to reclaim stolen horses, and the Texans distributed presents to the various tribes assembled. As talks continued the next day, when his turn came, José spoke as follows: [15]

My white brothers, first I will speak to you. as I am myself, small in size, my words to fit me, shall be few. long talks admit of lies; my talk shall be short but true. Captains and chiefs. listen to me. The Great Spirit has given to us a good day and we have listened to many good talks. Captains I want you now to listen unto me. the Big Spirit, above, is watching all now here. young men you all look happy. Captains, if you love your children, advise them not bad, but good; and show to them the white path; I will counsel you like my Delaware brother, for his counsel is good. we are all made alike, all look alike and are one people, which you must recollect. The Great Spirit our father, and our mother, the earth, sees and hears all we say in council. You have here listened to none but good talk. I hold the white path in my hands, (a string of wampum beads) given by our white brothers. look at it: see, it is all fair. To you, Waco and Tawakoni captains and warriors I give it. stop going to war with the white people. they, the white people, gave it unto me: I give it now to you: use it as I have done and your women and children will be happy, and sleep free of danger. I give to you this piece of tobacco to smoke, and consider of the white path. when you return to your village, then smoke this tobacco, think of my words and obey them.

That José Maria meant what he said to the Waco and Tawacono chiefs was demonstrated shortly when Lame Arm, a Waco chief, rode into the Anadarko village, naked and painted for war. When José Maria demanded an explanation, Lame Arm claimed that he had come from a war with the Spanish: "If so, says José Maria, where are your warriors? When I go to war I lead my men; I am found in the front; if you did the same how do I find you here by yourself alone? You speak with a forked tongue; follow me."

José Maria escorted Lame Arm to the Keechi Camp where in the presence of John Connor, Delaware scout active in the service of Texas, Lame Arm confessed that he and ten of his men had started to raid Mexico, but had stolen horses instead from Texans near Gonzales. The Texans pursued the party and killed one Waco and one Tonkawa in the group. [16]

It should be remembered that the Anadarkos were a people of sedentary life and hospitable nature when Europeans came among them. For more than a century they had been to some extent under the influence of Christian missionaries. It is not surprising then that when a civilized Texan executive appealed to all men, red and white to live in peace, José Maria lent his sup-

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15 Winfrey, *op. cit., for 1844-1845,* p .44.
16 *Ibid.,* pp. 64-66.

port on the side of peace and order in restraining and bringing under ameliorating influences tribes less advanced. This was recognized and commended by President Sam Houston in a letter from Superintendent Thomas G. Western to Indian Agent S. T. Slater: [17]

> The advice of José Maria to Bintah and Red Bear is good, and such as all Captains brave in battle and wise in council will always give, he is a great man and a good friend, embrace him for me as my Brother, and say that Gen. Houston will approve of his conduct that he was right in preventing bloodshed, that our Great Chief wishes to keep the path white, not only between the white man and the Red man, but also between the Red man and the Red man; they must not make war one with another without his orders.
>
> It is gratifying to find that you were well received by them, you are sufficiently acquainted with the Indian Character to render yourself popular with them, which it is hoped you will do.

The success of the Bird's Fort Treaty with the agrarian tribes led Sam Houston to begin negotiations to formulate another including the nomadic plains tribes. In October of 1844, His Excellency met various chiefs in preliminary council at the trading post at the falls of the Brazos River in present Falls County. When Houston spoke of his acquaintance with José Maria and other chiefs spoke, José, a man of few words, simply asked when the Council would meet again. Two days later at the council grounds on Tehuacana Creek, a treaty of peace was signed by the Texas commissioners and the chiefs including José Maria of the Anadarkos. [18]

When interested persons, it was believed living near Strouds on the Navasota River, made it their business to spread false rumors among the Indians, José Maria kept his treaty pledge by coming to the council grounds on Tehuacana Creek to report and renew his steadfast resolution of peace and good will. He said: [19]

> Brothers
>
> My young men have left me and gone around because they have heard bad talk, but I do not believe this bad talk, and this is the reason I wish to hold council. That my young men may be convinced that the talk they have heard is false and the talk of bad men.
>
> When I went out on my hunt, I got a passport from the agent, and did not meet any trouble until I got nearly back to this place. When I met this bad news.
>
> When Col. Williams went up into our country last summer. I was told that the object of his mission was to get all the women and children in to the council in the fall, and that the whites were then to fall upon them and kill them. The waggons with the goods were to stop

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[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 114-119. The significance of the Bird's Fort Treaty—the last of the Republic of Texas with the Indians—is pointed out by Walter Prescott Webb in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for June, 1922.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 162-164.

below and the troops from the United States were to assist in killing them. At the last Council all of the Captains said the old men with grey beards would not tell lies.—My beard is not yet grey. I am a young man, but I speak truth. For myself I believe that these stories I have heard are lies because I heard the talk of the chiefs at the last council, and I then told my white Brethren that whenever I heard any bad news, I would come to the Trading House and tell it and have the talk sent to the Great White Chief. I do not tell these things myself but tell what I hear. I intend to hold fast to what I said at the council—

For my own part I am not afraid, but my people say I am a fool for staying so near the whites, as so soon as the corn gets fit to eat they intend to raise and kill them all and that the reason these goods were put here was to cheat our people out of their hunts to pay for the good white men they have killed.

I have understood also that if we did not go with the whites and help kill the Waco that the whites would think we were friends to the Waco, and kill us.—The Waco say that if we do not move out, away from the whites they will steal our horses, so you see we are between two fires. What shall we do? I know that it is the desire of the whites to make peace with all, but it is impossible. The whites have done their best to make peace, but the Waco and others will not be friends.

Two nights ago news was brought me that the Waco had stolen all the horses from 5 of my men, and that the men had left their families and pursued the Waco, and I have not heard of them since and do not know whether they are killed or not.

The Waco also stole some horses from some Lipan a short time since, and the Lipan moved and camped in another place, and tied their horses, and watched them. That night the Waco came again to steal and the Lipan shot one of them and broke both his thighs, and in the morning he was sitting where he was shot. Then they took him and cut both his feet off and told him whenever he got well to come on and take *choice* of their horses. They then left him. They have also stolen all the horses from Bintah's son, and he has followed them.

My men shall not go below to hunt like the Delaware have done, without permission from the agents as I know that the Delaware did steal horses, when they were there, and I do not wish my men to do the same, but be friendly with all whites whom they meet.

We are glad, and have been glad ever since the *Great White Road* has been made, and we wish to continue in it and meet our white bretheren as *friends*. We are all now in the White Path and hope we shall always keep in the same path. I am determined to stick to what I have said in former council, and am in hopes that our Mothers and Fathers may live to see their young children grow up in peace with their white Bretheren. I come in to see you and give you my talk so that it can be sent to your *Chief* as I do not wish to go around like my young men have done but come straight to the white path, and pursue it. Our women and children are naturally scary, but myself and men are not afraid.

Brothers my talk is done.

Caddo chiefs Bintah and Red Bear endorsed this report and reaffirmed their peaceful intentions.

When an expedition against the Wacos who had stolen horses was considered by the Texas authorities in the summer

of 1845, José Maria advised waiting until his hunting parties returned so that all might act in concert. [20] Texas authorities assured him that he would be consulted and notified before the expedition was sent. (None was sent.) Agent L. H. Williams remarked to Superintendent Western that the Indians associated with José Maria had about 150 acres of the finest corn that "I have ever seen in Texas and water melons, pumpkins, beans and peas innumerable. José says he has followed the directions of Sam Houston, and he finds that his advice was good, and that they were all satisfied now, and in the midst of plenty."

The Texas authorities in the fall of 1845 gathered head men of the Indians of Texas for a council at the council grounds on Tehuacana Creek. General E. Morehouse spoke for the President of Texas, reaffirming the desire for peace and good will, and various chiefs responded. José Maria spoke as follows:

> I address you all as my friends, both red and white. I heard of those [white] men being killed on the Colorado, and I sent some tobacco up to the Keechi, for them to smoke in peace, and some was sent also from the Trading House. I wanted the Keechi to send me word who it was that had killed the whites, and if they had any thing to do with it, that they must not do so any more, or steal any horses from them. They sent me word that they did not know who it was that committed the murder, that they had nothing to do with it, but the Wichita were in the habit of stealing, and coming through their villages, and the white people would think it was them, and they wanted me to come up and live among them, for I knew them to be friendly, and could tell the white people, and they would believe me. I heard that Acaquash and two of his Captains (Aco) and Kechi-Karoqua Chief of the Tawakoni, had become tired of War and stealing horses and that they had left their people, and joined the Keechi. I hope it is true, but I do not know it. I was here at the first Council, and I saw that the whites were friendly and I promised to keep my young men from stealing and I have done so, and will still do so. I have said but a few words, and they are true. Some people talk a long time, and promise much, and then do not do all they promise. I have nothing more to say.

Affairs were thoroughly discussed. Everyone deplored the horse stealing propensities of the Wacos, Wichitas and Tawacanos. The other Indians could only absolve themselves from responsibility for the delinquents, promise to take any stolen property from them if opportunity offered and return it to government agents. [21]

When the Lone Star of the Republic of Texas was hauled down on February 19, 1846, Texas retained its public lands and the Spanish policy of regarding Indians as tenants at will, while Texas Indian affairs passed into the realm of the United States government.

To enter into relations with the Indians of Texas, the United

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20 *Ibid.*, pp. 270-297.
21 *Ibid.*, pp. 334-380.

States sent Pierce M. Butler and M. G. Lewis to treat with them. Among those present at the council grounds on Tehuacana Creek was José Maria of the Anadarkos. The resulting treaty remained in force as long as the Indian signatories remained in Texas. According to its terms, the United States might license traders to go among the Indians; the Indians must give up all white and negro prisoners; the whites must give up all Indian prisoners; felons of either race must be tried by law; horse stealing must be stopped; trading houses be established; liquor be prohibited; blacksmiths, teachers, and preachers sent among the Indians. The United States Senate appropriated $10,000.00 for presents to be distributed later. Among the signatories was José Maria of the Anadarkos. [22]

To acquaint the Texas Indians with conditions in and power of the United States and something of the operation of their government, Butler and Lewis took with them to Washington, D.C., a delegation of chiefs and the Texas Indian agent, Robert S. Neighbors. Among the chiefs was José Maria, chief of the Anadarkos. The chiefs were quartered in the suburbs to give them more room and more freedom from the crowds. [23] The chiefs grew restless especially after some of them fell sick. They were more than happy when R. S. Neighbors commenced the homeward journey with them. President James K. Polk issued the following testimonial to José Maria: [24]

(July 25, 1846)

KNOW ALL MEN BY THESE PRESENTS, That *Jose Maria* a Chief of the Ano-dah-kos—[Anadarko] and the tribe to which he belongs are by Treaty, on terms of Peace and Friendship with the United States of America.

*Jose Maria* has in person visited Washington City, the seat of Government of the United States and conducted himself according to the terms of the treaty, to which, he was a party.

This paper is given in testimony of the Friendship existing between the two countries.

Done at the City of Washington this twenty fifth day of July one thousand eight hundred and forty six.

James K. Polk
President of the United States
of America

Wm. L. Marcy
Secretary of War

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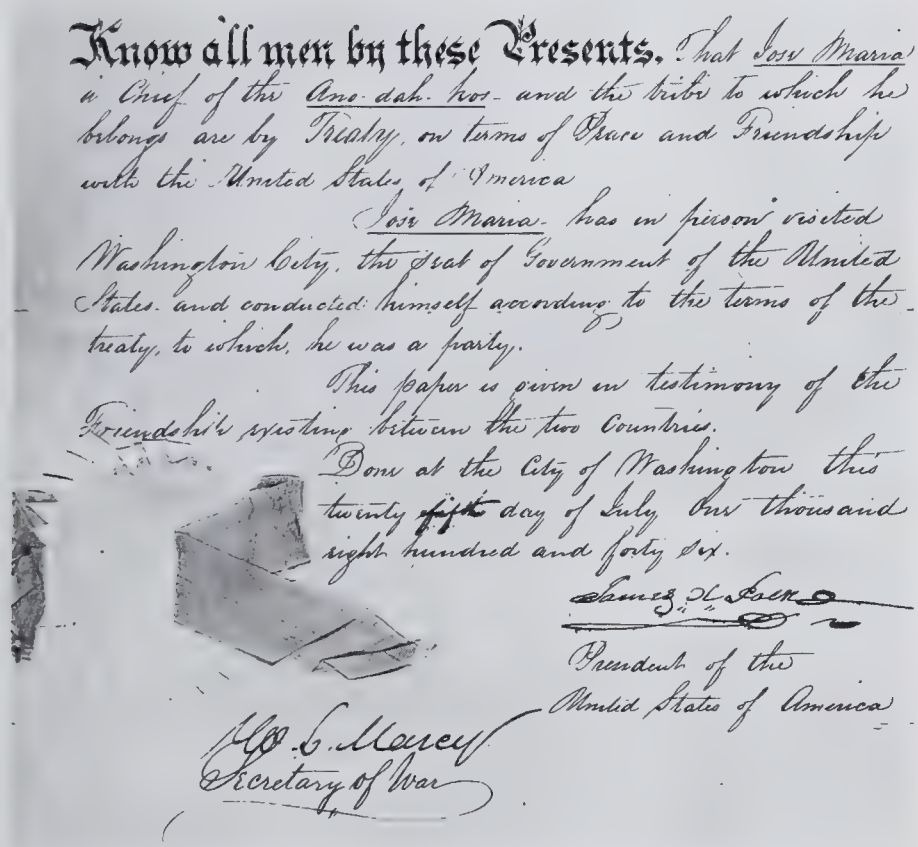
[22] *United States Statutes at Large,* Vol. IX, pp. 844-849; Grant Foreman, "The Texas Comanche Treaty of 1846," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* Vol. II, p. 329.

[23] Butler to Medill, May 24, June 16, and June 28, 1846; Lewis to Medill, June 22, 1846, Indian Office Letters. Received, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

[24] This document is cited in Winfrey, *Texas Indian Papers, 1846-1858* (Austin: Texas State Library, 1960), p. 68. This same document is cited in *ibid.,* for 1825-1843, p. 82, erroneously as of 1844. The original manuscript of this testimonial to "Jose Maria of the An-dah-kos" is in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society.



Know all men by these Presents. That Jose Maria a Chief of the Ano-dah-kos and the tribe to which he belongs are by Treaty, on terms of Peace and Friendship with the United States of America

Jose Maria has in person visited Washington City, the seat of Government of the United States and conducted himself according to the terms of the treaty, to which he was a party.

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Done at the City of Washington this twenty ~~fifth~~ day of July one thousand eight hundred and forty six.

James K. Polk

President of the United States of America

W. L. Marcy

Secretary of War

**(Original Document, Oklahoma Historical Society)**

**TESTIMONIAL: JOSE MARIA, CHIEF OF THE ANO-DAH-KOS**
**Bearing the signature of President James K. Polk, 1846.**

After a tiring trip home Neighbors gave the Indians the horses they had been furnished, and the chiefs and head men left eagerly for their homes. José Maria and his people had their village on the Brazos during this period. One location was sixteen miles west of Hillsboro where Fort Graham was later located. Later the village was located below Kimball's Bend.

In May of 1847, Major Neighbors, United States Indian agent, after being denied an escort by the military, set out on a tour of the frontier with six Delawares. He obtained six Anadarkos from José Maria at his village. José would have gone but for a painful fall from his horse. With the support of his Indian escort, Neighbors brought Indian horse thieves to account and threatened the chiefs in the strongest terms if they did not return the stolen property .

In August Neighbors found the Anadarkos suffering from the drought. When Neighbors visited José Maria in Hill County on February 27, 1848, the agent found him perplexed. Although Neighbors had furnished him seed corn, José was afraid the proposed dividing line between Indians and whites would be run above his village and his people would lose their crops. Neighbors assured him the government would do him justice in any event. [25]

A chain reaction of violence affected José Maria's people in the spring of 1848. Rangers on the northern frontier killed a Wichita. Wichitas on the Trinity then killed three surveyors of the Texas Emigration and Land Company. Rangers of Captain Middleton Tate Johnson on returning from burying the surveyors wantonly killed an Anadarko boy. The Rangers knew the boy for he had furnished them game. José Maria had difficulty in restraining his people, but he agreed to take no action until Lieutenant Colonel P. H. Bell could be heard from. Bell promised to have the killing investigated by the grand jury and the matter was closed for the time being, probably by paying the victim's family a wergild. [26]

On the recommendation of Major Neighbors, José Maria's people and associated bands located below DeCordova's Bend on the Brazos in Hood County near Comanche Peak. Charles Barnard established a trading post nearby also on Neighbor's recommendation. The Indians were to remain here a few years.

In June of 1851 José Maria's village was visited by Samuel Cooper, Assistant Adjutant General of the United States Army, who, escorted by Captain H. H. Sibley of the United States Second Dragoons of Fort Graham, toured the Texas frontier along the Brazos River. Enroute Cooper visited Indian villages

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[25] Neighbors to Medill, March 2, 1848, *House Executive Documents*, 30th Congress, 2nd Session, Doc. No. 1, p. 581.

[26] *Ibid.*, p. 590.

gathering information. José Maria's village was located at this time in present Palo Pinto County not far from the present village of Palo Pinto. While each tribe had its separate village and chief, Cooper stated that the Caddos and Ionies also recognized José Maria as their head chief. Cooper found that these Indians were perfectly peaceable and friendly toward the whites; had extensive crops of fine corn and vegetables which they cultivated with worn out hoes; but felt that the United States government had failed to carry out its commitments in the treaty of 1846 in which it agreed to furnish aid such as farming implements, cattle, and hogs. Cooper thought this trifling investment would pay big dividends in the influence which the sedentary or agrarian tribes had on the nomadic plains tribes who came to trade for agricultural products. [27]

In July of 1851, Captain H. H. Sibley of the Second Dragoons stationed at Fort Graham escorted by Lieutenant Newton C. Givens called at the village of José Maria. The Indians expressed considerable uneasiness, according to Sibley, that Brevet Brigidier General William Goldsmith Belknap of the Fifth Infantry had established what became know as Fort Belknap, on the Salt Fork of the Brazos in present Young County. The Indians claimed that Belknap had given them a severe and rude "talk" in which he threatened to visit them with a heavy hand if he traced any stolen horses in the direction of their village. José Maria and Acaquash, a Waco chief, accompanied Sibley to Fort Belknap where they found the general absent. He later denied making the threats attributed to him. The return of the chiefs to the Anadarko village was made without incident. [28]

José Maria made fast friends with white men along the Brazos River. When John Davis near Galconda in Palo Pinto County lost his small daughter, Aletha, many friends assisted a Parson Slaughter at the funeral. Parson Slaughter read,:
"Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house are many mansions."

As kindly hands lowered the coffin into the earth, friends sang,

"Oh sing to me of Heaven when I am called to die.
Sing songs of holy ecstasy to waft my soul on high.
There'll be no sorrow there. There'll be no sorrow there."

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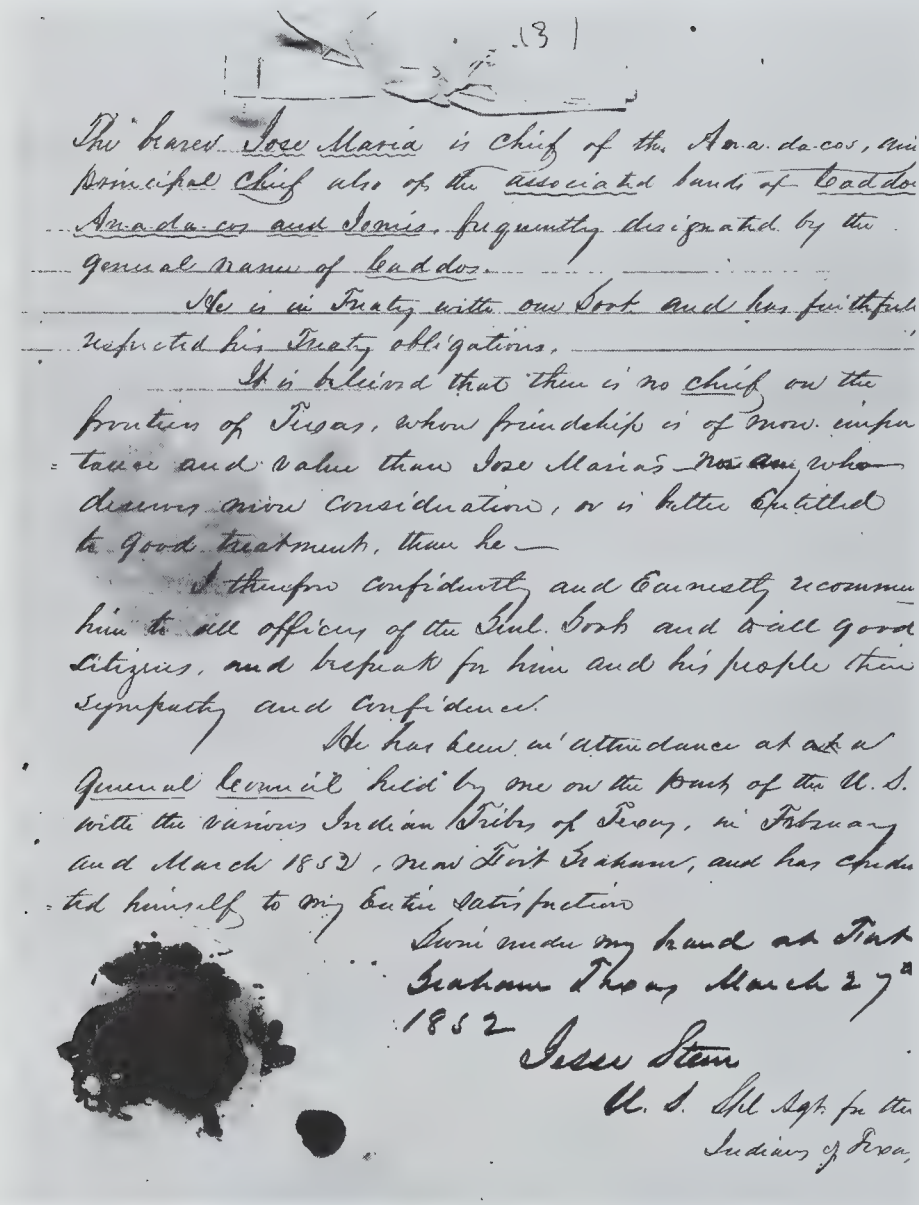
[27] Report of Samuel Cooper, June 14, 1851, Indian Office Letters Received. The National Archives, Washington, D.C., photostatic copy in Archives, The University of Texas; H. H. Sibley, Map of the route to the Indian Villages on the Upper Brazos in June 1851.

[28] Sibley to Deas, Fort Graham, July 23, 1851, Army and Air Corps Records, Record Group 94, The National Archives, Washington, D.C., Microfilm copy, Fort Kelknap Archives, Fort Belknap, Texas.



The bearer Jose Maria is Chief of the An-a-da-cos, and Principal Chief also of the associated bands of Caddoes An-a-da-cos and Ionies. frequently designated by the general name of Caddoes.

He is in Treaty with our Govt. and has faithfully respected his Treaty obligations.

It is believed that there is no chief on the frontiers of Texas, whose friendship is of more importance and value than Jose Maria is now, who deserves more consideration, or is better entitled to good treatment, than he.

I therefore confidently and Earnestly recommend him to all officers of the Govt. Govt and to all good Citizens, and bespeak for him and his people their sympathy and confidence.

He has been in attendance at a General Council held by me on the part of the U. S. with the various Indian Tribes of Texas, in February and March 1852, near Fort Graham, and has conducted himself to my Entire Satisfaction.

Given under my hand at Fort Graham Texas March 27th 1852

Jesse Stem
U. S. Spl Agt. for the Indians of Texas

(Original Document, Oklahoma Historical Society)

TESTIMONIAL: JOSE MARIA, PRINCIPAL CHIEF
Associated Bands of Caddoes, An-a-da-cos and Ionies, 1852.

Hearing horse's hooves, the group saw "José Maria racing towards them on his sorrel pony, his feather headdress blowing in the wind, his bright blanket about his shoulders. As he neared the group of mourners he reined in his horse and sat like a statue watching the men lower Aletha's body into the grave."

After decorating the grave with pretty vases, small pieces of china, shells and colored stones, the friends crossed the river to be home by night where duties awaited them. [29]

When his friends and neighbors had gone, Davis sat quietly by the grave. Then he felt a hand upon his shoulder and looked into José Maria's face. "Josè Maria see many people cross river. Afraid something wrong with little white squaw. He come to see. José Maria is sad for his white brother," the serious-faced chief said, then jumping on his horse, he dashed down the hillside and into the woods.

José Maria also visited often in the home of Reuben Vaughan with whom he hunted cattle. [30]

The chief was friendly and had a sense of humor. He liked to tease Shaeffer Vaughan, the youngest son, but Shaeffer was afraid of the . . . Indian. He always hid when he saw him coming. José Maria made it a point to hunt for the boy whom he called Shaffo. One day after finding Shaffo under the bed, the chief put him on the horse in front of him and galloped away over the prairie. Soon he was back, considering it a big joke. Strangely enough from that day on Shaffo ceased to fear José Maria.

In the spring of 1854, twelve Tonkawas went on a stealing spree in Central Texas. Among other petty depredations the Tonks stole forty horses from José Maria's village eight miles from the Paluxy River below DeCordova's Bend. The chief overtook the Tonks at the mouth of the San Saba on the Colorado where he and his men killed one Tonkawa, wounded another and took the rest prisoners. He recovered all his horses except two. [31]

After securing twelve leagues of land from the Texas legislature for Indian reservations, United States Supervising Indian agent Robert S. Neighbors in 1854 consulted José Maria on his preferences for the location. José Maria without hesitation gave his opinion: [32]

Great Father (the President) had abundant power to send them wherever he chose; but if it was convenient, he would prefer having their lands assigned to them below Fort Belknap, upon the Brazos. . . . That they had been driven from their homes several times by the whites since they came upon the Brazos, and that they now cherished the hope that their troubles were ended, and that they would in future have

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[29] Mary Whatley Clarke, *The Palo Pinto Story* (Fort Worth: The Manning Company, 1956), pp. 45-48.

[30] *Ibid.*, p. 26f.

[31] Report to Governor E. M. Pease, April 16, 1854, Indian Office Letters Received, The National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[32] Randolph B. Marcy, *Thirty Years of Army Life on the Border* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1866), p. 172f.

permanent homes for their families. He added that he would prefer to be settled as near the fort as possible, in order that he might receive protection against the incursions of the prairie tribes. That heretofore he had had his enemies, the palefaces, on one side of him, and those lawless robbers, the Comanches, on the other; but that, of the two evils, he rather preferred being near the former, as they generally allowed him to eat a portion of what he raised, but that the Comanches took every thing; and although the whites had heretofore been equally prone to make war upon them, yet, if they must die, they should prefer to make their entrance into the spirit land with full bellies, and for this reason he would, if it was agreeable to us, take his chances on the Brazos, near the fort.

When United States Supervising Indian Agent Neighbors surveyed two Indian reservations, one in Throckmorton County for the Southern Comanches and one in Young County for the East and Central Texas Indians, some of the Anadarkos, Ionies, and Caddos commenced building homes even before arrangements were completed. In the spring of 1855, Major Neighbors instructed Agent G. W. Hill to officially locate the tribes on the reservation. Hill placed the Caddos near the east line of the reserve on the north bank of the Brazos River; the Anadarkos, one and one-half miles west of the Caddos on the north bank of the Brazos in Anadarko or Salem Bend; and the Wacos and Tawacanos about a mile north of the Brazos and east of Salt Creek. With the Caddos and Anadarkos were the slender remnants of other East Texas tribes such as the Tejas, Ioni, and Bidais. The Tonkawas were later located in Tonk Valley. Next year Agent Hill resigned and was replaced by Agent Shapley Prince Ross, father of the later Governor, Sul Ross.

The Indian chiefs including José Maria organized an intertribal council to coordinate relations and to try offenders against good order. Tonkawas caught stealing melons were let off with a reprimand and the admonition to sin no more, but Comanche horse thieves were taken outside the reservation and shot.

Under Agents Hill and Ross the Indians built either grass or log houses. José Maria built his house of logs. The East Texas Indians from time immemorial had farmed with the hoe. The agents now introduced them to the plow drawn by horses or oxen. The government through Major Neighbors furnished animals, seed, tools, and wagons. Each tribe cultivated its fields communally, but some of the livestock was held in severalty.

Prominent Texans such as Middleton Tate Johnson and John S. Ford commented on the rapid progress of the Indians in the arts of civilization and on the domestic scenes afforded on the reservation. Supervising Agent Neighbors provided a mis-

Near Fort Belknap, Texas
June 29th 1854

Ti-nah.

The bearer, was appointed Chief of the Caddo's people on Sept. last, since which time he, with a party of his young men, made a tour of some months through the Comanche Country, North & West, seeking some American prisoners. He has arrested a party of three Waco & Tawaccaro Indians with stolen horses, & delivered into my possession the horses & Indians. He has promptly reported to me every circumstance & appearance of danger on his vicinity, which he thought might lead to trouble. He & his people have given undeniable evidences of their desire to follow the counsel given them, & to settle permanently under the Auspices of the U. S & cultivate the soil. I hope it will be deemed politic by those appointed to select them a home, to consult their wishes on this subject so far as the policy of the U. S towards those people will allow. This Chief has done every thing in his power to aid me in keeping his people from whiskey & whiskey from his people, in which he has exercised much influence. His devoted friendship for the White people certainly merits consideration in a matter so important to him & his people as their future home.

G. H. Neighbors
Spec'l Agt. Wes. Inds.

**(Original Document, Oklahoma Historical Society)**

**LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION:**
**TI-NAH, CHIEF OF THE CADDO, 1854.**

sionary, the Reverend Pleasant Tackitt, a Methodist circuit rider, and established a school where the Indian children made good progress under Schoolmaster E. Z. Coombes.[33] José Maria and the other chiefs encouraged the education of the children.

When on July 22, 1856, Ketumse and Buffalo Hump, Southern Comanche chiefs, led seventy-five warriors into the Brazos Reserve, the women and children fled from the other Indian towns, but the venerable and doughty José Maria halted the Comanches a few hundred yards from his village and inquired testily whether they "wished to fight, if so, that his men were ready and he Catemsie, might lead off at his will." The Comanches decided that "prudence was the better part of valor," and sheepishly told José that they wished to talk. When Ketumse demanded to know whether the Brazos Reserve Indians would continue to serve as Army guides against the wild Comanches, Agent Ross, who had hurried to the scene, answered in the affirmative and reminded the Reserve Comanches that they had agreed to the same service.[34]

When hostile Indians from north of Red River continued to raid the frontier settlers and the Reserve Indians, Agent Ross went out on a scout of Brazos Reserve Indians under such chiefs as José Maria, Ah-ha-dat, a Waco, and Campo, a Tonkawa. When José and Campo stayed out after the others returned, Ross sent a party to give them safe conduct home.[35]

To redress the grievances of complaining frontier settlers, Governor H. R. Runnels in 1858 sent nearly a hundred Texas troops under Captain John S. Ford to carry the fight to the enemy territory north of Red River. Ford had the consent of Agent Neighbors and Agent Ross to enlist the support of the Brazos Reserve Indians. In the forefront of the battle of Antelope Hills against the northern Comanches were José Maria, Jim Pockmark, Placido, O'Quinn, Acaquash, Jim Linney, Midowats, Caddo John, Chulequah, Jim Logan, Doss and many others. Seventy-six Comanches were killed, sixty taken prisoners and 300 horses were captured. At the insistence of José Maria, the Comanche camps and food were not destroyed as he explained that he and his fellow chiefs and warriors did not make war on women and children. On the triumphal return to the Brazos

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[33] Kenneth F. Neighbours, "Chapters from the History of the Texas Indian Reservations, "*West Texas Historical Association Year Book,* Vol. XXX; ————, "Masons and Texas Indian Schools," *Texas Grand Lodge Magazine,* Vol. XXVI, pp. 313-317; ————, Robert S. Neighbors and the Founding of the Texas Indian Reservations," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book,* Vol. XXXI.

[34] Ross to Neighbors, July 23, 1856, Indian Office Letters Received, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[35] *Ibid.,* February 17 and 28, 1858.

Agency, shout after shout went up and the women dressed in their best, met the warriors with songs and dances. [36]

For a brief time this valiant service for Texas reacted in the favor of the Brazos Reserve Indians, but designing white men claimed that the frontier depredations were committed by Reserve Indians. When men from Erath County under Peter Garland attacked and killed in their sleep a number of peaceful Reserve Indians at the mouth of Keechi Creek, it was all José Maria could do to restrain the Reserve warriors from taking vengence on people in the neighborhood of the massacre. He refused to make war on the innocent and assured the Indians that Agent Ross would see that justice was done. [37] In spite of the forceful and sustained efforts of Major Neighbors, however, the perpetrators of the massacre were never brought to justice in this world. Instead the grand jury of Palo Pinto County indicted José Maria for allegedly stealing a mule although Neighbors said everyone knew the mule belonged to an Indian on the Reserve.

While the warriors of the Brazos Reserve were absent assisting Major Earl Van Dorn of the United States Second Cavalry against the northern Comanches at the battle of Wichita Village (1858) and later campaigns, two hundred fifty white men under John R. Baylor, smarting from his dismissal as United States Indian agent to the Comanches, invaded the Brazos Reserve in May of 1859. Finding that the agents had put the Indians in a state of defense at the agency and that a small detachment of United States infantry were supporting them, Baylor and his men declined to fight. As they were leaving, however, they killed two elderly Indians.

Whereupon the chiefs including José Maria with fifty old men and boys pursued the two hundred fifty brave white men for eight miles to William Marlin's rancho where the Indians besieged them. The Indians killed seven hostile white men, although they were careful not to fire into the Marlin home for fear of injuring Mrs. Marlin and the children. Caddo John was killed. [39]

Since it was obvious that the disaffected whites would not leave the Reserve Indians in peace, Major Neighbors obtained permission from the general government to move them to a dis-

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[36] John S. Ford, *The Memoirs of John Salmon Ford,* Archives, The University of Texas, MS, Vol. IV, pp. 693-802.

[37] Sturm to Ross, December 28, 1858: Ross to Neighbors, January 26, 1859, *Senate Executive Documents, 35th Congress, 2d Session,* Vol. 1, Doc. No. 1, pp. 589-596.

[39] Plummer to Assistant Adjutant General, May 23, 1859, *Senate Executive Documents, 36th Congress, 1st Session,* Vol. 1, Doc. No. 2, p. 644f. Raymond Estep, "Lieutenant William E. Burnett, Letters: Removal of the Texas Indians and The Founding of Fort Cobb," *Chronicles of Oklahoma.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 372.

trict north of Red River that had been leased to the government by terms of the Treaty of 1855 with the Choctaws and Chickasaws. On June 26, 1859, Neighbors took José Maria and other chiefs to this region north of Red River to confer with Elias Rector, Superintendent of the Southern Indian District, and the chiefs of the other tribes to be located in the area (generally referred to as the Leased District.) [40] José Maria participated in the council at Fort Arbuckle on July 1, 1859.

After arduous exertions Major Neighbors and the Indians, escorted by United States troops under Major George H. Thomas made the exhausting exodus in the late summer of 1859. Among the 1430 Indians were José Maria and 235 Anadarkos. [41]

After selecting sites for the Indian villages in the vicinity of present Anadarko, Oklahoma, Major Neighbors relinquished his Indians to Agent Samuel Blain, representing Superintendent Rector, and returned to Texas where he was immediately assassinated by one of the disaffected whites. [42] The Indians threatened to avenge his death.

When local officials in Texas attempted to extradite José Maria on the spurious charge of stealing the mule mentioned above, Agent Blain refused to comply.

At their new location, José Maria and the Anadarkos applied themselves with their accustomed zeal and were prospering in their new homes near Fort Cobb when the Civil War came on. In spite of their shabby treatment in their native homeland, José Maria, along with other Southern Indians, cast his lot with the Confederacy and signed the treaty secured by Commissioner Albert Pike for the Confederate States of America on August 12, 1861. According to Muriel H. Wright, José Maria appears to have remained loyal to the Confederacy until his death about the time of the massacre of the Tonkawa Indians by Northern Indians in 1862. [43]

Thus came to an end the life of one of the noblest of American Indian chieftains whose career had spanned the final decline and dispersion of his tribe from Texas. According to his descendants, life in the wilderness had undermined his health. Few had equalled and none had surpassed his bravery, his nobility, and his good sense whether in battle, in council, or in the presence of Presidents. His heritage to us is of the highest order.

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[40] Rector to Greenwood, July 2, 1859, *Senate Executive Documents, 36th Congress, 1st Session,* Vol. 1, Doc. No. 2, p. 677f.

[41] Kenneth F. Neighbours, "Indian Exodus out of Texas in 1859," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book,* Vol. XXXVI.

[42] Kenneth F. Neighbours, "The Assassination of Robert S. Neighbors," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book,* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 38-39.

[43] Muriel H. Wright, *Guide to the Indian Tribes of Oklahoma,* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press), p. 35.

# THE CHEROKEE ORPHAN ASYLUM

*By N. B. Johnson**

* Judge N. B. Johnson has contributed this article on the Cherokee Orphan Asylum from his research in the Archives and collections of the Oklahoma Historical Society. Judge Johnson is a member of the Cherokee Executive Committee, representing the old Illinois District of the Cherokee Nation before statehood. He is a member of the Inter-tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma.—Ed.

There are to be found in the Indian Archives Division of the Oklahoma Historical Society at Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, several thousand manuscripts and more than seven hundred and fifty volumes containing the actions of the Cherokee Nation as an independent government before it was dissolved in 1906 and became a part of the State of Oklahoma in 1907.

Prior to Oklahoma Statehood the Cherokee Nation was governed under a constitution patterned to some extent after the Constitution of the United States and under laws similar to the laws of the States. It maintained an excellent educational system of common schools and two institutions of higher learning, the Cherokee Female Seminary, now part of the Northeastern State College, and the Cherokee Male Seminary, no longer in existence.

The Nation provided for the housing of its insane, and with the limited funds available gave aid to its orphans. The Cherokees' love of their people, especially children, was shown in the way they provided for them. The War Between the States, in which a large part of the Cherokees joined the Confederacy, brought about desolation and destruction to the whole Nation. Also, many men with families fell in battle, which greatly increased the number of orphans and the problems of caring for them. As a result, citizens who had always contributed to the aid and support of the orphans were no longer able to continue their charity. [1]

These circumstances made the orphan problem a matter of national concern to the Cherokee Nation. Early in its life the Nation was conscious of the importance of educating its children, and especially its duty and responsibility for the welfare and education of its orphans. It has been well said "that the Cherokee Nation is the mother of all her orphans." The truth of

[1] Sources used in compiling this article are original Cherokee records in the Indian Archives, Mrs. Rella Looney, Archivist; *Indian and Pioneer History*, Grant Foreman Collection; Emmet Starr, *History of the Cherokee Indians* (Oklahoma City, 1921); and D. C. Gideon, *Indian Territory History* (New York, 1901).

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CHEROKEE TRAINING SCHOOL, 1922
Near Tahlequah.

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

CHEROKEE ORPHAN ASYLUM, 1876
Post Office: Asylum. Cherokee Nation; name changed to Salina, 1884.

this statement is borne out by the fact that the Nation in its various treaties with the United States endeavored to provide for the orphans by incorporating provisions for the welfare of the orphan. In 1814 an Act was passed by the Cherokee Nation while it was still in Georgia, providing for the establishment of an orphanage, but lack of funds prevented this.

The New Echota Treaty of December 29, 1835, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation provided $200,000 (Section 10) as a permanent fund for the use of the tribe. The interest on this fund was to be used for such purposes as the tribe deemed best. The Nation set aside $50,000 of the amount to constitute an orphan fund, the annual interest from which was to be expended for the education and support of the orphan children. Again, Article 23 of the Cherokee Treaty of 1866 with the United States provided:

> All funds now due the nation or that may hereafter accrue from the sale of their lands by the United States as hereinbefore provided for shall be invested in the United States registered stocks at their current value and the interest on all said funds shall be paid semi-annually on the order of the Cherokee Nation and shall be applied to the following purposes: Thirty-five per cent shall be applied for the support of the common schools of the Nation and educational purposes, and fifteen per cent for the orphan fund.

Prior to 1872 there was no home for the orphans. They were cared for in private homes where they were treated like other children of the household, and they attended the public schools. Thirty dollars per year per pupil was appropriated by the National Council to be paid to the families keeping orphans. This amount was wholly inadequate. Public concern and interest for a better way in which to ameliorate the orphans' lot brought about the enactment of a law on November 29, 1871, by the National Council of the Cherokee Nation providing for the construction of a Cherokee orphan asylum where orphans of the Nation could be cared for and domiciled.

By virtue of this act, a home for the homeless children of the tribe was at last assured. The Board of Trustees created by the act was authorized and directed to select a location and purchase land for the orphanage. The Lewis Ross plantation, the mansion of which was in the east part of what is today the town of Salina, Oklahoma, was found to be a suitable location. Money in the amount of $28,000 was appropriated by the National Council to buy the building from the Lewis Ross heirs. The deal was closed and the construction of the necessary additions to the mansion to make it a suitable home for 150 children were begun at once. The property purchased consisted of a large, three-story, stately brick colonial mansion faced in white cut stone, a two-story yellow brick building which Lewis Ross had used to house his slaves, a spring house constructed in 1842, and numer-

ous other buildings and shops incidental to the operation of a large plantation with three hundred and forty acres of land. One hundred forty acres was bottom land, one hundred eighty acres was prairie land, and fifteen acres was in orchard and garden. The new additions to the residence made it a beautiful building 113 x 50 feet. It was supported on the east and west by wings 71 x 24 feet each. When finally completed it was among the finest structures of that day, and the pride of the Cherokee Nation.

Pending the preparations made for the orphanage at Salina, the National Council had authorized the use of the old Male Seminary as a home for the orphans, and the trustees selected it as a temporary domicile. This classic old building had been used by the white soldiers as a livery barn during the War between the States. However, the trustees had the building cleaned up and moved the orphans there in 1872, where they remained for three years until the new orphanage at Salina was ready for them.

By 1875 the new orphanage was ready for occupancy and the children were moved again. They were transported in wagon loads with an adult chaperone in each wagon from their temporary home to the institution at Salina where they were soon happily domiciled.

The administration of the Orphan Asylum was first placed under the control of a Board of Trustees, but later it was changed to the Board of Education. The superintendent of the school and the medical superintendent were elected every two years by the National Council. The teachers were appointed annually by the Board of Education. In 1884 a course of study was agreed upon by the faculty and the Board. The academic course provided the same type of educational program as that given by modern schools, except perhaps on a smaller scale.

The school put out a four page weekly newspaper, *The Cherokee Orphan Asylum Press,* which was edited by the superintendent, Mr. W. A. Duncan. The paper was replete with local news. It also published articles dealing with subjects conducive to the moral and educational edification of its readers. The subscription rate was one dollar per year.

The orphan boys and girls were graduated at the age of sixteen. If they so desired, they could attend one of the seminaries and complete their education at the expense of the Cherokee Nation. At first the clothes of the children were washed in the near-by Grand River, but later water was pumped into the building by horse power from the river. There were two matrons, one for the girls and one for the boys. They had charge of the domestic department, of all the material for making the clothes of the children, and looked after their comfort and welfare gen-

erally. The children were taught to work after school hours in the kitchen, dining room, sewing room, laundry, and blacksmith shop, as well as at house cleaning, stock raising, farming, and such other work as might be required.

A farm overseer was employed to look after and maintain the farm and direct its operation. The farm production and dairy products aided greatly to the support of the home, and at the same time provided an opportunity for training the children to be industrious. The boys ran the farm under the supervision and direction of the farm overseer. There were cattle, hogs, horses, mules, chickens, wagons, and farming implements to look after, as well as planting, cultivating, and harvesting crops.

The housing was conveniently and systematically arranged. The employees lived in the main building. The superintendent's office was on the first floor of the dormitory. The dining hall, kitchen, school rooms, and the girls' parlor were also on the first floor. The rooms of the teachers, the boys' matron, the girls' and boys' sick rooms, and the chapel were on the second floor. The third floor was divided into six sections which were sufficient to accommodate one hundred and sixty pupils.

Reverend Walter Adair Duncan was the first superintendent of the orphan home and served from 1872 to 1882. He was a highly respected and beloved man. It was his desire "to have the pupils excel in morality, intelligence, and industry." His untimely death in October, 1907, was a great loss to the asylum and to the Cherokee Nation.

Others serving as superintendent during the thirty years of the home's existence were: The Reverend J. F. Thompson, 1882-1894; William Wallace Ross, 1894-1897; the Reverend J. F. Thompson again, 1897-1901; John H. Dannenberg, 1901-1902; and E. C. Alberty, 1902-1903. Under the influence of these dedicated Christian men, there prevailed at the home a fervent, healthy, religious influence. Sunday school and church services were held each Sunday. There was also an Epworth League, a Woman's Home Mission Society, and a prayer meeting was held weekly.

As stated by the well-known historian Mrs. W. E. Roberts of Nowata, Oklahoma, in an interview with a staff correspondent of the *Tulsa World*, April 28, 1935, "Present day Oklahomans claim with both pride and affection the old asylum as their Alma Mater. The Cherokees," she pointed out, "Cheerfully supported the asylum from their own tribal funds for nearly one-third of a century." Mrs. Roberts, who attended the school, stated that it was an orphan's home in every sense of the word and that it was a permanent refuge for the children until they were ready to go out into the world able to do for themselves.

Some of the outstanding men and women of the Cherokee Nation were identified with the orphanage, among them being Robert L. Owens, a teacher who later became one of Oklahoma's first United States Senators, and Sallie Rogers McSpadden, teacher and a sister of Will Rogers.

Just as it began to grow light on the morning of November 17, 1903, the orphanage which had served as a home for the homeless Cherokee children for thirty years was destroyed by fire. No one perished in the fire, but the entire building and almost all its contents were destroyed. There were one hundred and forty-five children in the home at the time the fire started.

About fifty of the children were transferred to the Whitaker Home at Pryor, others were cared for by relatives and friends, and some of the boys looked out for themselves. The others were immediately transferred to the male and female seminaries, where they remained until they were again transferred to the present location, five miles from Tahlequah on U. S. Highway 62.

Up to the time of this transfer, this place had been used as an asylum for the Cherokee insane. The insane were removed to Tahlequah, and the building was made a permanent home for the orphans under the name of the Cherokee Orphan Training School. In 1914 the Cherokee Tribe authorized Chief W. C. Rogers to sell the school with all its buildings and its forty acres of land to the United States. The school then became a Federal government institution under the supervision and control of the Secretary of the Interior and was maintained as an Industrial School for the Indian Orphans of Oklahoma of the restricted class (Indians of one-half degree of Indian blood or more). Congress passed an Act in 1925 changing the name of the school to the Sequoyah Orphan Training School in honor of Sequoyah, the inventor of the Cherokee alphabet. It is today one of our fine Federal Indian schools. It has domiciled and educated many boys and girls who have become useful, upright, reputable, and self-supporting members of our society.

# ACCULTURATION PROBLEMS AMONG THE PLAINS TRIBES OF THE GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN WESTERN INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Michael Dan Mitchell**

In late January 1869, representatives of the various yearly meetings of the Society of Friends met with President-elect Ulysses S. Grant in an effort to interest him in a more humane federal, Indian policy. This effort was prompted by a public feeling that military control of Indian affairs in the United States had been unsatisfactory and that a new policy was needed. [1] In his first annual message to Congress on December 6, 1869, President Grant declared that the Friends are, ". . . known for their opposition to all strife, violence, and war, and are generally noted for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations . . . to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the society itself." [2]

By the close of the following year numerous Quakers had established homes among the tribes of the western plains. Friend Lawrie Tatum became the agent for the Kiowa and Comanche reservation in present-day southwestern Oklahoma. Likewise, Brinton Darlington and Isaac Gibson assumed responsibilities respectively at the Cheyenne and Osage agencies. It was hoped that these men would teach the Indian those physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual precepts necessary for his civilization. Therefore the early reservation years become of prime importance in studying the acculturation process of the Plains Indians.

In the early eighties a federal agent wrote that, "the romance and beauty is all taken away from an Indian village by a personal visit."[3] This was no doubt the case during the Quaker administrations. Thomas Battey who taught school among the Kiowa believed that the Indian had no realization that his living habits were unsanitary. Accustomed to frequent shifts of camp

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[1] Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Friends and the Indians 1655-1917* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: New Era Printing Company, 1917), pp. 163-164.

[2] James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents 1789-1897*, 10 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896-1899), Vol. VII, p. 38.

[3] *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Made to the Secretary of the Interior* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869-1886), 1884, p. 74. Hereinafter referred to as *Annual Report.*

sites, the Indian simply did not appreciate the necessity of cleanliness. [4] Dr. William Nicholson traveling among western tribes in 1870 noted that one of the main reasons that the Kiowa continued to hunt and refused to farm was their knowledge that they could easily find clean water and uncontaminated camp sites. He diagnosed their suffering as "intermittents," or periodic fevers. To the superstitious Indians, the agency meant sickness and they desired to return to the plains. [5]

In the spring of 1871 the first physicians arrived at the agencies. Dr. A. D. Tomlinson, of Bloomingdale, Indiana, joined Lawrie Tatum's staff as both healer of the body as well as the soul. [6] Likewise, a physician was employed that year by Agent Gibson among the Osage. Unfortunately the work of the latter was restricted almost entirely to the care of the white members of the reservation. The Cheyennes waited till 1873 when a doctor eventually found his way to their homes.

These frontier doctors never lacked numerous patients. They met with unlimited success in saving lives, and the Indian readily acknowledged the superiority of the white man's medicine. During the rainy season many tribesmen were susceptible to malaria and bilious complaints. Garden vegetables, especially corn, cucumbers, and cantaloupes were foreign to their diet and often resulted in severe illness or death when eaten in great quantities. The conditions of the reservations often caused ill health among the Quakers. Agent Haworth of the Kiowas contracted malarial fever in 1877, and was eventually forced to retire from the service due to a partial paralysis. Unfortunately the number of patients far exceeded the physician's medicinal supplies. John D. Miles wrote in 1878 that his doctor had to turn down hundreds of Indians applying for anti-malarial remedies because he lacked enough drugs. As a result the Indians turned again to their medicine men. [7]

Yet, the greatest problem of this western medical corps was the contacts between the Indians and the white people. In 1877 Miles was forced to discharge his mission cook—a white man—,Joseph B. Tripp, for his "criminal" ways among the Indian women. Miles justified his action on the grounds that Tripp had disseminated venereal disease. The white border element not

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[4] Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston and New York: Lee, Shephard and Dillingham, 1875), p. 322.

[5] William Nicholson, "A Tour of Indian Agencies in Kansas and the Indian Territory in 1870," *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* Vol. III (1934), pp. 348-354.

[6] Lawrie Tatum, *Our Red Brothers and the Peace Policy of President Ulysses S. Grant* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston and Company, 1899), p. 93.

[7] *Annual Reports,* 1870, 1871, 1873, 1875, 1877, 1878.

only introduced low moral standards among the Indians but brought smallpox and whiskey to the reservation. Diseases of an epidemic character which had been previously foreign to the Indian were commonplace during these years. [8]

Grant's Quaker agents were even more concerned about the Indian's mind than they were his physical condition. The white man felt that the boarding school with its classroom and manual labor adjuncts was the "entering wedge of civilization." [9] They justified their educational system by maintaining that they were preparing the Indian to cope with modern life. This could be most easily achieved *via* the schoolroom. [10] Congress in 1870 hastily put this objective into operation by passing the first annual appropriation act specifically for Indian education. [11]

The first attempt to establish a school among the Kiowa-Comanche proved trying. Although the Indians early professed an interest in having a school established for their children, [12] not till 1871 did the first full school term at the agency begin. This early difficulty stemmed from insufficient funds with which to build a school. However, a school was finally erected in late 1870, and Josiah and Lizzie Butler, of Ohio, began teaching the children of the Kiowa-Comanche agency. [13] The first school term began on February 20 and closed July 3, 1871. There were seventeen males and seven females enrolled, with an average daily attendance of sixteen and three-fifths children. The Butlers' pedagogical techniques were restricted to object lessons because of their inadequacy in the native tongues. The first pupils seemed happy, obedient, content, industrious, and readily took to spelling and writing. They disdained arithmetic and geography, and refused to converse in English. Fed, lodged, and clothed at the

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[8] John D. Miles to William Nicholson, June 25, 1877, Cheyenne Letter, Indian Improvement File, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society. Other references are: John D. Miles, Statement, December 16, 1879, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency, 1875-1880, National Archives. Hereinafter referred to as L. R.: Cheyenne Agency; Elizabeth Grinnell, "Through Indian Camps in a Government Ambulance," *Southern Magazine* (May, 1894), p. 417: *Annual Report,* 1877, p. 85.

[9] John H. Seger, *Early Days Among the Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Series, March 1, 1924), No. 19, Studies No. 281, p. 18.

[10] Laurence F. Schmeckebier, *The Office of Indian Affairs: Its History, Activities, and Organization* (Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1927), pp. 9-10.

[11] Ruth Murray Underhill, *Red Man's America: A History of Indians in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953), p. 327.

[12] *Annual Report, 1869* (p. 386) and 1870 (p. 265).

[13] Josiah Butler, "Pioneer Teaching at the Comanche-Kiowa Agency School 1870-3," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. VI (1928), p. 491; Hugh D. Corwin, *The Kiowa Indians: Their History and Life Stories* (Lawton, Oklahoma: Author published, 1958), p. 85.

school, they were forced to have their hair shingled and Indian clothing and ornaments removed. A few of the Butler pupils began doing odd jobs around the agency, such as working at the nearby sawmill.[14] However, Tatum was not satisfied with the school's progress. This was primarily because only the children of the affiliated tribes attended regularly. Work with this small minority was slow because every day one or more of the older members of these bands visited the school to see how the children were being treated. Tatum decided that one of the agency's staff must go into the Kiowa and Comanche camp circles, gain the confidence of the leaders, and establish another school.[15]

Thomas Battey was employed on October 17, 1872, by Tatum at a scholarly salary of one hundred dollars per month.[16] Following a personal "awakening," Battey went with Kicking Bird and Dangerous Eagle into the Kiowa camps. On January 23, 1873, the first Kiowa school was opened upon the banks of the Washita River. With little more than a tent, wagon, and small cook stove Battey began his instruction. At first the Kiowa children manifested considerable interest in attending a school located in camp,[17] intrigued by their schoolmaster's concern for learning the Kiowa tongue. Nevertheless, attendance was not regular. Battey found that while those who attended listened attentively, they still preferred their own way of life.[18] Rationalizing this lack of evident success Battey wrote, "His grace is sufficient even for their redemption, by which they must be changed, if changed they ever are, from this Savage, heathen life to that of Christian civilization."[19] Eventually Battey was forced to suspend indefinitely his experiment when the tribe began to withdraw the children because they came to believe that their white friend was "bad medicine."

In the succeeding years of the Kiowa agency the idea of education gained a wider acceptance. By fall of 1874 there were sixty young "scholars" ready for schooling. The staff now included Alfred V. Standing, principal teacher; James Hargo, assistant; Lottie R. Dunbar, matron; and Sallie Cowgill, housekeeper. Most of the students learned to read in Edward's *Analytical First Reader,* memorized the multiplication tables and the Lord's Prayer, and did rudimentary map work. In 1878, the

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14 *Annual Report,* 1871, pp. 475-476.

15 Tatum, *op. cit.,* pp. 94-100.

16 Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, December 24, 1872, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: Kiowa Agency, 1869-1880, National Archives. Hereinafter referred to as L. R.: Kiowa Agency.

17 Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, January 20, 1873, L. R.: Kiowa Agency.

18 Thomas Battey to J. M. Haworth, July 31, 1873, L. R.: Kiowa Agency.

19 Battey, *op. cit.,* p. 124.

small boarding school reached a maximum enrollment of seventy-five pupils, and educational prospects seemed bright. The year 1871 also witnessed the beginning of a school at Brinton Darlington's Upper Arkansas agency. Alfred V. Standing, Julia A. Cattell, Jesse R. and Elma Townsend established two day schools among the Cheyenne and the Arapahoes. Forced to use sign language and object teaching, most of the school staff hoped to reduce the apathy of the Indians, especially that of the Cheyennes. The Indian children were generally well-behaved and neat in appearance, although most of the boys refused to wear anything but the blanket. [20]

It was exceedingly difficult to maintain any degree of regularity in attendance because the Indians had no idea of punctuality. This forced Standing to walk daily through the camps blowing a cow horn in order to fill the classroom with students. The Cheyennes invited Standing to go on their 1871-1872 winter hunt, an invitation he declined, passing up perhaps an opportunity to gain the confidence of the tribe. [21]

Agent John D. Miles was quite anxious to expand the educational program of his agency. In writing to Enoch Hoag in June 1872 he related, "I am sanguine on the subject of literary and religious training of children." [22] Lacking an adequate staff, Miles searched for a "jack-of-all-trades" who could aid him at the school as well as in and around the agency. He hired, in December 1874, John and Mary Ester Seger of New Malden, Kansas, to fill this need. [23] Seger quickly learned the native tongue and became a trusted confidant of the tribes, especially the children. [24]

Until Seger's arrival, the Cheyennes found innumerable excuses for keeping their children in the camps. The chiefs reiterated that they did not desire to live after the buffalo was gone, and certainly did not need to attend the white man's school to learn to hunt. However, by February 1875 the teachers reported that the Cheyenne tribe was showing greater interest in their work as a result of the progress being made with the Arapaho boys. [25] One Cheyenne chief later related that as a child he had been anxious to attend the agency school but because most of the

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20 *Annual Reports,* 1871, 1875, 1876, 1878.

21 Seger, *op. cit.,* p. 7-8.

22 John D. Miles to Enoch Hoag, June 4, 1872, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs: Upper Arkansas Agency, 1869-1884, National Archives.

23 Seger, *op. cit.*

24 Jack T. Rairdon, "John Homer Seger: The Practical Indian Educator," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXXIV (1956-57), p. 209; Dan W. Peery, "The Indian's Friend: John H. Seger," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X (1932), Vol. XII (1934).

25 Peery, op. cit., p. 364.

students consisted of homeless orphans and waifs he was refused the opportunity.[26] Change came when the Cheyennes realized their sons might be inferior to the Arapaho boys who were in the white school. In 1876 the chiefs consented for the first time to allow their children to enter the school.[27] Within six months of their matriculation, Agent Miles reported that these children were making as much progress "as white children would have."[28]

The closing years of the Quaker administration seemed fruitful indeed at these schools. Forms of manual labor were successfully initiated into the system as the school attempted to fit these young people for a future of self-sufficiency. The Indian industrial school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, claimed seventy Cheyennes in its ranks by 1881. As these men graduated and returned to the camp, they seemed to be exercising a strong civilizing influence among their full-blood, blanket relatives.

Adult Osage interest in education of their children was not demonstrated until after 1877 when Isaac Gibson no longer had control of the agency. Agent Gibson believed that since the adult was susceptible to civilization, the education of youth was not so crucial. Although Gibson did establish an eight-month school session attended by an average of fifty students, the full cultural impact of education was delayed. His curriculum concentrated largely on practical agriculture for the boys and housekeeping for the girls. In 1875 this program was expanded to include instruction in reading, writing, and speaking English, with most of the students apparently adopting white clothing and manners, contrary to the native custom.

Early in April 1876 insufficient funds forced the closing of the school. At this time forty-two students could read and write.[29]

With the reopening of the school in 1877, the idea of education was growing in popularity and the school's enrollment increased to one hundred and forty students during the last three months of the school year. Although most of the students were initially adverse to attending school, few desired to return to their tribal existence by the end of the term. Cyrus Beede, Osage agent in 1879, revealed some skepticism concerning the students' progress when he noted that once they left the school few of the

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[26] Theodore A. Ediger, ed., "Chief Kias," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XVIII (1940), p. 298.

[27] John D. Miles to J. L. Smith, February 11, 1876, L. R.: Cheyenne Agency.

[28] John D. Miles to William Nicholson, July 14, 1876, L. R.: Cheyenne Agency.

[29] *Annual Reports*, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1881; and *Report of the Board of Indian Commissioners* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1869-1886), p. 81.

students ever retained the use of the citizen's dress or continued to speak English. Regardless of its intellectual impact, the statistical rate of growth of the school continued to rise.

These various schools experienced many common problems. Progress was usually hampered by unprincipled whites who frequented all the agencies. This was especially true of those establishments located near military posts. Charles L. Dubois, the United States surveyor at Fort Sill in 1874, acknowledged to J. M. Haworth that the post was obviously an obstacle in the pathway of civilization.[30] Lawrie Tatum earlier reported that many of the affiliated tribes refused to send their young people to the school because they feared the bad influence of the soldiers in the area.[31] At the Darlington agency during 1876 while the Northern Cheyennes were located there, the progress of the school was almost completely halted. These northern brethren ridiculed their southern kinsmen when they learned that the whites were allowed to discipline the Indian children. They also taunted the young boys who came into camp wearing short hair. It is not unusual then that the children became insubordinate and hard to manage at school. Consequently, it became inevitable that when an Indian had a personal setback or was depressed he withdrew his children from the school. As late as 1879, there were still many chiefs who scorned the overtures to educate their children.

The Quaker agents, however, became more and more insistent that the hope for the Indian's future rested with the next generation. If the younger pupils could avoid the intimidation of their elders there was room for optimism. During the administration of Osage agent Laban J. Miles (1879-1885), a compulsory education law was passed by the Indians, requiring children aged seven to fourteen to attend school. The law in operation far exceeded Miles' fondest expectations. He was perceptive enough to realize that if civilization was possible, it must lay primarily with the education of the younger generations.

It was admitted by 1871, that the adult fullblood members of the various tribes would possibly never achieve a satisfactory degree of acculturation. One significant barrier to the Indian's social and cultural enlightenment was his failure to comprehend the meaning of private property. Tribal resistance did not begin to give way in even minor matters, such as adopting the citizen's clothes until late 1877. Prior to that time the only achievement had been the request of the Kiowa tribe, upon the death of Chief

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30 Charles L. DuBois to J. M. Haworth, January 21, 1874, Kiowa-Comanche Letter, Agents and Agency File, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

31 Lawrie Tatum to Enoch Hoag, Monthly Report, March 3, 1873, L. R.: Kiowa Agency.

Kicking Bird, that he be buried in the manner of the white man. [32] Agent Haworth acquiesced in this matter because he felt that "though a savage, raised up under the clouds of dark heathenish superstitions, his mind and heart had so far yielded to the civilizing influence, that . . . he died a 'noble man.' " [33]

Some Indians began to live in homes similar to those of the employees at the Agency. In 1878 a few Kiowa and Comanche families lived in homes which government labor had built for them. Previously, they expressed a desire for the houses but refused to live in them once they were built. It is related by John Seger that Big Mouth, an Arapaho chief, once his house had been constructed failed to leave his tepee. He claimed that the four-room structure could not properly house his seven wives, and moreover was better suited for occupancy by his dogs.

In the realm of law and order there were some remarkable advancements. Agent Haworth at the Kiowa agency began to sense in 1876 a perceptible desire among his wards for some form of judicial uniformity. He believed at that time that a sufficient police force might be organized among the Indians themselves. However, this experiment was not immediately attempted among his tribes but rather the Cheyennes. The Cheyenne police force eventually numbered seventeen members, and was a vital segment of agency life.

The most outstanding development in the area of law and order was at the Osage agency. There was an increased desire for self-regulation and the introduction of rudimentary governmental forms among the Osage. The tribe retained the reputation for fidelity to treaty agreements, because after 1874 there is rarely a record of depredations by any of the tribe. Nevertheless, when Agent Cyrus Beede arrived in 1876, he found many of the Osage dissatisfied, and discord prevalent resulting from quarrels growing out of domestic problems.

Under Beede's direction an administrative framework was established for the Osage. He suggested the election of a governor with several chief counselors aided in their regulation of tribal business by the establishment of a committee of five members. This innovation resulted in two precedents in Indian history. The first case involved the arrest, with the aid of the Indian government, of two full-blood Indians and their delivery to Fort Smith, Arkansas, to be tried under white laws. The second case involved the arrest of a full-blood for petty larceny and his subsequent trial by a full-blood jury. Throughout this period of Osage readjustment, there was some desire indicated by the tribe for simple laws of regulation regarding minor disputes. As a con-

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[32] Butler, *loc. cit.*; and *Annual Reports*, 1871, 1875, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1885.

[33] J. M. Haworth to Enoch Hoag, May 4, 1875, L. R.: Kiowa Agency.

sequence in 1882, under the guidance of Agent Laban J. Miles, the Osage decided to create a constitution for the nation, patterned upon the much earlier constitution of the Cherokee Nation. By 1883, according to Miles, it was working with a fair degree of success.

The Quaker agent brought to the reservation the white man's economic, social, and ethical standards. The latter encompassing all those spiritual qualities possessed in the nineteenth century American church. It was the general consensus that if the missionary implanted the love of God in the savage heart, he would cease his nomadic existence. Agent Tatum felt that without the moral influence of Christianity his "flock" would not last past the present generation. [34]

Regardless, there were no ordained ministers among any of the tribes till after 1879. This, however, did not stop spiritual instruction by whites living at the agencies. Religious instruction, meager though it may have been, was carried on in the regular schools, [35] as well as in "sabbath day classes." John Miles at the Cheyenne agency reported in 1877 that ten Sunday schools were in operation and the response was salutary. Evidently similar progress was made that year among the Comanches, for Agent Haworth stated that an unidentified Comanche chief had been admitted to the agency congregation. This same small church is known to have had approximately fifty members at one time, the majority of whom were presumably white.

In 1881, the first great influx of missionaries finally reached these tribes. Bishop H. H. Kavanaugh, Northwest Texas Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, appointed Reverend H.S.P. Ashby as their first messenger to the Plains Indians. [36] Among the first Protestant missionaries with the Osages were Jonathan and Lydia Ozbun. The dedicated agents hoped that with the arrival of these men and women that the Indian could then observe religion, as well as feel it spiritually. [37]

Yet, there is little indication that rapid conversions were being made among any of these tribes. It was actually not until the 1890's that missionaries began to settle permanently among these tribes. Thus, the superintendent of Cheyenne schools in 1881, W. J. Hadley, reported that the Indian children were Christians only in their comprehension of the gospel.

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[34] Seger, *op. cit.*, p. 16; and *Annual Reports*, 1871, 1872, 1876, 1878, 1883, 1884.

[35] E. A. Hayt to P. B. Hunt, March 22, 1878, Kiowa-Comanche Letter, Agents and Agency File, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society; and *Annual Reports*, 1877, 1879.

[36] A. W. Wilson to P. B. Hunt, March 26, 1882, Kiowa-Comanche Letter, Churches File, Indian Archives Division, Oklahoma Historical Society.

[37] Tatum, *op. cit.*; and *Annual Report*, 1881.

# REMINISCENCES OF JIM TOMM

*By L. M. S. Wilson**

## Introduction

Jim Tomm states he is entirely of Negro descent and was born January 25, 1859, on a plantation owned by George Stidham on the south side of Fern Mountain, [1] northwest of the present town of Muskogee.

His mother, Flora Stidham, was likewise bought by Mr. Stidham in New Orleans, Louisiana. His father and mother acquired the name of their master at the close of Civil War. Prior to the war, they were only known as Tom and Flora. His mother gave birth to four children prior to being sold to Master Stidham. After their arrival in the Indian Territory, Flora had four more children on the Stidham plantation, of which Jim Tomm was the youngest.

Jim Tomm never acquired the name of Stidham but took his father's first name for his last name, thus, "Jim Tomm."

His father and mother worked on the rice plantations in Louisiana. They lived in Alabama and Mississippi and they knew how to raise cotton, and as they had lived among the Seminole Indians, they thought it great they could follow the Indians who had been moved only a few years before to the Indian Territory.

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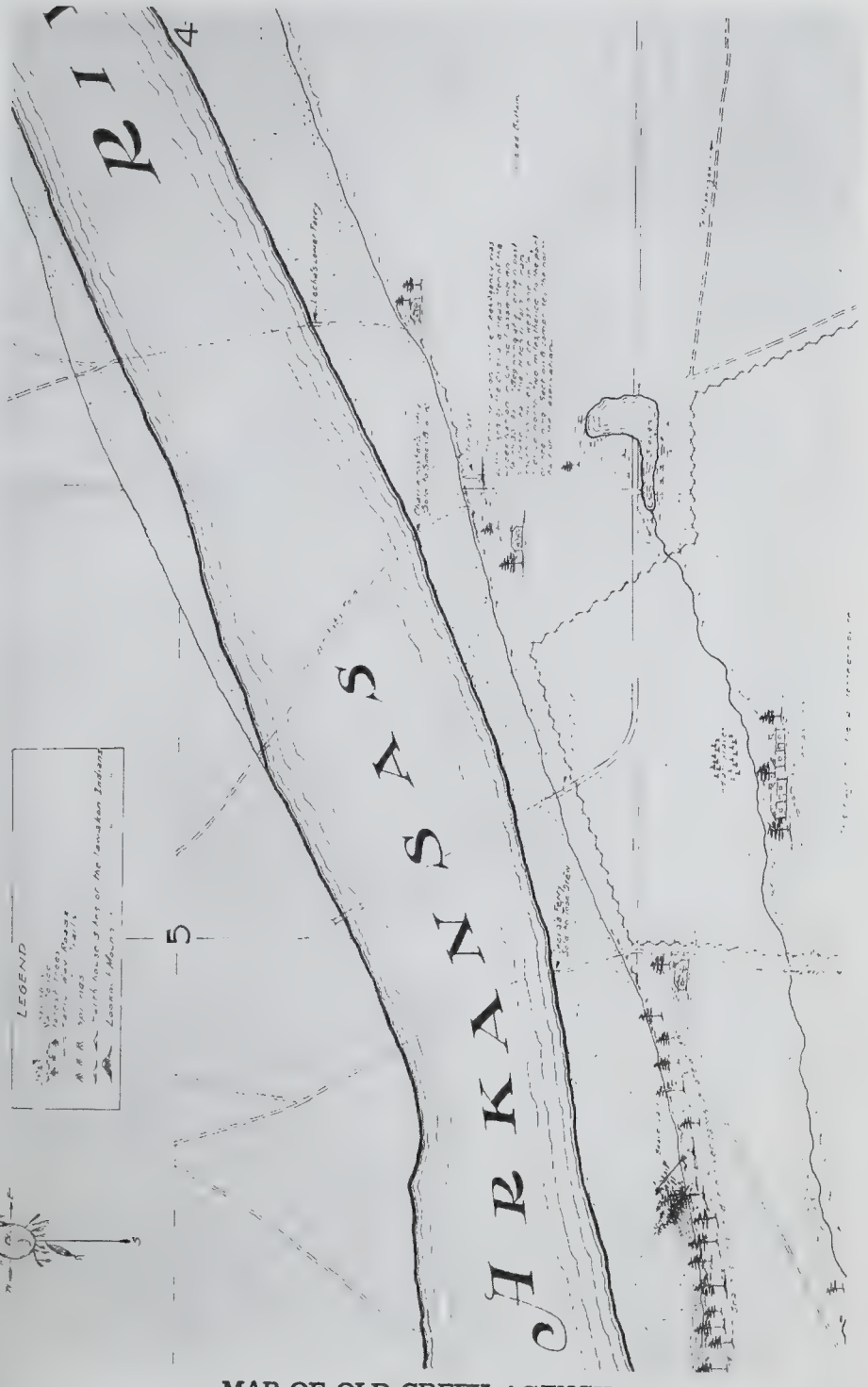
* L. W. Wilson, a field worker on a history project of WPA in 1937, compiled these "Reminiscences" from an interview with Jim Tomm, a former slave of George Stidham of the Creek Nation.—See Ms. in *Indian and Pioneer History,* Grant Foreman collection, Vol. 112, pp. 277-305, Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society. Editorial annotations have been added to these "Reminiscences" presented here in *The Chronicles.*

[1] Fern Mountain is south of the Arkansas River, about a mile west of the site of the old Creek Agency of the Civil War period. George Stidham, born in Alabama of Scotch-Irish and Creek Indian parentage, in 1817, first made his home at Choska on the Arkansas River, south of Coweta when he came west during the Indian removal. Some years before the Civil War, he had a store at the Creek Agency, and was successful both before and after the war in the operation of his farm lands where he grew cotton and some wheat. He enlisted at the outbreak of the war in the Confederate Army, in the Second Regiment of Creek Mounted Volunteers, under Colonel Chilly McIntosh. In 1863, he and his family refugeed near Texarkana, Texas, where he purchased large land tracts through his friend, General Albert Pike. Mr. Stidham held many positions of trust in the Creek Nation: member of the House of Warriors of the National Council (Creek legislature), Chief Justice of the Nation for many terms, and Creek delegate to Washington, D.C., on fifteen different occasions. He was a member of the first Masonic Lodge in the Creek Nation. At the time of his death in 1894, George Stidham was mourned throughout the country for he was held in affection and high esteem as one who had served his nation well for more than fifty years.




MAP OF OLD CREEK AGENCY
Original map by Thomas Meagher in Indian Archives, Oklahoma Historical Society.

His father died in January, 1875, and is buried in the old Agency cemetery, north of Muskogee, and his mother followed in 1877 and is buried in the same cemetery.

His parents along with other slaves, came on the Mississippi to the mouth of the Arkansas River, then up the Arkansas River, then up the Arkansas to Fort Gibson, and then by wagon and ox-teams from the old Ferry at the mouth of Grand River over the old Arbuckle Road to the plantation.

His father was the blacksmith on the plantation, perhaps one should say the ranch, for they raised principally live stock and corn. His mother worked as a servant for Master Stidham.

### Removal to Indian Territory

Master Stidham also had other plantations in the Territory and Texas and he would bring enough cotton from the south to make clothes for the slaves up at this plantation. Cotton was seeded, carded, spun and woven with the spinning wheel and loom.

Shoes were made on the plantation by hand. A cow hide was tanned with bark. The hair from the hide was removed with wood ashes. The soles were put on with wooden pegs, whittled out by the slaves. The uppers were sewed by hand, using waxed thread, hog bristles for needles and holes made with an awl. The thread was made on the spinning wheel and the bees-wax came from robbing wild bees.

Soap was made by storing ashes in a hopper and pouring water on them and letting it drain slowly through the ashes and this would make a lye water. The grease was fats from wild hogs and other animals. Lye water and grease boiled down made soap.

All ox-yokes, wagons and farming tools for the plantation were made by Tom, Jim Tomm's father. The necessary iron parts were bought at Fort Gibson, for the blacksmith shop.

The houses were for the most part log cabins, shake shingle roofs, and they were built closer together than they were in Louisiana and Mississippi. Master Stidham built them this way on account of possible raids of wild Indians.

All kinds of game were in the country and the streams were full of fish. There was no buffalo but the Osage Indians would bring down buffalo meat and sell it to Master for the slaves. The slaves would dry meat and game. Buffalo was scarce and they would cut it in small cubes and string it and let the sun dry it.

Corn was ground with a mortar and pestle, likewise, wheat,

after wheat was grown. Wheat was flailed out with poles like they used to thresh rice in Louisiana.

There were all kinds of wild fruits and berries and in the fall nuts were gathered and stored for the winter.

All in all, the slaves lived good. They did not worry much. All they had to do, was work and sleep and old Master took good care of them.

The war between the north and the south was getting underway but here in the territory no one cared much about it. The Indians really didn't want to fight on either side but their sentiment was with the south because they came from the south to this country and some of them owned slaves. The Creek Indians were divided, some followed Wm. McIntosh and some opposed him, all due to the time the Indians were moved to the territory. The south sent a man to the Creek nation, named Albert Pike. He met them at North Fork Town on the Texas road and made a treaty for them to fight with the south but some of them never agreed.

The government owed the Indians some money and wouldn't pay them and Mr. Pike promised them if they joined the south, that the South would give them money, protect them from the North with guns and ammunition and lots more. All the Creeks never did agree and those who did not agree with the South went to Kansas. [2] My brother went with the ones of the north to Kansas. It was along in the Christmas season and there was lots of snow. There were many women and children as well as the men. They suffered almost death on the trip from hunger and exposure. They came to the northern troops under Gen. Hunter and he fed them. They stayed there with Hunter all that winter. I believe John Brown was with the northern army that they reached. I heard brother tell, too, of some one named Dan Miller that was along wth them. John Brown was for the North before he came to Kansas from the old country (eastern states). He knew all about slavery a long time before the war. I think Dan Miller was just a pal of my brother. Brother came back to the plantation after the war.

## Civil War

My brother joined the Indian Troops in Kansas in the northern army, and came back to the territory in the summer of 1862 under Col. Weer. They chased the southern army but no fighting. They came down the old Military road out of Baxter, Kansas, into the Cherokee Nation. They captured Tahlequah,

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[2] The Creeks who "went north" were followers of Opothleyahola who had refused to recognize the Creek treaty with the Confederate States, signed at North Fork Town in 1861.

and Park Hill, and the Cherokee Chief, John Ross. They claimed their Col. Weer went crazy and they retreated back to Kansas in fear and went into camp that winter and lots of them died in camp from small-pox. Park Hill and Tahlequah, I. T. were left to the south again. Another man, Col. Phillips, brought brother back and he was stationed at Ft. Gibson, I. T., and fought in the battle at Honey Springs.

We met brother with Gen. Blunt at Ft. Gibson after the battle at Honey Springs. That battle was in Pine Hollow on Elk Creek, "Big Elk Creek." The town of Rentiesville is near where the battle was fought. I stayed with my mother and sisters in a cellar under a house all the night before and the next day while the battle was going on. I was just a kid of a boy and didn't have sense enough to be scared. My arm was in a sling on account my sister nearly cut my hand off with an ax before Master Stidham moved us off the plantation.

Old Master [Stidham] had already taken father to Texas on a plantation down there and was moving mother and us kids to Red River under the protection of the southern army. Gen. Wm. Steele and Doug. Cooper were in charge of the Army. Gen. Blunt sent scouts out and located us on Big Elk Creek. I don't know where Master Stidham went but that night the cellar was full of folks under that house and scared to death. Guess old Master went on to Texas that night. They must have got news that Gen. Blunt of the northern army was surrounding them there in camp.

It was a nice sunny day, the day before we got in the cellar that night. This was in July, 1863. The next morning I peeped out and the sun was up and it was pretty but by noon it began to rain and we could not tell the thunder from the cannon firing. The soldiers had a hard time, keeping the fuse, caps and powder dry, so they said, on the way back to Ft. Gibson. Yes, brother was there but we did not know it then. The battle was over that evening and the North was going around burning down the cabins. They came to burn the one over us. We could hear them talk. All of us were scared and some one hollowed, "Is anybody down in the cellar?" I hollowed out. "I'se down heah." That man was Mose Jamison and he brought us out of the cellar and burned down the house. He captured all of us—Mammy, my twin sisters, me, and all the rest in the cellar. We came back with the soldiers to Fort Gibson. See, they whipped the South and the South fled back into the woods that night to the Canadian River and the North just let them go.

We stayed with the soldiers all that night on Elk Creek. Next morning they fed us and put us in a wagon. I remember

there were three loads of us. There was a sorrel team, one a grey team and the other a team of black horses. The wagons had beds on them, shaped like a canoe—deep beds and sharp. We all just piled in and sat in the bottom of the wagon bed. There were three soldiers on each wagon. The man that found us was on our wagon, Mose Jamison, together with Mose Redman and Tally Lewis. Some of them on the other two wagons were Wm. James, Buck Edwards, Charlie Punger and I don't remember the others now. We drove along until we came to a toll bridge. We could see dead soldiers all along and they were picking them up and piling them. Both sides had lost lots of their men. Some of the dead were brought back to Fort Gibson and buried there. The soldiers' wagons never paid toll. They came right on across.

This bridge was over Elk Creek on the "Texas Road." It was Big Elk Creek and the man they said who owned it, was named Drew, a Creek [Cherokee] Indian. If any of us saw the bridge-man we never knew it.

We came on up the road to Little Elk Creek and camped there that night. There was another toll bridge and a man named Monroe ran it. Think it was Monroe McIntosh, Jim McIntosh's daddy. They waited there for orders and Col. Blunt sent orders to move us on to the fort. As we traveled, we saw lots of cabins burning and all the buildings on Turner Ranch. We crossed the Ferry over the Arkansas river on the Texas Road to the Fort where we stayed until peace was declared. After the war one of my sisters cooked for Mr. Monroe who ran the toll bridge on Little Elk Creek for two years or more.

We met brother at the fort and by him being with the northern soldiers, we got good care and plenty to eat. Daddy came back to the Stidham plantation after the war and we all got together again, and not a one of the family was killed. We sure were lucky.

They tell me they are building the "old Fort" [1937] over again at Ft. Gibson but I am getting too old to go over and see it. I most die with asthma and my hand is so crippled. See that big scar, that's where sister cut it with the ax before war was declared.

The next year after we were captured and taken to Ft. Gibson, the South had a big army under Stand Watie that captured a lot of teams and wagons coming to Ft. Gibson with grub and supplies for us and killed the soldiers, down on the military road from Kansas. Brother and others talked and told us about it. He said they took over 300 wagons and a thousand horses in that wagon train and killed all the men, but a few. Course they took all the supplies too. He said it was up on Cabin Creek,

about seventy-five miles up Grand River on the road. We left the fort [Fort Gibson] in the fall of 1865, free to be no more slaves. Major Dunn gave us $5.00 a piece to help us to get back to the Stidham place and start life over again. We crossed the Grand River Ferry and traveled the Arbuckle Road back to the plantation or maybe I should say the Old Creek Agency on the south side of Fern Mountain. That's over there close to where the Spaulding Bridge is now located northwest of Muskogee.

Now that was the Civil War. I was in the Green Peach War, too. I'll tell you about that after a while.

After the Civil War, Master Stidham came back and sold all his land, horses and cows to Toby McIntosh. Toby used to be a government teamster at Ft. Gibson during the war and after the war, for a long time.

## After the Civil War

Life and customs of the people were the same as before the war. The Creek Nation suffered badly. Cabins were burned, horses and cattle taken by the soldiers, and of course slaves were freed. Everybody was working, building cabins, cleaning land, splitting rails, farming, etc. Towns got started, railroads built through, schools opened, lands opened to white settlers, wild Indians moved in from other places, cattle raising and grazing flourished and finally grew and grew to what it is today. Ox-teams were discarded for horses and mules. Farmers began to raise cotton, oats and wheat. Farm tools got more modern and the people, Indians, whites and colored just drifted right into all the new things, gradually and steadily.

I lived at the Old Creek Agency on the Arbuckle Road, near where I was born. It became quite a village. The first store was run by a man named Parkinson. The next store was what we called the "Picket Store," because it was built out of logs with a froe. Mr. Patterson owned it. Mr. Adkinson had a store also in a double log house. Sopha Canard ran a cake shop and her husband sold whiskey. Sarah Davis ran a hotel. There were at least fifty families or more lived there. This was long before the Union Mission over where the government hospital is at present. I hauled rock to build that union Mission.[2a] I also hauled rock to build the M. K. & T. railroad bridge across the Arkansas River north of Muskogee, in 1872. There was no Muskogee then. A village started up at the bridge. Railroad men had

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[2a] This was the Union Agency instead of a mission building. The old Union Agency Building has been restored and dedicated as the Five Civilized Tribes Museum in 1966.

their camp there on the south side of the river. People called it "Rag Town." It was about ¼ mile north of old Ft. Davis on the Red Bird Harris place.

I remember Ann Duck, a Cherokee woman, who used to sell whiskey there. She left there and went over toward Tahlequah some place, I was told on the Tahlequah stage road, and ran an Inn and sold whiskey there, too. It was over by the old Gulager place.

When the railroad crossed the Arkansas River bridge, I hauled rock to build the town of Muskogee. The first store at Muskogee was run by a white man named Ross, located at what is now Cherokee and Broadway streets. It was a board house made from lumber sawed out at Dresback's mill. He had a picket fence around it like Patterson had at Agency. He had a house about ¼ mile east of his store, where he lived. Then Patterson, Adkinson, Robb and all moved from Agency down to Muskogee. Big Sarah moved her hotel there. There was Mr. Mitchell and Mrs. Strawsky who ran a hotel. Then the M. K. & T. built a hotel. I remember a fellow named Charlie Smith, the cook at the M. K. & T. hotel at the depot, who killed the hotel man, and they sent him to the pen for life.

Joe McIntosh used to carry the mail by stage from Muskogee to Okmulgee, I. T.

Government teams used to camp between the M. K. & T. bridge and Agency on the Lewis Jobe place, which would be due north on Mill street, in Muskogee, about where the present Jobe school is located today. There used to be a Federal jail in Muskogee. Judge Thomas was the Federal judge and Mellett was Prosecuting Attorney. I saw them hang George Crulie at this jail. I think a man named Barger was the jailer.

A man named Foreman ran the first grist mill in Muskogee. It was located near the corner of Cherokee and Callahan street. He had a big mill pond where Swift's Packing house is now, on north second street, about five blocks north of Broadway.

## Green Peach War

The Green Peach War started along in June, 1882. They called it Green Peach War because the peaches were green on the peach trees. The cause of the war was due to an election being held in the Creek Nation to elect the Chief of their tribe. Like the Civil War, the Creeks were divided into two factions.[3] One

[3] For a brief history of "Factional War In the Creek Nation" after the Civil War, see Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York, 1929), Vol. I.

was the Spieche faction, the other Checote. [4]

Spieche ran against Sam Checote and the result of the election was that Checote won. Spieche and his faction said it was fraud and would not accept defeat and went around over the nation appointing certain officials and Checote stopped it. This angered Spieche and he began to enlist followers to overthrow the Checote regime. Quite an army was enlisted by Spieche and naturally Checote had to get an army to defend himself. I was in the Checote army. I lived at the old Creek Agency on the south side of Fern Mountain.

The weapons used on both sides were old rifles, cap and ball pistols and just any old kind of a gun they could gather up.

Both sides consisted of Creek Indians, half-breeds and Negroes and all untrained for soldier duty and discipline was practically nothing.

Spieche had two worthy assistants, Sleeping Rabbit and another fellow named Leacher, who ran a ferry across the Arkansas River, north of the present town of Muskogee and about four miles down stream from the old Creek Agency where I lived.

Our first little skirmish was on Sugar Creek, just west of the present town of Taft, Oklahoma; the next was on Pecan Creek, about half way between Muskogee and Taft. The Spieche army scattered and Cheocote's men captured Sleeping Rabbit and

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[4] "Spieche" or Isparhecher, a full blood Creek born in Alabama, was eight years old when he came west with his family to the Indian Territory in 1836. He had very little education. During the Civil War, he served in the Union Army, and became the leader of the "Loyal Creeks" (Union Creeks) after the war. He was elected in 1895 and served four years as principal chief of the Creek Nation. He died in 1902, and was buried near his home, about four miles west of Beggs, in Okmulgee County (See John B. Meserve, "Chief Isparhecher," *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. X, 1932).

Samuel Checote, a full blood Creek born in Alabama in 1819, came west as a boy during the early immigration of the Creeks to the Indian Territory. He attended the mission schools, and became a preacher of the Methodist Church, South, in the Indian Mission Conference. During the Civil War, he served in the Confederate Army, reaching the rank of lieutenant colonel of the First Regiment of Creek Volunteers under Colonel D. N. McIntosh. After the Civil War, Checote was elected and served several terms as principal chief of the Creek Nation. He was Creek delegate to Washington a number of times. He died at his home in Okmulgee in 1884. A large grave-stone marks his burial place near the site of his old home. An Oklahoma Historical Society marker stands on the grounds of the old Creek Council House in Okmulgee, erected to the memory of Samuel Checote, in 1966, through the Creek Indian Memorial Association as sponsor. (For biography, see John B. Meserve, "Chief Samuel Checote, "*Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVI, 1938).

Leacher over near the Nevins Ferry. Nevins Ferry crossed the Arkansas River at the mouth of Grand River. I was with the Checote men who captured them. We turned them over to the Indian police and Lighthorsemen and they took them to Lee Post to the Court House. Judge Lee admonished them and let them go.

Things quieted down temporarily that year, but the spirit of Spieche did not die and he and Sleeping Rabbit again organized, thus necessitating Checote to do likewise. Their activities were centered around the Nation's capital at Okmulgee.

Their major and only battle took place on Green-Leaf Creek, near the present town of Okemah, Oklahoma, on the day before Christmas, 1882. Sleeping Rabbit was killed along with many of his men and Spieche retreated into the Sac and Fox country, near Ft. Sill.

The people of the Sac and Fox country met at their Agency and agreed they would not let Spieche and his men remain there and he then retreated into the Cheyenne Country.

All of this irritated the Sac, Fox and Cheyenne Indians and they called on the United States Troops at Ft. Gibson, I. T. to make them get out of their country and the government responded.

Col. Bates and his cavalry proceeded to the Cheyenne country. Col. Bates met Spieche and tried to induce him and his men to return without bloodshed. Lots of stubbornness was shown by Spieche and some of his assistants and Col. Bates told him to get ready for battle within twenty-four hours. They never got ready because Spieche surrendered and they were all brought back as prisoners to Ft. Gibson and they camped them north and east of the fort a short way and guarded them day and night for nearly two months. The government agreed that if Spieche would sign a treaty never to try to over-throw his government again, they would release all of them and let them go home. Spieche returned to his home and so did all his men and this ended the Green Peach War.

Spieche lived about three miles west of the present town of Beggs, Oklahoma. He is buried on his old home place.

## Tribal Laws and Courts

The Creeks and all citizens of the tribe came under the Creek tribal laws. These laws were brought by them from the old country (Alabama) and it was decreed these laws would exist in their new land and they had a treaty with the government, so many have told me.

The law was that each district in the nation was to have a Judge, Prosecuting Attorney, and Light-horsemen. The Light-horsemen consisted of five men and one of these was the Captain. They were just like our present Sheriff and his deputies. There were no jails, and no bonds could be made or were made. The Light-horsemen were responsibile for their prisoners. Some they would tell to show up a certain day for trial and that prisoner never failed to be there. Extra bad men were held with chains until trial day. Little delay was made for trial.

If a prisoner was found guilty he would be whipped at the whipping post or shot.

The Captain would count the lashes and his assistants did the whipping.

The first court I remember was held at Old Creek Agency. The judge was Jesse Franklin. Court was held in a one room log court house. The whipping post was an oak tree. I could go over there now and show you the tree. I saw Flora Smart, a woman, whipped at this post for stealing meat.

The captain of the Light-horsemen was Charlie Johnson, two of his assistants were August Deer and Jerry Stidham. The other two I can't remember.

Another Court was at High Springs or now Council Hill, Oklahoma. Judge McIntosh was Judge of this court.

The last court was held at Lee Post. Lee was three miles north of the present town of Boynton, Oklahoma on Cane Creek. Judge Henry Lee had charge of this court. The court house was a one-room log cabin.

I saw Johnny Johnson and George Crulie whipped at Lee. One had stolen a cow and the other had stolen wire fencing. It was about the time they started to fencing ten or fifteen mile pastures.

## Roads and Trails

I used to haul freight for Mr. Parkinson at old Agency where we both lived. I told you Parkinson ran the first store. I hauled freight to and from Ft. Gibson, Nevins Ferry, Old Agency and Okmulgee over the "Arbuckle Road" or sometimes called the "Arbuckle-Ft. Reno Road."

I would receive freight off the steamboats at Nevins Ferry. Nevins Ferry was where the Muskogee water works plant is at present and the Arbuckle Road ran due west from the ferry on the north side of the hill before you got to old "Ft. Davis," continuing west you passed "Rag Town" or the railroad camp, on

the north bank of the Arkansas River, passed the government freight wagon camp about where the present Jobe School is now located, and on into the village of old Agency on the south side of Fern Mountain. The next place and still going west, was Sonny Grayson's place, 1½ miles from Agency; then on two miles to the Bruner place; then four miles to George Manuels or now the Black Jack School and still west six miles to the Hector Perryman's place or about a half mile north of the present town of Taft, then almost due west and just a little south for ten miles passing Heck Robins' and Ab Evans', and then southwest about five miles to Cane Creek leaving the Severs Ranch about a mile to the right of you and the Severs Ranch was at the present town of Bald Hill, Oklahoma. We changed horses at Cane Creek and stayed all night. John Jefferson and Wm. Peters lived there and had a barn for the teams and ran a little store. Leaving Cane Creek we continued southwest about seven miles to a point about one mile north of the present town of Morris and then most due west to Okmulgee. This road continued from Okmulgee on into the Sac and Fox country to Ft. Reno and on to Ft. Arbuckle but I never traveled it farther than Okmulgee.

The Texas Road left Nevins Ferry and ran in a southwest direction for about one and a half miles; thence south sixteen miles over the ridge and leaning a little west, crossing Little Elk Creek; thence a little southwest about twelve miles crossing the North Canadian and on into North Fork Town, near Eufaula. I have never been farther south than North Fork Town.

I can't tell you much about the stage lines of old as I never rode them but I knew at the time where and how they ran. Stage Lines kept changing all the time according to weather conditions but they usually traveled about the course, or at least had to reach their destination.

## Toll Bridges and Ferries

The only toll bridges I ever crossed were on Little and Big Elk Creek on the Texas Road. The one on Little Elk was owned and operated by McIntosh and Big Elk was owned by a Creek named Drew.

Simeon Brown Ferry was owned and operated by Simeon Brown across the Arkansas River, at the present location of the Spaulding Bridge, northwest of Muskogee. The Texas Ferry was 2 miles up-stream from the Simeon Brown and owned by a man named Henry Scales, some called him Henry Texas. The Bruner Ferry was owned by Lige Bruner and was up-stream three miles from the Texas Ferry.

Leacher's Ferry crossed the Arkansas River, down-stream about three miles from the Simeon Brown and was run by a Mr. Leacher. If you travel due north on Mill street until you come to the river, that would be the location of the Leacher Ferry.

The Perryman Ferry crossed the Arkansas River, due north of the present town of Taft, Oklahoma, and was owned by Hector Perryman.

The Nevins Ferry crossed the Arkansas River at the mouth of Grand River and was owned by Mose Nevins. His wife's name was Julia. Mose got in a quarrel and was killed between the east landing and Ft. Gibson and his wife continued the ferry. This was the main ferry on the road to Ft. Gibson and Tahlequah and Park Hill. The Nevins owned a plantation all west of the ferry and had cabins and negroes working the land. The Nevins home was a double log cabin. Nip Blackstone ran a store on the west bank of the river near the ferry landing.

Boats with passengers and freight used to land at the ferry when the Grand River was too low to get up to Ft. Gibson.

The Gentry Ferry crossed the Arkansas river about 1½ miles due east of the present town of Haskell, Oklahoma. Scott Gentry owned this ferry. His grave is about 1 mile east of the river on the Highway Haskell to Porter.

There were ferries and fords every place but I can recall only the ones I used the most.

## Steam-Boats

Steam-boats carried both passengers and freight from points on the Arkansas River in Arkansas, also from Memphis, Tenn. and New Orleans, La. to Ft. Gibson, I. T.

Soldiers from Ft. Gibson traveled on these boats a great deal, going to Ft. Coffey, I. T., Ft. Smith, Ark., and to other points back in the states.

The boats usually came up the river in June when the river was up and later tried to run on a schedule of once a month, every month. I have seen them aground on the sand bars for two or three months at a time, waiting for the river to rise so they could get away.

Some of the small boats used to come up the Arkansas River as far as old Agency at the Simeon Brown Ferry each June, between 1866 and 1871. Merchants always bought their supplies to be delivered in June each year.

I don't remember any of the steamboat Captains' names now but some of the boats were the "Border City" which carried passengers; also the "Ft. Smith" and the "Jennie Mae." The boats carrying freight were the "Lucy Walker", "Mary D." "Memphis Packet," "Myrtle B", and the "May Flower" which carried both passengers and freight. Lots of boats made one trip up the river and never came back again, and I do not remember their names.

## Salt Works

I was never to any of the salt works but during the war, "Civil War," when mother and us kids were at Ft. Gibson, I've heard the soldiers say they got salt up the Military Road toward Kansas; that there were some salt water wells; and that they boiled the water down in big kettles and made salt. It must have been about one day out from the fort. They would go after it one day and back the next. Mother said the wells were up on Grand River.

Master Stidham always bought salt at Ft. Gibson for the slaves on his plantation.

## Ranches

I knew of many ranches between old Agency and Okmulgee on the Arbuckle Road and also around Muskogee and Haskell in later days. I don't know the foremen, nor number of cattle but I knew the "F. S." was owned by F. S. Severs, the Lazy "S" by a Mr. Spaulding and there were the Half Moon, Circle Bar, Flying "V," Half Circle, Mule Shoe, and others that I don't remember.

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## Churches, Schools and Missions

Tullahassee Mission was located at the present town Tullahassee, Oklahoma. Wealaka School was located at Wealaka or now Leonard, Oklahoma. Negro school or Pecan Mission was located on Pecan Creek about six miles west of the present town of Muskogee, Oklahoma.

There were some day schools located at the same location as today. They were the Agency, Black Jack, and Canaan Schools, I went to Agency and some of my teachers were D. Williams, B. Moore, and others named Hitchcock, Mills and Kincaids.

In the early days church was held in the school houses and under brush arbors.

### Sports and Recreation

There was straight track horse-racing. Ft. Gibson had more big money horse races than any place. There were foot races, bronco riding and roping cows, hunting and fishing. I used to hunt turkeys more than anything else. There used to be a big turkey roost down on "timber ridge." Timber ridge was about nine miles south of old Agency or a mile or two northwest of the present town of Summit, Oklahoma. I have killed hundreds of turkeys and seen droves of deer down there with I know a hundred or more in a drove. I killed some deer too, on Timber Ridge. It was no trouble to kill one anytime you wanted one.

We had barbecues, house raisings, log rolling and the like and all had a sure enough good time.

### Indian Cooking and Crafts

Indians cooked just like the negroes and white folks. They cooked in fire places before we got stoves. Sometimes we would build kind of a furnace outside and cook on that. The Indians had their own names in their language for the same things we ate. We had corn bread, pumpkin bread, bean bread, all kinds of game and fowls, soups, wild berries and fruits and wild honey.

Indigo, sycamore bark, walnut hulls and pokeberries were used to make different colors. Thread was spun on the spinning wheel and I have spun lots of thread and the thread was dyed blue, brown, tan, and red with solutions made by taking barks and boiling them to thick liquid and then soaking the thread in the liquid.

The Indians would paint their faces, body, weapons and other articles with these dyes and they used soft rocks, different colors, also. Sometimes clay was used to paint their faces.

The Indians used all kinds of barks, roots and herbs for medicine. That's why all us old negroes have got so many home remedies, the Indian root, butter-fly root, slippery elm, sassafras bark, mullein, burdock and many other things I can't recall.

They made all kinds of baskets. We used to use cotton baskets to pick cotton in and never used cotton sacks. They made baskets out of split hickory and little baskets out of cane strippings.

They made bowls and little statues of animals out of clay. Lots of them boiled their food in clay pots that they would make.

An Indian's greatest delight was in making a bow and arrow. Bows were made of bois-de-arc and the arrows out of swamp dogwood and the bow string from a deer sinew, a squirrel skin or, if

nothing else, a cow hide. The arrows were feathered and sinewed and some of them had spike points.

No, the Indians never made blankets. They traded for them to peddlers coming through the country. If they had no money they traded hides and furs. Also traded for beads and jewelry a whole lot. Sometimes they made beads from clay and colored them with dye. Others made beads by stringing different colored berries and dying them.

## Allotment Payments and Annuities

I was a freedman and got an allotment of 160 acres near the present town of Jenks, Oklahoma.

The only money I ever got was when Col. Dunn gave me $5.00 at Fort Gibson after peace was declared and after that I got some bread money. Four dollars once, another time $29.00 and another $14.00, that's all.

The Creeks got other money but that was for land the government took away from them and gave to wild Indians and white settlers.

## Railroads

The M. K. & T. railroad was built into and through the Creek Nation in 1871 and 1872. The now Tulsa Branch of the M. K. & T. railroad was built in 1882 and 1883.

The Missouri Pacific railroad built through the Territory from Fort Smith, Arkansas, in 1887-1888-1889.

The Santa Fe railroad built through from Kansas in 1884-1885 and 1886.

The Midland Valley and the Missouri, Oklahoma & Gulf built in 1904-1905-1906.

## Snake Uprising

Chitto Harjo, an Indian we all called Crazy Snake, had a big idea he could make some money by telling some of the Indians and negroes they had been unjustly treated when they made the territory a state, that it shouldn't have been done, and lots of them joined him and started an uprising. He was getting their money to hire lawyers to go to Washington and turn it back to the Indians. He and his little bunch of followers went on the war path but Uncle Sammy stepped in with his marshals and crushed it like an egg shell and arrested Crazy Snake and it

was all over. I would not have mentioned it, if you had not brought it up, because it didn't amount to anything like Spieche in the Green Peach War.

I personally knew Creek Chiefs Sam Checote, Legas Perryman, Ellis Childers, Spieche, Moty Tiger and Pleas Porter.

They were all my friends except Spieche and he had a reason to be the other way. I fought him, being for Sam Checote.

# DEATH'S FIRST VISIT TO OLD FAXON

*By Albert S. Gilles, Sr.*

My recollection of the folks in early-day Faxon, old Comanche County, 1902, is of a happy and contented people. As for the town itself, it had just about everything a town needed. Its stores were adequate. It had a good shoe cobbler, and an ex-government blacksmith who had shod cavalry and artillery horses for some years. The cobbler had his low bench and hand-turning stitching machine, in one corner of Mr. DeFord's feed store. Mr. Castle, the blacksmith, came to his shop every day, but Mr. Richardson, the cobbler, came in only on Fridays and Saturdays, to care for the townspeople, and the needs of the homesteaders.

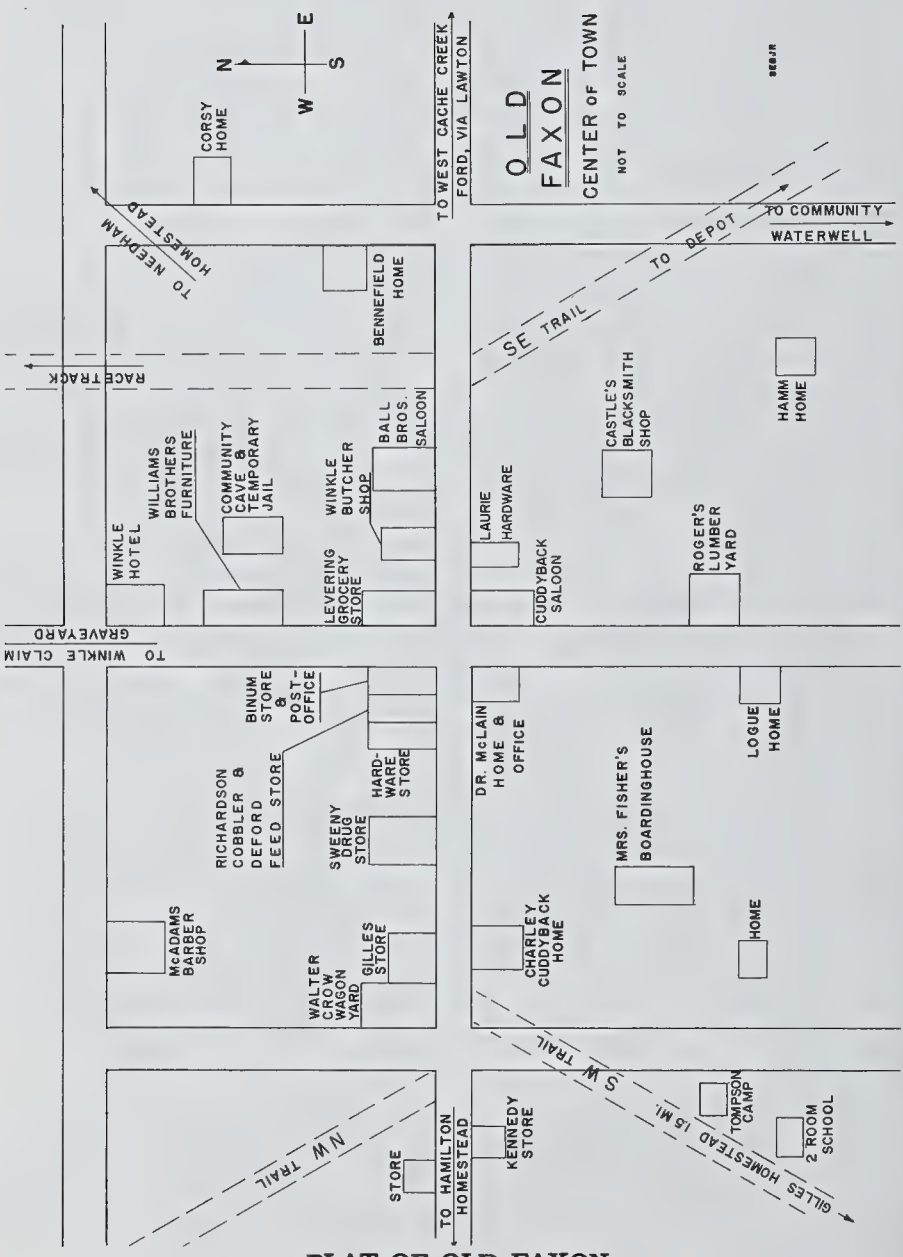
The one barber had his chair in a saloon. Then a Mr. McAdams came to town and built a shop across the block, just back of our store. A larger room in back of the shop provided him and his wife living quarters. Some folks felt there was no need of a restaurant. A hotel served adequate meals three times a day, and there was the Fisher Boarding House. The hotel was run by the wife of the German butcher. He had homesteaded the quarter that adjoined the town on the north.

There were chairs and a table in the back of the store, where people could sit and lunch on canned meat, salmon, sardines, or cheese. A few dishes, knives and forks, a bottle each of vinegar and pepper sauce were on hand for the accommodation of the lunch eaters. Often there would be part of a box of crackers, left by a previous diner. Otherwise everyone bought his own crackers.

It is true, there were no water wells. The one well drilled by the townsite promoters was a salt water well. A good shallow dug well was located three-quarters of a mile south of town, however. It was cribbed up with yellow pine boxing and 2x4's. Water from this well was delivered for twenty-five cents a barrel. But in a year or two, hopeful residents were sure there would be a town water system. The town would grow fast, once the railroad arrived. The road was being graded from Lawton in the direction of Faxon, and the trains would be running in a year or so.

One thing residents were especially proud of: The town had a doctor. Word continually came about towns along the railroads that were without a physician. A young man, just out of medical school, Dr. McLain, and his young wife, saw fit to cast their lot in our town.

Life on the frontier was on a seven-day-a-week basis. Most




**PLAT OF OLD FAXON**
By Albert S. Gilles, Sr.

people never missed the absence of Sunday School and Church services. The town had neither a church nor a minister, and this tended to keep people from missing church functions. It was a little over a year longer before the first Methodist circuit rider sought the community out, and still later when the first itinerant Baptist preacher found the little town.

The country was settled something over three years before Father Lamb, a young Irish priest (the skin of his face peeling from the merciless southwestern sun), arrived to shepherd the people of his faith. He, too, had a circuit. He made it around every month or six weeks. For some time, before Catholic Churches were built in the smaller towns, he held services in a Catholic home.

Soon a school district was organized, and a building project was underway. A large two-roomed building was built, and a school teacher homesteader and his wife were engaged to teach the school. Dad hired out the store's freight wagon, team, and me to haul rock for the schoolhouse foundation. The building was ready for the start of school in September.

But one Saturday night, between midnight and dawn, death struck three times. Had the society of the town become stratified, one would have said it struck the first families—the postmaster's wife and the doctor's girl wife died in childbirth. The postmaster's infant quickly followed the mother. My mother, being the oldest woman in town, had been sent for early in the evening. Dad woke me at daybreak Sunday morning and told me of the deaths. There was much to be done. Death was something the town neither contemplated or prepared for. We had none of the appurtenances for a funeral. There were no caskets, no undertaker, no cemetery, and no minister. Later, as I grew in years, experience, and knowledge, I developed considerable pride in the way our town set about solving its problems on that Sabbath day. At the time, Faxon consisted of twenty families (we had not moved to our claims yet). Four other businessmen who had families lived on their nearby homesteads, driving back and forth to work every day.

The town had eight bachelor businessmen, including the only tinhorn gambler. Much of the time there were a few itinerant building trades mechanics in town. They came and left, their number fluctuating with the amount of building in progress. Besides the townspeople, nearly every quarter section of land not allotted to the Comanches—including the school land—was the home of a family. These three deaths were the first in the community as a whole, in the white families. If there had been deaths among the Indian families, we had heard nothing concerning them.

The nearest caskets were in Lawton, 18 miles, or 10 to 11 hours away, counting a round trip by lumber wagon and a good team. Ten hours is much too long to keep an unembalmed body in warm weather. My father was a journeyman cabinet-maker and carpenter before he moved to the Kansas farm where I was born. Now he was the proprietor of the largest trading store in this Oklahoma Territory town. He had come west to Maryville, Nodaway County, Missouri, soon after his discharge from the Union Army, at the end of the Civil War. There he had seen frontier funerals, learned to cut out casket patterns and construct emergency caskets.

By the time it was light enough to work, he and a couple of young carpenters were at the Faxon lumberyard. Dad laid out and sawed the patterns for the caskets, and the younger carpenters put them together with screws. Our store carried the only stock of drygoods in town, so the yellow pine caskets were brought to our store to be covered and made presentable.

Each adult casket was set on a pair of sawhorses, between the counters, out in the center of the store. The casket for the infant was set on the drygoods counter so workers could get to all sides, and a number of people could work on the caskets at the same time. Several of the town's women and women from nearby homesteads, who could leave their families, came to cover the caskets.

First, the yellow boxes were lined by tacking quilting cotton to the bottom and sides. Next the cotton was covered with heavy bleached muslin. The lower side of the tops were also padded and covered with the white muslin. The outsides and tops of the adult caskets were tastefully covered with black calico. When the women finished with the outside of the adult caskets, Dad fastened handles, originally intended for carpenter's tool boxes, on either side.

The casket for the infant was completely covered in white, and adequate pillows were formed from the quilting cotton covered with muslin, for the three yellow pine boxes. By 11 o'clock the coffins were ready for the bodies.

Other women had prepared the bodies for burial. When the bodies were in their caskets, friends and others who wished to view the remains were allowed to enter the two homes and view them.

While the caskets were being covered, sitting out in the middle of the store, business continued as usual. Most folks came to town for supplies only when supplies were needed and when they could leave their claims, regardless of the day of the week. Often, they actually lost track of the days. Many homesteaders

came fifteen or more miles for supplies, and needed to start back as soon as their trading was finished after the horses were fed and rested. For many, the trip was hard and long, consuming most, if not all, of the daylight hours.

I was busy waiting on customers, and sometimes needed Dad's assistance, the entire time the decorating of the pine boxes was taking place. Mother, when necessary, dropped the supervision of the covering job and cared for the drygoods buyers. Besides our own customers, many of Postmaster Albert Banum's customers came to town, and had to depend on our store for needed supplies.

While the womenfolks were busy decorating the caskets and laying out the bodies for burial, the menfolks were busy obtaining a burial place and digging the graves. The only deeded land in the community was the townsite. It was decided that it would not be proper to bury the bodies in town. The German butcher, named Fritz Winkle whose claim adjoined the town on the north, let them start a cemetery on the extreme north side of his homestead. Then everyone able to swing a pick or handle a shovel reported for gravedigging.

By noontime, most of the out-of-town buyers had their trading done, and I had permission to go to the new graveyard, and help with the graves. The redbed soil had never been disturbed. I can still remember what hard digging it was. Sometimes it seemed the pick actually bounced back when I tried to drive it into the red earth. I remember wondering to myself if the great buffalo herds had not helped to pack the earth, because it seemed so solid.

Those in charge, for some reason, decided to dig three graves, instead of making the grave for Mrs. Banum's body wide enough so the child's casket could lie beside that of the mother. With everyone working in relays and at top speed, the graves were ready about 3 o'clock. Mary Armstrong, a girl about twenty years old, conducted the joint religious service. Her family had moved to our town from Alva, Oklahoma Territory. Her previous experience in leading religious services was leading Epworth League in the Methodist Church in Alva. I remember hearing numerous favorable comments about the way she and her two younger sisters, Ivy and Grace, had conducted the services. The younger sisters joined Mary as a trio in singing the hymns. The three had excellent voices.

Before daily train service was an accomplished fact, before our one phone and telephone line, and before the Methodist circuit rider arrived, Mary Armstrong was called upon to officiate at other funerals. At such times, yellow pine boxes were set on sawhorses in the middle of our store and made present-

able. But never again was there more than one casket brought in at a time, though death came often. Never again were there three deaths in single night.

## Author's Note

Old Faxon would have been in existence nine months when the first three deaths occurred. The town began with the name "Slogan," immediately after the opening of the country to homesteaders in the fall before. When the Department finally authorized our post office, the town's name was changed to Faxon.

The Rock Island Railroad missed us by a little over two miles, and placed our depot right in the middle of a section. Three of the quarters in this section were Indian allotments. The northeast quarter was homesteaded by a young bachelor, named Charles Thornton.

Charley Thornton proved up as quickly as possible (fourteen months from date of filing on his claim), and laid out a rival town. The old town fought a losing battle with the new town for some time. Finally the new town secured the post office, and most of the merchants and one saloon moved six miles overland, to the terminal of the railroad. There, a town known as Chattanooga was started. The railroad had built huge cattle pens there to facilitate the movement of cattle into and out of the Big Pasture Reserve adjoining the town on the south.

Two merchants, Albert Banum and a Mr. Kennedy, along with the Ball Brothers' saloon, moved to the new town. The Winkle Hotel and Dr. McLain also moved there. Mr. Sweeny, however, decided to move his drugstore to Cache, twelve miles north of Faxon. The old townsite has been farmland for many years.

# TWO QUANAH PARKER LETTERS

*By James M. Day**

During his early life Quanah Parker was a Comanche chief who fought fiercely the Anglo-Americans; however, in his later years he became a "white man" both by temperament and training. Actually, his blood was a mixture of the two races, his father being Peta Nocona, Chief of the Nocone, and his mother the famed Cynthia Ann Parker, who was captured in the massacre of Fort Parker by Comanche and Kiowa Indians on May 10, 1836. Quanah Parker was born in 1852 at Cedar Lake, approximately fifty miles southwest of Lubbock. Up to June, 1875, Chief Quanah led his warriors in battle against the frontiersmen, but in that month he surrendered himself and his people to become "reservation" Indians. He developed into a sharp businessman, a just judge in cases involving the Comanche, and a kind, devoted husband and father. He had no fewer than eight wives and twenty-one children in his life. As a natural leader of the reservation Comanches, Parker was active in promoting the interests of his people. He arranged leases for the land they owned and promoted railroads. Chief Quanah often visited Washington, D. C., where he became quite friendly with President Theodore Roosevelt.

All his life Quanah Parker fought Texans, a battle which doubtless gave him a healthy respect for the Lone Star fighters. The fact that his mother came from Texas and was recaptured and returned there made Quanah Parker always be a little wary about the intentions of the Texans, but in spite of this alertness he made some warm acquaintances among the ranchers of northwest Texas. Dan Waggoner, Charles Goodnight, and Samuel Burk Burnett leased grazing lands from Parker and his Comanches, and they became such friends that Burnett built a house for Parker at Cache, Oklahoma.

In his last years three things seemed to absorb Parker's interests and energies. He sought constantly to "look after" his Indians, both in tribal and financial affairs. All his life he had been a hunter, a follower of wild game, and even though old, he still sought the thrills of the chase. This desire was complicated by the fact that the range lands had been fenced and trespass laws had been passed. Finally, Quanah Parker was disturbed about the last resting place of his mother. Cynthia Ann Parker died in 1864 and was buried in Henderson County, Texas.

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*James M. Day is Director of State Archives, Texas State Library, Austin, Texas. He has contributed the annotations with the "Two Quanah Parker Letters," the original letters found in the Texas State Archives. — Editor

(Muriel H. Wright Collection)

**QUANAH PARKER**

This did not please Quanah, who wanted her body moved to Oklahoma so he could be buried beside her. In 1909 the Congress of the United States appropriated $1,000 for this purpose, and in December, 1910, she was reburied in Post Oak Cemetery near Cache, Oklahoma. When Quanah Parker died on February 23, 1911, he was buried beside his mother. On August 9, 1957, the bodies of both were reinterred in Post Cemetery at Fort Sill.[1]

All three of these problems were on his mind when he wrote the two following letters to Governor Thomas Campbell of Texas which are preserved in Campbell's papers in the Texas State Archives:

*Department of the Interior*
*United States Indian Service*

Cache, Okla.[2]
November 25, 1907

Dear Governor:—

This morning is the first time I am going to write to you. I go to Washington some times next month maybe 10th of December.[3] This year money is pretty hard every where. I look after my Indians and my Indians are pretty hard on money.[4]

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[1] Sources used for this introduction include: Clyde L. Jackson and Grace Jackson, *Quanah Parker: Last Chief of the Comanches* (New York, 1963); W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance: The Story of Old Fort Sill* (Norman, 1938); Zoe A. Tilghman, *Quanah: The Eagle of the Comanches* (Oklahoma City, 1938); Paul I. Wellman, "Cynthia Ann Parker," Chronicles of Oklahoma, XII, No. 2 (June, 1934), 170; Marvin Tong to James M. Day, September 7, 1965 (typescript, B&H file, Texas State Archives).

[2] Cache, Oklahoma, was the home of Quanah Parker. It is on the old Comanche Reservation midway between Lawton and Snyder. (Grace Jackson, *Cynthia Ann Parker* [San Antonio, 1959], p. 131). (A grandson of Quanah Parker has said that Quanah's letters were generally written for him by one of his sons. Quanah himself did not read nor write, for he was a grown man when he settled on the Comanche Reservation in 1875, with many demands and adjustments for him to make as the chief leader of the Comanches from this time.—Ed.)

[3] Parker made his first trip to Washington in 1892 to make arrangements for leasing Comanche lands. He was thereafter a rather frequent visitor to the capital and even marched in the inaugural parade for President Theodore Roosevelt.—Jackson and Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 137; Tilghman, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Katherine C. Turner, *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father* (Norman, 1951), pp. 182-183.

[4] This was a task Parker took seriously. Parker was probably the deciding factor that brought the Indians to the reservation. Thereafter he "completely overshadowed the older chiefs, and was recognized by the whites as principal chief of the Comanches." Parker led the Indians into the "white man's road," and through his "superior intellect, intelligence, shrewdness, and force" he sought to improve the lot of his people.—Ernest Wallace, "The Comanches on the White Man's Road," West Texas Historical Association *Yearbook*, XXIX (October, 1953), pp. 3-32; Nye, *op. cit.*, p. 303. Ernest Wallace paints a grim picture of the economic life of the Comanche during the early days of reservation life.

Well Mr. Governor my mother Cynthia Ann Parker[5] was captured by Governor Ross[6] and that time gave her 160 acres of land and give her $500.00 a year to help the poor woman[7] my mother never locate the land and also never got no money when she died.[8]

Why I wish you would find out about it some time I may go over and see you some times myself.

Well I got to Washington and I will take my picture in a large frame and I will send you one and you will put in your office.[9]

Last fall October I been hunting over in Mr. Burnett's pasture King County.[10]

Mr. Markensey gave me permission to go to his pasture over in Matador and also over to Dickson County.

The lawyers over to Dickson County dont want me to go

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5 Cynthia Ann Parker was a legend in her own time. The best accounts of her life are Jackson, *Cynthia Ann Parker,* and James T. De Shields, *Cynthia Ann Parker: The Story of Her Capture* (San Antonio, 1934).

6 This event occurred at the Battle of Pease River on December 18, 1860. For an account of the battle see Rupert N. Richardson (ed.), "The Death of Nocona and the Recovery of Cynthia Ann Parker," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XLVI, No. 1 (July, 1942), pp. 15-21.

7 Two acts passed by the legislature of Texas on April 8, 1861, and amended on January 8, 1862, entitled her to one league of land and $100 per year for five years beginning in 1861. The three acts are printed in full in Jackson, *Cynthia Ann Parker,* pp. 93-95.

8 Research in the archives of the General Land Office of Texas fails to show that this land was ever located, nor did any of the family receive the pension.

9 Quanah Parker was widely photographed. No evidence exists to prove that he had his picture made on this specific occasion, but pictures of him can be found in the following: Jackson, Cynthia Ann Parker, pp. 64-65; Jackson and Jackson, *op. cit.,* frontispiece; DeShields, *op. cit.,* pp. 48-49; Tilghman, *op. cit.,* pp. 68, 84, 100, 116, 148.

10 Samuel Burk Burnett was born in Bates County, Missouri, on January 1, 1849. He came to Texas with his family and settled in Denton County. In developing into "dean of Texas cattlemen," Burnett bought the 6666 brand, and came to own land in Wichita, Carson, and King counties, Texas, as well as other land in Mexico. He also leased some 300,000 acres from the Comanche and Kiowa reservations, during the course of which he met and became friends with Quanah Parker. Parker described Burnett as a "big hearted, rich man, cow man," who helped the Comanches a "good deal."—Frank W. Johnson (Eugene C. Barker, ed.), *A History of Texas and Texans* (5 vols.; Chicago, 1916), V, pp. 2157-2160; Jackson and Jackson, *op cit.,* p. 146. The exact acreage Burnett owned in King County is not known, but he did possess a total of 360,000 acres in Wichita, Carson, and King Counties.—Johnson (Barker, ed.), *op cit.,* V, p. 2160.

to hunt in Matador and the lawyer said to me it was the new law this year.[11]

Some other people from different states come to Texas on a hunt had to pay $15.00 dollars apeise [*sic*]. And they wanted each of my men to pay that and I told them it was too much.[12]

Why here Mr. Governor my Indians pay taxes and and some of them dont pay yet.

Next full year from now I want to go to Markensey. Markensey gave me permission go to his pasture. Sawyer told me every person go in hunting had to pay dollar and I am willing to pay dollar myself.[13] I like for you to find out for me.

We both are well and I have Some young children well educated and they never seen any thing of the kind and I want to show them a good time. I am Texas man myself.[14]

I be at Washington 15th of December.

Your friend
Quanah Parker

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11 "Markensy" here is Murdo Mackenzie who managed the Matador Land and Cattle Company until 1912. After a five year stay in Brazil, Mackenzie returned to become a member of the Matador Board of Directors (W. M. Pearce, The Matador Land and Cattle Company [Norman, 1964], pp. 128, 158). Holdings of the Matador Company extended over most of Motley County and portions of Dickens, Cottle, and Floyd counties (Pearce, *op. cit.,* p. 221; Murdo Mackenzie, "The Matador Ranch," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review,* XXI [1948], pp. 94-105). The reference here is to Dickens County which was created in 1876. Population was 1,151 in 1900 in 1920. Spur, Dickens, Afton, Elton, and Gilpin constituted the settlements in 1909 (Walter P. Webb and H. Bailey Carroll (eds.), *Handbook of Texas* [2 vols; Austin: 1952], I, p. 500). The law referred to was approved April 19, 1907, entitled "Game—Providing for Protection of Wild Game." Even though the law did not prevent hunting, it did restrict indiscriminate killing of certain animals. —*General Laws of the State of Texas Passed at the Regular Session of the Thirtieth Legislature, January 8-April 12, 1907* (Austin, 1907), pp. 278-282.

12 The reference is to the law approved April 18, 1907, which established the Game Fish and Oyster Commission and authorized the collection of a $15.00 hunting license for hunters from states other than Texas.—*Ibid.,* pp. 254-257.

13 Sawyer cannot be identified.

14 Three of Quanah Parker's children went to the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and the others went to the agency school on the reservation. The Chief insisted that his young ones learn the "white man's ways of living," (Tilghman, *op. cit.,* pp. 137, 185). Quanah is referring to Texas as the land of his birth. In 1878 Charles Goodnight had to be persuasive to prove to Chief Quanah that he was "no Tejanos" and thus was entitled to negotiate a treaty. In later years, as Quanah more and more accepted the customs of the white man, he travelled extensively in Texas and became more open-minded about those who had been his enemies. (Harley True Burton, "A History of the J A Ranch," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly,* XXXI, No. 2 [October, 1927], pp. 105-107; Jackson and Jackson, *op. cit.,* p. 149).

*Department of the Interior*
*United States Indian Service*

Cache, Okla.
July 22rd, 1909

Governor Campbell
Austin, Texas

Dear Sir,

Congress has set aside money for me to remove the body of my mother Cynthia Ann Parker and build a monuent [*sic*] and some time pasted [*sic*] I was hunting in Texas and they accused me killing antelope and I am afriad[*sic*] to come for fear they might make some trouble for me because of a dislike to a friend of mine in Texas. Would you protect me if I was to come to Austin and neighborhood to remove my mother's body some time soon.[15]

Yours very truly
Quanah Parker

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[15] The act approved on March 3, 1909, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to use $1,000 for the removal of the body of Cynthia Ann Parker and her daughter, Prairie Flower, from Texas to Oklahoma. Of the total amount not over $200 was to be expended for actually moving the body. Congressman John Stephens of Texas introduced the bill and Quanah Parker worked hard gaining support for it. *(Senate Documents, 61st Congress, 2nd Session* [Washington, D.C.: 1910], LVII, p. 416; Tilghman, *op. cit.*, p. 188). According to the law approved April 19, 1907, antelope could legally be killed only in the months of November and December, and the limit per person was two antelope each year *(General Laws of the State of Texas, Regular Session, Thirtieth Legislature, 1907*, p. 280). Paul I. Wellman in his article "Cynthia Ann Parker," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XII, No. 2 (June, 1934), pp. 163-170, intimates that Quanah Parker did not actually come to Texas to see the removal of his mother.

# THE CHOCTAW NATION IN 1843: A MISSIONARY'S VIEW

*By Keith L. Bryant, Jr.**

On February 9, 1843, the Reverend Jared Olmsted wrote a letter to his brother Orrin L. Olmsted which reveals both despair at the primitive conditions in the Choctaw Nation and hope for the future.[1] One of a hearty band of missionary-teachers sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Olmsted and his wife Julia labored for seven years among the Choctaws in the west. Born in Norwalk, Connecticut on August 19, 1811, he had been educated at the Courtland Academy in New York. When he arrived in the Choctaw Nation, Olmsted built a home and a school for Choctaw boys in the region of Fort Towson. The school was named Norwalk after his birthplace.[2] Olmsted died on September 19, 1843, but his school was continued under the direction of Charles Copeland.[3]

This letter presents a picture of the difficulties faced by the Choctaws and their teachers, but it also demonstrates the earnest desire on the part of both for the expansion of educational facilities. Olmsted's opinions concerning the Choctaws reflect the frontier nature of the area which the Indians had settled only ten years earlier. The efforts to develop a school system were later rewarded when these institutions provided many young Choctaws with an opportunity to become educated.

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* Keith L. Bryant, Jr., Assistant Professor of History in the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, is a native of Oklahoma. He has contributed the letter of Jared Olmsted, with annotations, from the small collection of "Olmstead Family Papers" in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.—Ed.

1 Letter from Jared Olmsted to Orrin L. Olmsted, February 9, 1843, in the Olmstead Family Papers (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin). This is the only letter from Jared Olmsted in the collection. Apparently other members of the family spelled the name Olmstead.

2 Norwalk was a school for small boys, located 5 miles north and west of Wheelock Seminary. The school was closed in 1854. It was noted for its boy singers trained by "Mr. Pitkin," a teacher, who was well known long after the Civil War, living in Northeast Texas.—Ed.

3 Information from the Olmstead Family Genealogy supplied by Mrs. Henry Kreiss in the Olmstead Family Papers.

## The Jared Olmsted Letter

Norwalk, Fort Towson P. O.
Feb. 9th 1843

Orrin L. Olmsted Esq.
Elmira, New York.
Dear Brother,

I have not quit writing you, for any thing but my own negligence. And even now I shall make no promises of amendment. At any rate, I believe I keep as much Blank Paper, which ought to be scribbled over, as most ministers. So you see my faults, big & little.

Affairs of this Na. [Nation] are as usual, excepting on the subject of Public Schools. At the last General Council of the Nation, a very important act was passed—appropriating $18,000 for Public Schools, to be located in the Na.[4] Three of them are to be academies for Boys. Six are to be female Seminaries for girls. All of these schools are to be Boarding schools. These schools & the money has been given to the Methodist & Presbyterian Societies provided they will put in 1/5 as many $. The plases [*sic*] for these schools have been selected. One is (to) be at Rev. Alfred Wright's station.[5] One at Rev. C. Kingsbury's.[6] One at Rev. C. Byington's.[7] Two others are to be 30 miles west of me, but not very near any of our Miss. [Mission] Stations. These five are to be under the care of Presbyterian missionaries. Although this act has passed in the Choctaw Council, yet it will not become a Law till it receives the sanction of Congress, together with the signature of the Secretary of War. In 1836 the Chick [Chickasaw] Indians treated with the Choctaws & became incorporated into their Nation, for this privilege the Chickasaws pay the Choctaws the Annual Interest of 600,000 $.[8] 18,000 $ of this Annuity has been appropriated as above mentioned. Each Superintendent Teacher is not to receive more than 400 $ annually with his Bed & Board. There is so much care & responsibility connected with these schools, that it is very doubtful whether I engage in either of them. This is the

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4 A law passed in November, 1842, *Laws of the Choctaw Nation* (New York, 1869), 78. Cited by Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), 58.

5 Wheelock school had been directed by the Presbyterian missionary Alfred Wright before the new legislation, but was enlarged and reopened on May 1, 1843.

6 Cyrus Kingsbury, another Presbyterian missionary sent by the ABCFM conducted a female seminary at Pine Ridge near Doaksville.

7 Cyrus Byington of the ABCFM was in charge of Iyanubbee Female Seminary near Eagle Town.

8 The Chickasaws agreed in 1837 to pay the Choctaws $530,000 for the right to settle in the Choctaw Nation. See Angie Debo, *The Rise and Fall of the Choctaw Republic* (Norman, 1934), p. 71.

step of the Choctaws towards Public Schools to be under their own operation & controls. I hope they will be blessed & guided in the right way.

The missions among the Choctaws has been greatly bless[ed] for the last three years. (See Miss. [Missionary] Herald for Jan. 1843).[9] The Choctaws are said to be stupid, filthy, & but a little Natural intelligent. This simply is too true. But they may rise in the search for intelligence & Religion.

We are pleasantly situated & have many of the comforts of life. I have spent much of my time these years just in building my own dwelling & school house. I hope to finish all my buildings this coming spring if we are spared & have comfortable health. My school has been the best in the Na. this year past. We have had a great overflow of Red & Arkansas Rivers, a few weeks past. Red River rose six feet or more above high water mark. Took cattle, horses, hogs, houses, fences & in many instances, people. It is not yet known how many lives are lost, nor the amount of property. We live eight miles from the River, & suffered no loss whatever—unless it be in the lack of Pork & Beef hereafter.

Please tell me your minister's Name. I saw a young Minister from E. [Elmira] at Synod in Homer Village in 1840.[10] . . . Did sister R. think when we all lived in the old Log house that one of the number was obliged to live & die in one among the Indians of the West?

We have no important news from any of our relatives. There are about 1400 Troops, Rank & File lying about us & on our borders. So much for sword & musket, with a spark or two of the Spirit's influences. . . . We may never see you. If so, all is the same to me if we meet in heaven . . .

Very Respectfully
Jared Olmsted

A kiss for the little one.
Julia S. Olmsted

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[9] Olmsted refers to the *Missionary Herald* which was published in Boston, Massachusetts by the ABCFM.

[10] This refers to a town in New York State.

# NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

## Civil War Letter From Paris, Texas, 1861

Miss Louise Berry Walker of Claremore has sent *The Chronicles of Oklahoma* a photostatic copy of a letter written by a member of the Confederate Indian troops during the Civil War. Edward Butler was of Cherokee descent, a nephew of Peggy, the Cherokee wife of Chief William McIntosh of the Creek Nation. Butler had his family home and owned a store at North Fork Town before 1860. At the beginning of the Civil War, he assisted in recruiting Indians for both Stand Watie's Confederate Cherokee Regiment and Colonel D. N. McIntosh's Creek Regiment. Butler is reported to have served as interpreter to General Albert Pike, Commander of the Confederate Indian forces, early in the war. As an adopted member of the Creek Nation (calculated one-half Cherokee by blood) he was identified among the influential Creek citizens of the McIntosh party in the Indian Territory. After the Civil War, Edward Butler made his home at North Fork Town where he died and was buried probably in the 1870's. His letter written at Paris, Texas, presented here follows the original copy, with some paragraphing and punctuation for clearness in the printing:

Paris, Texas
July 3, 1863

Dr. Cousin

Myself and Family are Well. I arrived here three or four days ago to pay my Family a short visit, and will Return to the Nation in few days, and will have no time to visit you all, in consequence of which I will try and give you all the news which has transpired while up in the Nation.

Sometime about 23th. of April Last the Federal and Pens [Pins] surprised [1] four Companys of Col. Waity men at Webers Falls C. N. in which we lost Killed 2 — John Rogers and Wat. Holt. Wounded, 5 or 6 men. Since then Wounded are doing well. The Federal and Pens lost— Killed 6 men and wounded 8 — and Killed the Pens northern Agent and the Federal burnt Mrs. Vore, Capt. John Vann, John McDaniel, Dick Croslen Houses to ashes.

About 15 or 18th of May last Col. Stand Waity and Col. D. N. with their Command went over to Fort Gibson, and had a Skirmish with the Federal and Pens between the Fort and Judge Fields Place Federal and Pens loses Seventy Killed and Wounded a great many and Captured from then Eight hundred mules and horses. our loses was one

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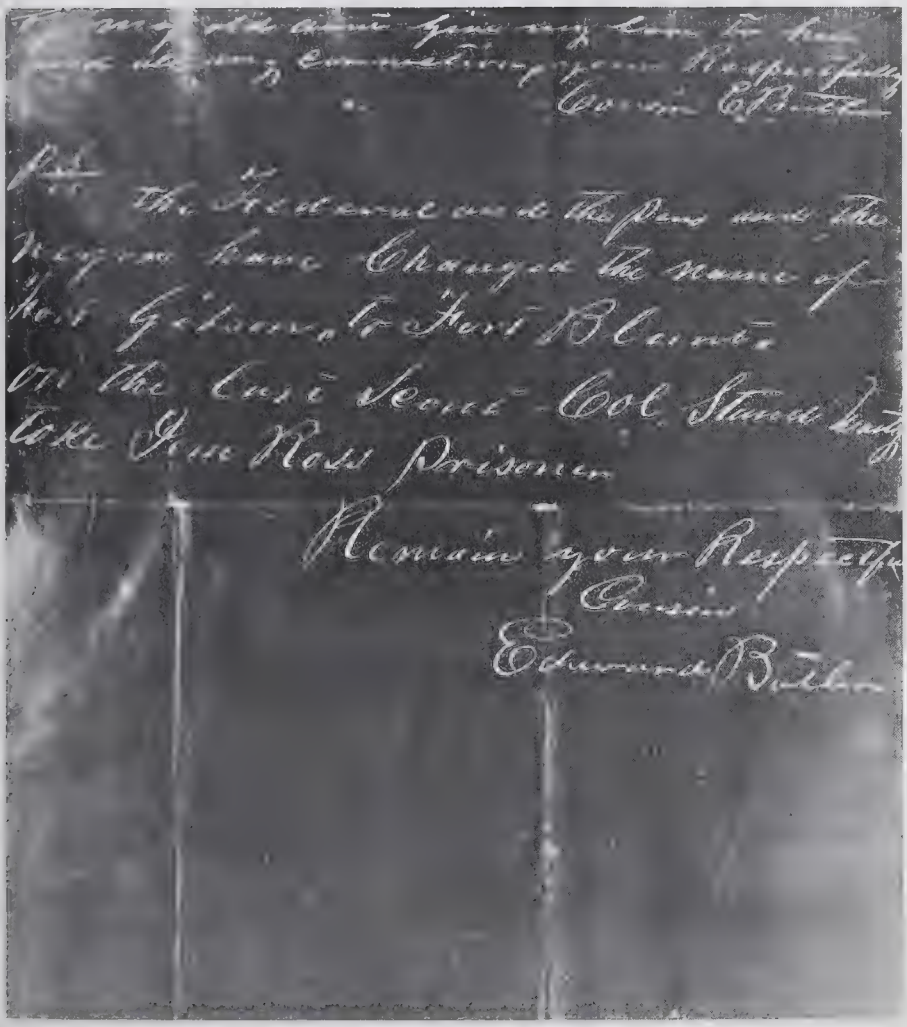
[1] The Cherokee "Pins" served as Federal scouts during the Civil War. The name was given for the pins worn on the lapel for identification.



PAGE OF EDWARD BUTLER LETTER WITH HIS SIGNATURE, 1863.

Cherokee G. W. West & one White man Mr. Bean and one Creek man. & on about 24 or 25th of May last Col. D. N. in Command of his Regiment, and Col. Chillys and a part of Col. Martin Regiment of Texas, was ordered over Cross Arkansas River, and then to Will Rogers Cowpen or John Duncan Place to Capture large Federal Train was Coming down to Fort Gibson. but when arrived at John Duncan Place discovered the Train had pasted on down. Our men then hastened on in persuit of Train and did not over take them until they had Reached Mr. J. D. Wilson old Place, and attacked them and taking about fifty wagons, but the Federal were Reinforced immediately and Recapture them. So that made an intire failier. Federal loses Killed 24, taken prisoner 12. We did not lose but one man old Christolble was taken a prisoñer. On about 4th of June, Col. Stand Waity & Sd Cherokee Regiment was Sent out on a Scout to Tahlequah and to Maysville on which he Killed 52 Pens. our Lose was one Killed and on the Same time Col. D. N. and his Regiment was Sent on a Scout up to Grand Salline and Returned Safe to Headquarters, without having found any the Pens in that part of the Country. So you See our Soldiers have been all Round Fort Gibson trying to draw the Federal and Pens and Negros out of there fourtification, and could not do it, as they are well fourtiſfiꝛed and of corse would not be Safe for our forcies to attacked then, as they are Equal in number and Superior in Arms.

We have the Arkansas River Picketed from Webers Falls to Conchartee Town. Some thirty or fourty of Uchee went north, last Winter During the hardship, and very near all of the Cowans—Santhees, Went, and Louis Perryman and Family Went. Mrs. Mortoy & Mrs. Elderidge Went, and Mr. Maxfield and Family Went.

Mòrning after I Reached North Folk I Sent your Letter to your Sister Jane Hawkins, and Stated to her I would be up, to See her in day or two to assist her according to your Request and on next day I heard She had Started on that day, to Dokesville near Red River, and was told She Said She did not wish to go to Texas. uncle Jo. Vann Requested me to Say to his Family, he was Well and Safe but had not yet Seen Carl Vann as he was at that time in Fort Smith.

the health of the Country and the army is verry Good there is plenty of Provision in the Country the Government now doing her part for the Indians.[2] I Shall Return last of next month and hope then to pay you all a visit, Please Excuse my lengthy Letter I have Written it for the Satisfaction of my old aunt Give my love to her and all my Connection. Your Respectfully,

Cousin E. Butler

P. S. the Federal and the Pens and the Negro have Changed the name of Fort Gibson, to Fort Blunt. On the last Scout Col. Stand Waity toke Jem Ross prisoner.

Remain your Respectfully
Cousin

Edward Butler

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[2] Allan C. Ashcraft, "Confederate Indian Territory Conditions in 1865," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma,* vol. XLII, no. 4 (Winter, 1964-65) pp. 421-28.

## Chief Joel B. Mayes of the Cherokee Nation

This biographical sketch is contributed to *The Chronicles,* by Mayme B. Mayes in memory of a distinguished member of the old and well known Mayes family of the Cherokee Nation:

*Joel Bryan Mayes,*

*Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation*

1887-1891

Joel B. Mayes, popularly regarded throughout the Cherokee Nation as one of its most patriotic chiefs, was born in Bates County, Georgia, near Cartersville in the old Cherokee Nation, October 2, 1833. In 1837, at the age of four, he was brought to what is now Oklahoma.

He was the second son of Samuel Mayes and Nancy Adair Mayes. His father was a white man from the State of Tennessee, whose ancestors could be traced back to England and Wales. His mother was a daughter of Watt Adair, a distinguished Cherokee who held many positions of responsibility and trust, and whose British ancestors were well know subjects of King George III of England.

Joel Mayes attended the public schools of the Cherokee Nation, and in 1851, entered the Cherokee Male Seminary, at Tahlequah, where he graduated in 1855. He taught in the primary schools near what is now Westville, Oklahoma. He married Martha J. Candy of the Cherokee Nation, in 1857. Their home was on a farm where he raised stock until the outbreak of the Civil War.

Joel Mayes entered the Confederate service as a private in Colonel Stand Watie's First Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Rifles, in July, 1861. The Confederate records show the enlistment of Mayes in 1862, as Assistant Quartermaster of the Second Regiment of Cherokee Mounted Volunteers, Colonel Wm. P. Adair commanding. Joel Mayes continued in this service to the end of the war in 1865.

After the war he returned to his home in the Coo-Wee-Scoo-Wee District, near what is now Pryor, Oklahoma, where he farmed and continued raising livestock. He was a great lover of fine horses and cattle, and took great pride in beautifying his farm, protecting his orchards, and in bettering the grade of his livestock. He inherited his love for horses from his father Samuel Mayes, who owned a string of race horses that he took to New Orleans, Shreveport, Miami, and San Francisco.

In 1869, Joel B. Mayes was appointed Clerk of the District Court and served until 1873, at which time he was elected Judge

(Oklahoma Historical Society)

JOEL BRYAN MAYES

of the Northern Circuit of the Cherokee Nation, and served eight years. In 1881, he was appointed Clerk of the Citizenship Court, an office created by an act of the Cherokee Council, for the purpose of hearing and determining the rights of persons applying for citizenship in the Cherokee Nation. As Clerk of the Citizenship Court, he made an enviable record. At the termination of his term, he was elected Clerk of the Cherokee National Council. During this work, he was elected Supreme Court Judge of the Cherokee Nation, later serving as Chief Justice of the Cherokee Supreme Court.

In 1887, he was nominated and elected Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, on the Downing Ticket. After a memorable and exciting campaign in the Cherokee Nation, he won. His administration was efficient and forthright, and he was reelected principal chief in 1891.

Immediately after beginning his second term in office, he became seriously ill with la grippe and died December 14, 1891. No man was more beloved and trusted by his people than Joel B. Mayes. He was a true friend of the people of his country. All said of him, "He was an honest man." Throughout his long public career, no scandal was connected with his name. Everyone had the utmost confidence in his ability and integrity of purpose, and held the highest respect for his patriotism and statesmanship. No man wielded a greater influence among the Cherokee people than did Joel B. Mayes. The mention of his name to this day arouses a popular chord through-out the Cherokee Nation.

Joel B. Mayes was married three times: first, in 1857 to Martha J. Candy; second, in 1863 to Martha M. McNair; third, in 1868 to Mary Vann. No children survived any of these unions.

In physical appearance Mr. Mayes was a "heavy set" man, five feet and eleven inches tall and weighed around two hundred and eighty pounds. He had a kind disposition and was generous to a fault. No worthy object of charity ever escaped his assistance. He was a Royal Arch Mason and a member of the Methodist Church. He was a man of intelligence, integrity, vigor and exceptional executive ability. Above all he was a conscientious, good man.

## *EULOGY* [1]

### COMMISSION ADJOURNED

December 14th, 1891 Chief Mayes died at 6 o'clock this morning. December 16, 1891. Commission called to order and a substitute for Proposition 6 presented.

(Mr. Jerome) Mr. Chairman: This joint session this morning is for business purposes, yet, the gloom that has been cast over the people here, and which hangs over all that came in contact with the late Chief, has almost if not quite unfitted us for purely business purposes, or to discuss business matters at this meeting. A word of tribute at this time by the gentlemen of this Commission may not be inappropriate; fitting words for such an occasion have not been prepared by me and any allusion that I may make to this sorrowful event is simply what comes from my heart on the spur of the moment. It has been my fortune to have visited your capital city twice on this very business, that we are now engaged in, and in consequence I have met Chief Mayes many times, and have had many confidential talks with him, that have given me a profound respect for him, that I wish to express now. It gives me gratification to be able to say that in the relations that I have sustained to Chief Mayes during the long visits that we have had here with your Nations representatives they have been distinguished by that fairness and frankness in all things pertaining to official business that causes me to rank him among the great men of your Nation. Nature liberally endowed him with a large mind and in addition,—to that has she added a tenacity of purpose that would make him rank high in any station. In his manners, officially and otherwise, and in his scholastic attainments he was a high type, of what ought to be an example to the Cherokee Nation, of what your schools can do. I understand that his education was entirely procured at the schools of the Nation, and that every man that came in contact with Chief Mayes could appreciate that he had made the most of his advantages and that these schools are what has made this Nation pre-eminently in advance of all other Indian Tribes.

The lesson of the hour is that every man who has any responsibility resting upon him in national affairs should emulate the example of Chief Mayes and should push forward your schools and other civilized institutions that have made it possible to raise such men in your midst. It is my conviction that in Chief Mayes you had a man who in all conditions of life was an intelligent man, a man of sound judgment, a man of profound thought, stable purposes and a man that would do you credit wherever he mingled with the people of the civilized world. My hope is that notwithstanding your great calamity and loss of such a leader, that others may be reared up of equal ability to steer your national affairs on successfully. While his untimely taking off has cast

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[1] This "Eulogy" was a part of a memorial service to Chief Joel B. Mayes in a meeting of the Cherokee Commission on December 16, 1891. Three days later—December 19, 1891—articles of agreement were concluded at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation, for the sale of the Cherokee Outlet to the United States. Members of this Cherokee Commission who signed this agreement on the part of the United States were David Howell Jerome, Warren G. Sayre and Alfred M. Wilson. (This commission is sometimes referred to in history as the "Jerome Commission.") The commissioners who signed the agreement in the sale of the Cherokee Outlet (December 19, 1891), on the part of the Cherokee Nation, were Elias C. Boudinot, Joseph A. Scales, George Downing, Roach Young, Thomas Smith, William Triplett and Joseph Smallwood.—Ed.

a gloom over this Commission and almost unfitted it to go on with its duties, that we are here to perform, still I can not overlook the fact that it must fall with still greater force upon you men here who knew him in life, as a leader and Chief. I have only discharged a duty that seems to have developed upon me in this public manner to state the estimate I have of the man, and the loss that this Nation has sustained.

(Mr. Sayre) Mr. Chairman: Two years and a month ago tonight, I believe it was, I first visited Tahlequah. That night I attended an exhibition at the Female Seminary, and there first met Chief Mayes.

Almost his first declaration to me then was one of fidelity to the Cherokee Nation, its constitution and laws. Since that visit I have been in frequent conference with him. Since then I have met him in Washington, and whenever and wherever I have seen him, there has always been that same declaration of fidelity to Cherokee interests. I never was in his presence but that I felt, and could not help but feel, that I was in the presence of a great and powerful man.

I have since that meeting, been a careful student of everything that has happened in the Cherokee Nation, that has been chronicled in the public press, and in every action that has been attributed to Chief Mayes in connection with the duty of the office which he held there has always been that same marked fidelity to the Cherokee interests. It may possibly be that in the fierce and angry political conflicts of your country he may have been a zealous partisan, but in official life, I am sure that he was always a patriot, and I know, and want to take this occasion to express it, that in my heart my grief is co-extensive and commingles with yours because of the loss of so great a defender of Cherokee rights, Cherokee homes and the Cherokee people. As to the questions affecting the relations between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, he and I differed, but we necessarily viewed the situation from different standpoints. But I have never had a feeling in my heart, or given expression to a word, but that ascribed to him an honest heart and a sturdy patriotic principle. Our differences never aroused in my bosom a feeling of hostility or anger, but in differing with me he always challenged my admiration and respect. And now Mr. Chairman, I express the hope, notwithstanding your great loss in the death of Chief Mayes, whom I regarded, without disparaging the capacity or attainments of others, as the giant and sturdy oak of the Cherokee forest; and notwithstanding the gloom that has involved this Nation, that Cherokee interests may not be crushed but that Cherokee patriots may again appear to maintain the Cherokee name and fame as he has done. It is my wish that you may not long be bowed down, and certainly not crushed, by this great calamity, but that you may rise above it.

Afflictions like this come to all people, and although you have been deprived of his counsel, and advice, and aid, and leadership, and can no longer have them I hope that other patriotic Cherokees may so emulate his example, that the Nation shall continue in the prosperity that seemed and was so dear to him.

(Mr. Boudinot.) [2] Upon the part of the Cherokee Commission, Governor Jerome and Judge Sayre, we thank you for this kind ex-

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[2] "Mr. Boudinot" here was Elias C. Boudinot (II—generally known as E. C. Boudinot), the nephew of Elias C. Boudinot (I—Elias Cornelius Boudinot) who had served as a member of the commission on the part of the Cherokees to the time of his death on September 27, 1890.—Muriel H. Wright, "Notes on Colonel Elias C. Boudinot," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLI, No. 4 (Winter 1963-1964), pp. 382-407.

pression of sorrow in our great bereavement. We also appreciate your tribute to the qualities and merits of our great Chieftain; when he was living we respected him and loved him; we can now but deplore his death and cherish his memory. He was indeed the giant and sturdy oak of the Cherokee forest. As a public man if there was any one thing we admired him most for (he had many virtures and sterling qualities) if there was any one thing we admired him most for—it was his sterling intergrity and honesty. This was so well known throughout this Nation that I can truthfully say that I never heard the purity of his public life questioned. Being so much younger than he was I know him more as a boy knows his father; I know how kind and gentle and loving he was in private life. Now that he is gone I know of no fitter tribute to pay him than a quotation from Shakespeare, it was the tribute paid to Brutus "His life was gentle and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up and say to all the world, this was a man."

That his character was the product of the Cherokee institutions we are more than proud, and I hope that our country may continue an existence that has shown that we are capable of producing such a man.

—Mayme B. Mayes

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## John Watt:
## A Name Engraved in the Cherokee Nation

This story on John Watt was contributed to *The Chronicles* by the late Shorey W. Ross who lived all his life in the vicinity of Park Hill, a member of the noted Ross family of the Cherokee Nation. His contributions on local history appeared on the editorial pages of *The Daily Oklahoman* and were widely read for many years before his death in 1960. Those who visit cemeteries over in the Cherokee country still see the name "J. Watt" on many of the oldest gravestones.

### *JOHN WATT: PIONEER STONE MASON*

In oldest burying grounds in some localities of Northeastern Oklahoma may be found well-finished headstones and slabs of hard gray limestone. These memorials have well endured the changes of many seasons. Some were placed in position nearly one hundred years ago. They date from early years of the Cherokee Nation as a body politic in old Indian Territory. Upon the larger and more ornate stones, deeply graven in a lower corner, appears the name, J. Watt.

Back in the fall of 1846, when the Cherokee legislative bodies had acted favorably upon a message from the Principal Chief requesting an appropriation of funds sufficient to defray the expense of building the national seminaries, the sites for the institutions were soon selected. Experienced builders then became necessary. Such were hardly to be found in the then comparatively new Cherokee country, yet largely primal in aspect. A journey to outlying states in quest of competent builders was contemplated by Cherokee officials when the fact was ascertained that a group of skilled workmen had just completed a large public building in a southern state. The group was contacted and employed to construct the seminaries, the corner stones of which were laid June 21, 1847.

The builders were Scotsmen. One-half their number was employed at the site of the male seminary, two miles Southwest of Tahlequah,

and the other half at the site of the female seminary, four miles south of the Cherokee capital, in the Park Hill locality.

John Watt, in charge of the builders, was the only one of the group, so far as known, who, after completion of the seminaries, engaged in making stone monuments, slabs and tombstones, and also in constructing many durable stone chimneys.

Only persons of considerable means were able to procure marble or granite memorials in the decades of the forties and fifties of the Nineteenth Century, monumental firms being located in distant cities. The nearest such firm for some years, was situated at St. Louis, Missouri. In consequence limestone was utilized by John Watt.

In the original Park Hill burying ground, also called the "Old Mission" graveyard, stands an upright stone which marks the grave of Mrs. Sarah Worcester Hitchcock, a daughter of Reverend Samuel A. Worcester, early day missionary to the Cherokees. A graduate of Mount Holyoke seminary, Miss Sarah Worcester, as she then was, served as assistant to Miss Ellen Whitmore, first principal of the Cherokee female seminary, in 1851. Later Miss Sarah was married to Daniel Dwight Hitchcock, M. D., and died in 1857. The name of J. Watt appears in a corner. In other oldtime burial spots tombstones made by John Watt yet stand. But the largest upright stone long stood in a most lonely and isolated place.

Before the close of the 1840's, one Mrs. Elizabeth Stinnett, a relatively short time after the demise of her aged husband, "Uncle Billy" Stinnett, a pioneer store keeper, surprised her Park Hill neighbors by marrying a young man, who seems to have operated the store after the death of "Uncle Billy." Her second hubsand was Lorenzo Delano. The wife weighed some three hundred pounds, was afflicted with rheumatism of the feet, could not walk, and sat in a big easy chair while directing her hired help. Her death occurred in 1852.

The young widower inherited all money and chattels, a comfortable home, farm and orchard, but he, in course of no distant time, experienced a yearning for his native state of Ohio. He sold all of the property, except the land, to which the new owner acquired rights of occupancy, agreeable to Cherokee law. Thereafter he carefully assembled his quite considerable monetary wealth, and then bade a lasting farewell to friends living in the pleasant valley of Park Hill. He was a fine young man, oldsters once related. On sunshiny Sundays he could be seen walking along the road leading to the brick church of the Mission, wearing a decorous black coat and white trousers.

Before leaving Park Hill scenes young Mr. Delano called on John Watt and employed that master stone cutter to complete and place at the grave of his departed wife, a very heavy and durable gray limestone slab, of granite-like hardness, to stand upright at the head of the grave. Four feet high, three feet wide and fully ten inches thick, this heavy stone bearing the name, date of birth and death of Mrs. Elizabeth Delano, including a scriptural selection, stood for more than sixty years. On the wide front surface in addition to the inscriptions, was chiseled a weeping willow tree, and a dove flying obliquely upward carrying a streamer in its beak. Along the borders were quaint ornamental designs. And, in a corner, the name J. Watt.

This stone monument stood on a level bench of a high and wooded hill on the south side of the Park Hill stream. The stone would doubtless be intact today had not a gullible yokel become obsessed with the senseless belief that many gold coins lay hidden beneath the base of

the stone, which he shattered into fragments. A deep excavation was made but no money found.

The largest memorial completed by John Watt is the Major George Lowrey monument in the present Tahlequah cemetery. Lowrey, several times assistant principal chief, was a member of the Cherokee regiment in the war of 1812. He was elevated to the rank of Major after the battle of Tohopeka. He removed to Indian Territory in 1839 and established his home four miles south of the Park Hill Mission. His death occurred in October, 1852, and the national council in regular session at Tahlequah, requested that burial be made in the original Tahlequah cemetery (removed to a new site several decades ago). The council also appropriated a sum of money for a monument. John Watt was employed to construct the monument. Marble had been found in a rugged region of the hills and John Watt began his labor, preparing the first monument made of Cherokee marble. Upon completion it was erected at Tahlequah.

Although Major Lowrey had served as an elder in the Presbyterian church at Willstown, Alabama, for thirty years, and was connected with the Park Hill church during the period he lived in Indian Territory, no mention is made in the inscriptions on the monument. Instead, it is said: "He was for many years a member of the church of Christ."

Nothing is said concerning Major Lowrey's military service, but it is noted that he met President Washington in 1791 or 1792, when a Cherokee delegate to the seat of the United States government. John Watt, of course, did not supply the inscriptions, but utilized those furnished him by some person now unknown, whose knowledge of important facts appears to have been rather hazy.

John Watt liked the Cherokee country, but being a non-citizen, could not acquire land therein, so he went to Arkansas, and found suitable acreage near Van Buren. There he built a substantial home and spent the remainder of his lifetime. On the occasion of a visit to his native Scotland, he brought as gifts to several ladies of Tahlequah and Park Hill some fine Paisley shawls. When well-advanced in years he paid occasional visits to these places.

In regard to disposition of his estate John Watt, in his will, left his property to a nephew in Scotland, but his wife was to possess the home as long as she lived. She also received a sum of money, but by no means all he was known to possess. Even the widow had no idea as to the correct amount. Her husband, she said, had always provided well for her, was not given to talking about his money, and she never questioned him.

With the exception of a young girl companion, the widow lived alone in the big house and after passage of several years peculiar sounds as of muffled blows were heard at night. Then came a stormy night, again the noise was heard, and suddenly one of the large stone chimneys crashed to the ground.

In the light of day was revealed a small and well-built vault beneath the fireplace. The mystery of what John Watt had done with his surplus money was now revealed. In some manner unknown the secret hiding place had been ascertained. The identity of the thieves was never discovered.

The Watt nephew in Scotland never visited the United States, never claimed the property, and so far as known the status of the home and farm remains unsettled. —Shorey W. Ross

## Report: Department of History, Oklahoma State University

Head of the Department of History, Dr. Homer L. Knight, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, has reported the activities of his department in October, 1966:

*REPORT*

The History Department of Oklahoma State University announces the following activities and staff changes effective during the summer of 1966: H. James Henderson of the University of Maine became associate professor; Charles M. Dollar of the University of Kentucky became assistant professor; Frances A. Dutra of St. Bonaventure University returned from a Fulbright Fellowship in Portugal and became assistant professor; John A. Sylvester of the University of Wisconsin became assistant professor; Glee A. Wilson of the University of Washington became assistant professor; Joseph Harsh of Rice University became visiting associate professor; Theodore L. Agnew, professor, became visiting professor of American social and intellectual history at Emory University for the 1966-1967 academic year; Alfred Levin, professor, served as visiting professor of Russian history at the University of Michigan during the 1966 summer session; LeRoy H. Fischer, professor, was elected to the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society; Sidney D. Brown, professor, was named a Danforth Associate by the Danforth Foundation; Berlin B. Chapman, professor emeritus, became professor of history at Florida State University; O. A. Hilton, professor emeritus, became professor of history at the University of Tulsa.

Nora Jean Shackelford, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at Tyler Junior College, Tyler, Texas; LeRoy Hawkins, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at Oklahoma Panhandle A. & M. College; Charles W. Goss, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at Oklahoma Southeastern State College; James D. Williams, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at Florrissant Valley Community College, Ferguson, Missouri; Melvin F. Fiegel, part-time instructor, became instructor of history at Oklahoma Southwestern State College; Richard Roughton of the University of Rhode Island and Joseph Harsh of Rice University served as visiting associate professors of history during the 1966 summer session.

Sidney D. Brown, professor, served as director of the National Defense Education Act Summer Institute on East Asian History, in which forty teachers from ten states participated; Dun-Je Li of New Jersey Patterson State College was visiting professor of Chinese history in the Summer Institute on East Asian History; David Abosch of the University of Colorado was visiting associate professor of Japanese history in the Summer Institute on East Asian History; Franklin Buchanan of Ohio State University was visiting assistant professor of educational transfer methods in the Summer Institute on East Asian History; David Plath of the University of Illinois, Chu-Tsing Li and George Beckman of the University of Kansas, and George Packard of the Washington Bureau of *News-Week* were visiting lecturers in the Summer Institute on East Asian History; John W. Hall, professor of history and master of Morse College at Yale University, accepted the 1966 Summer Lectureship in History and spoke on problems of modern Japan.

## Report on the Sale of Rare Books of the Streeter Library, on October 26, 1966 in New York

Dispersal has commenced of the most outstanding private collection of Americana ever assembled. Throughout the years of his later adult life, Thomas Winthrop Streeter, of Morristown, New Jersey, devoted his great energy, keen intellect, and considerable personal fortune to the assembling of a most worthwhile and noteworthy collection. In his will Mr. Streeter appointed advisors to the collection: Lawrence C. Wroth, Librarian Emeritus of the John Carter Brown Library, Messrs. Charles and Lindley Eberstadt, Mr. Roland Tree, and Mr. Michael J. Walsh to assist in the cataloging and listing of the material.*

Arrangements were made by the Trustees of the estate for sale through the celebrated galleries of Parke-Bernet, New York City.

One whose heritage is from the Southwest, Jerry E. Patterson, Vice-President of Parke-Bernet, Inc., was designated as the officer of the galleries, with the primary responsibility for the auction of the items from the Southwest, in addition to those of Mexico, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Indian Territory and Oklahoma.

In assessing the value of the Streeter collection, Lawrence C. Wroth has written:

> The making of the Streeter collection was not the achievement of one who took up a hobby late in life and speedily brought together a group of high spots, books of the sort that Miss Belle Greene used to call "Oh my" books. It was a growth from within, a process of "book openeth book" indicative of the continuous intellectual broadening of its maker. Like all serious collectors he was happily dependent upon the industry, knowledge, and enterprise of his friends the booksellers, but to this was added his own peculiar gift of appraising and evaluating the books they offered and those which came into the auction market. Mrs. Streeter has told me of the beginnings of his collecting, of the interesting editions of English and American works of various sorts which he called "after dinner" books, show pieces for the delectation of guests. Along with this tentative venture in collecting, he had carried on with one of the main interests of his college days at Dartmouth, the reading and study of American history. Soon he began the purchase of early books in that field. He attended his first auction sale—*Historical Nuggets*—at the Anderson Galleries in 1920. About this time he began to realise that his slowly forming determination was to collect books on "beginnings," books relating to first explorations of states and areas, first settlements, and cultural foundations in the form of first and significant issues of the press in the individual colonies or states. He early realized the importance of maps in the general and particular history of the country and its geographical divisions. That aspect of his collecting he took up with zeal and gave to it more attention than was then customary among private and institutional collectors. In these early years and throughout his life he instinctively maintained in his buying a bal-

ance between value, that is, significance, and cost, a reversal of the truism that many people know the cost of everything and the value of nothing.

The Indian Territory and Oklahoma sections [1] of the sale comprised Items 540 to 609, inclusive listed in the pre-sale catalog, which were offered at public auction on Wednesday evening, October 26, 1966, at the Gallery, 980 Madison Avenue, in New York.

As directed by the Executive Committee of the Board of Directors of the Oklahoma Historical Society, I attended this portion of the auction with instructions to acquire, subject to certain price limitations, items needed in the collections and archives of the Society.

This section of the sale was rich in several classifications with special interest to the Oklahoma Historical Society: (a) original imprints of various Indian Treaties; (b) copies of early session laws and statutes of the various Indian tribes; and of great importance, (c) a special collection of imprints from Fort McCulloch promulgated by Brigadier General Albert Pike and dealing with his command and conduct of affairs within the Department of the Indian Territory as an officer of the Confederate States of America. Without doubt a number of the Fort McCulloch items are unique.

As since reported in the press, the event constituted the most important single sale of Americana yet ever held; and the total of the three sessions, comprising Volume I, of the Streeter sale, of which the Indian Territory material was the third and final portion, fetched in excess of $600 thousand. The principal bidders were unnamed private collectors, bidding through agents, and the libraries of several of the eastern universities.

Without doubt many of these items will never again be offered for sale between private parties, and accordingly the prices realized constitute a most important matter of concern to everyone in Oklahoma.

The 1836 through 1838 numbers of *Annual Register of Indian Affairs within the Indian (or Western) Territory,* published by Isaac McCoy at Shawnee Baptist Mission fetched $900.00; and a companion piece published by McCoy on the press at the Baptist Mission House, and titled *Periodical Account of Baptist Missions within the Indian Territory, for the Year ending December 31, 1836,* brought $150.00.

The first printed copy of Choctaw laws after the removal

[1] The complete listing of these items with the prices realized is in the November 7, 1966, issue of *Antiquarian Bookman.*

Field

THE

# CONSTITUTION

AND

# LAWS

OF THE

# CHOCTAW NATION.

PARK HILL, CHEROKEE NATION.

JOHN CANDY, PRINTER.

1840.

(Courtesy Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc.)
The earliest printing of Choctaw laws fetched $2500.00.

of the tribe to Indian Territory, and described by Hargrett [2] as "the earliest known printing of Choctaw laws and the earliest known printing in present Oklahoma of the laws of any government," and titled *The Constitution and Laws of the Choctaw Nation,* with the imprint: "Park Hill: John Candy, Printer, 1840" brought $2,500.00. A somewhat similar item, [3] the *Laws of the Cherokee Nation* with the same imprint and dated 1842, brought the identical sale price of $2,500.00.

Another volume [4] printed in the same year, in the Cherokee syllabary, titled *The Laws of the Cherokee Nation, Passed at Tah-le-quah Cherokee Nation, 1839, and 1840,* realized the even greater sum of $2,750.00.

A similar volume [5] in English titled, *Laws of the Cherokee Nation, Passed at Tahlequah, Cherokee Nation 1844-5,* with the imprint: "Tahlequah, Published at the office of the Cherokee Advocate, 1845," brought the identical sale price, $2,750.00.

The same figure, $2,750.00, was fetched by the companion item, [6] *Laws of the Cherokee Nation, Passed at the Annual Session of the National Council, 1845,* with the identical imprint and the year date of 1846.

The greatest interest, however, seemed to be evidenced in a group of items pertaining to Brigadier General Albert Pike, especially those with a Fort McCulloch imprint. What a pity force and circumstance made it impossible for these items to be returned to the locality of their origin and to find a permanent home in the Oklahoma Historical Society!

A small volume, *Message of the President, and Report of Albert Pike,* with the "Richmond: Inquirer Book and Job Press, 1861" imprint set the pace at $950.00. The highest prices were reserved however for the items published at Fort McCulloch. A 12 page booklet [7] of Louis von Buckholtz, titled *On Infantry Camp Duty,* published at Fort McCulloch in 1862, brought $3,750.00. A collection of eight unnumbered General Orders [8] of Albert Pike bearing various dates at Fort McCulloch in 1862, realized $1,500.00.

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[2] Lester Hargrett, *Oklahoma Imprints, 1835-1890,* New York, 1951. p. 13 No. 31. Hereafter references to this bibliography will give only item numbers.

[3] Hargrett *op. cit.,* p. 44.

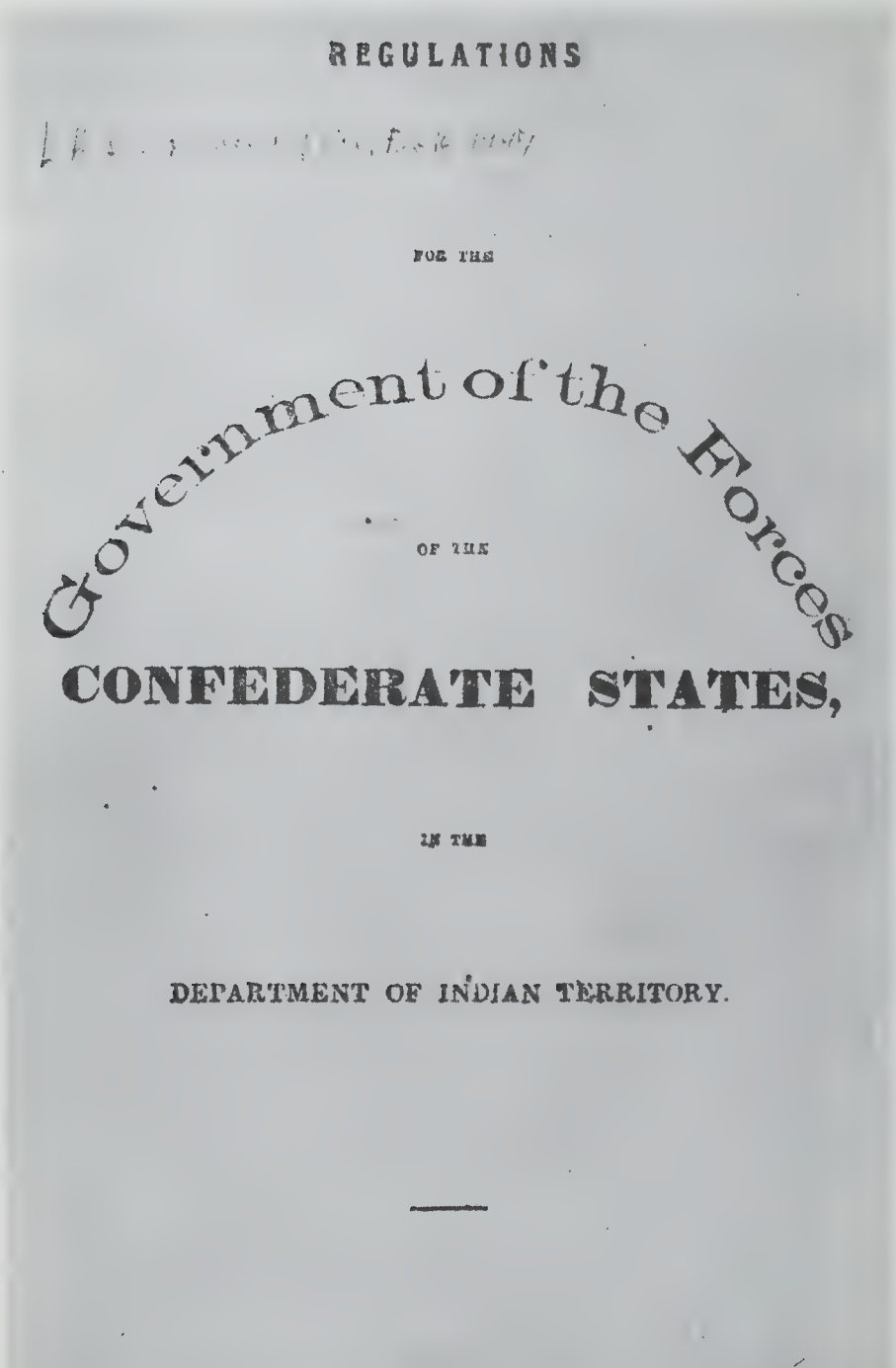
[4] *Ibid.,* p. 43.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 78.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 96.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 203.

[8] *Ibid.,* pp. 205, 206, 207, 208, 210, 211, 214, 216, 217. Only two of these orders are in *Official Records of the Rebellion.* See Series I, Vol. XIII, pp. 953 and 970.



REGULATIONS

FOR THE

Government of the Forces

OF THE

CONFEDERATE STATES,

IN THE

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN TERRITORY.

Promulgated at Fort McCulloch, May, 1863.

(Courtesy Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc.)
The highest price of the entire Indian Territory portion of the sale was realized by this Fort McCulloch imprint, $7000.00.

A broadside [9] dated 10th June, 1862, from Fort McCulloch and headed *Indian Troops Wanted!* wherein Pike offered a "bounty of $50.00 and $25.00 clothing money" for new Indian troops, saying that the first Choctaw Chickasaw regiment would soon be discharged and Indians were not within the provisions of conscription act, realized $1,750.00. Another broadside [10] of Pike dated at Fort McCulloch, July 3, 1862, was the famous denunciation by Pike of Major General Thomas C. Hindman, which brought the severe displeasure[11] of President Davis. This item realized $1,700.00.

Another Pike broadside, [12] dated 31st July 1862, addressed *To the Chiefs and People of the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws and Choctaws,* telling of his resignation from the command fetched $2000.00.

The highest price of all of the Fort McCulloch items, $7000.00, was realized by a small booklet [13] titled, *Regulations for the Government of the forces of the Confederate States in the Department of Indian Territory,* with the imprint: "Promulgated at Fort McCulloch, May, 1862." Another volume [14] titled Part II, *Respecting the Rights, Duties and Business of the Officer and Soldier* brought $2,000.00.

A most interesting item dealing with the present Oklahoma Panhandle was a 20 page booklet published in Dodge City in 1886. Authored by O. G. Chase, the pamphlet was intended for those interested in settling in the Neutral Strip, and titled *The Neutral Strip, or No Man's Land, The Cimmaron Territory. The Best was Reserved for the Last, Squatter Sovereignty is the Natural Right of Man to God's Footstool, Inherited from the Creator from the time Adam and Eve squatted in the Garden of Eden. Common Sense Remarks and Suggestive Rules for Acquiring Title to Unsurveyed Public Lands in the United States.* The "Neutral Strip," and especially Beaver City, are described in detail, the latter having "all been built since June, 1886." This unusual and perhaps unique item realized $2,800.00.

A book published in 1892 at Trinidad, Colorado, by the Bensel Directory Company, with the title *Directory of the Cities and Towns on the M.K. & T. Railroad between Parsons, Kansas,*

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9 Hargrett, *op. cit.,* p. 218.

10 *Ibid.,* p. 224.

11 The rebuke of President Davis may be found in *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 822.

12 Hargrett, *op. cit.,* p. 225. *Official Records,* Series I, Vol. XIII, p. 869.

13 Hargrett, *op. cit.,* p .219.

14 *Ibid.,* p. 220.

ON

# OUTPOST DUTY,

FOR OFFICERS AND NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS OF CAVALRY,

BY

**LIEUT.-COLONEL VON ARENTSCHILDT,**

First Hussars King's German Legion:

WITH

AN ABRIDGMENT OF THEM

BY

**LIEUT.-COLONEL THE HON. F. PONSONBY,**

Twelfth Light Dragoons.

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FORT McCULLOCH, JUNE 1861.

(Courtesy Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc.)
Dated 1861 instead of 1862, this product of Albert Pike's printing press at Fort McCulloch realized $3750.00.

*and Denison, Texas, 1892-3,* brought $900.00. The book names Muskogee as "the most important town in Indian Territory."

Two items of special interest were the original of printings of two constitutional documents, that of the proposed State of Sequoyah and that of the State of Oklahoma.

The State of Sequoyah was an item of 67 pages with a folding colored map, titled *Constitution of the State of Sequoyah,* with the imprint "Muskogee Phoenix Printing Co., 1905." At the end of the pamphlet is the date 8 September 1905, and the certification "P. Porter, Chairman, Attest: Alex Posey, Secretary." This brought $1300.00. A similar pamphlet of 176 pages denominated, *Constitution, Certificates, and County Boundaries and Election Ordinances of Oklahoma,* with the imprint "Leader Printing Company, Guthrie, 1907," fetched $250.00.

Much may be learned from this historic sale and the prices knowledgeable collectors and institutions were willing to pay for acquisition of material of this nature. Perhaps we here in Oklahoma, and especially the officials and staff of the Society, have been taking too much for granted, and have treated of little consequence things that are recognized by others for their worth. Even more so, however, is the realization that our own archives are of fantastic monetary value and that they constitute truly one of the great cultural assets and are a priceless heritage of the Sooner state.

—George H. Shirk

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History.* By Howard Roberts Lamar. (Yale University Press, New Haven and London. 1966. 560 Pp. $10.00.)

At the outbreak of the Mexican War in 1846, United States troops marched down the Santa Fe Trail to conquer the mountainous, semiarid region that now comprises New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona. Not only was it a region significantly different from the wooded, well-watered farming country of the conquerors, but it contained a large group of peaceful farming Indians, formidable tribes of nomadic wild Indians, and a Spanish-Mexican population numbering at least 50,000. By 1850 the northern limits of the Far Southwest also harbored the nucleus of a burgeoning Mormon society that was seemingly in total rebellion against the United States.

As its title should indicate, this volume is an excellent study of the diverse, often turbulent political evolution of the four southwestern territories, from their beginnings, to their admission into the American Union.

The internal political history of each territory, set in the framework of national policy, forms a more or less complete narrative by itself. New Mexico, conquered by General Stephen Watts Kearny and his Army of the West in 1846, became a territory in 1850 and remained one until 1912. Because gold was discovered in Cherry Creek in 1858, Colorado quickly acquired a population and achieved statehood, after being a territory only fifteen years (1861-76). Though actually settled in 1847 by thousands of Mormon Latter Day Saints, Utah did not become a territory until 1850; but from that date until 1896 it served a troubled, and often bitter, territorial apprenticeship. Arizona, created largely to counteract Confederate claims to the southwest, remained a territory from 1863 to 1912.

The author, a professor of history at Yale University, again has written a book of excellence. He has the ability to write history as it should be written—factual, exciting and completely readable. The attention to detail is ever present without once becoming burdensome.

Capping this fine work, the author replaces the standard bibliography with what he calls a "bibliographical essay." The essay form allows the author to discuss and evaluate research material used in preparation of the book, and is exceedingly informative. It should become standard procedure for all works of this kind. A very good book.

*Hominy, Oklahoma* —Arthur Shoemaker

## Books Received: Editorial Department

*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*

*Cracker Barrel Chronicles.* A Bibliography of Texas Town and County Histories. By John H. Jenkins. (The Pemberton Press, Austin. 1965. Pp. xv, 509. $15.00.)

A compilation of over 5,000 books, pamphlets, and articles pertaining to Texas towns and counties. Over 500 newspaper centennial and special editions listed. Divided into 254 county sections, this guide lists bibliographical information concerning every book, pamphlet, article, dissertation, thesis, and newspaper edition relating to the history of each county and town in Texas.

*End of Track.* By James H. Kyner. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. 1960. Pp. 280. $1.60).

A history of western railroad construction written in terms of building the transcontinentals, with emphasis on the spectacular achievement by which the continent was first spanned by rail. A personal record of the writer's experiences. The chapters describing the writer's part at the beginning of the Civil War and the Battle of Shiloh alone make a worthwhile narrative.

*Our Landed Heritage.* The Public Domain 1776-1936. By Roy M. Robbins. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. 1962. Pp. 450. $1.95).

A complete history of the disposal of our public domain. Gives a valuable treatment of this complicated history.

*The Fur Trade in Canada.* By Harold A. Innis. (Yale University Press, New Haven. 1962. Pp. xv, 446. $1.95).

A reprint of original publication in 1930. The book continues to exert a deep influence on fundamental interpretation of North American history. Covers the clash between sophisticated and primitive cultures—the development of the West, Indian history, transportation history, interprets the nature of the French and British rivalry, and comments on the American Revolution. Business history here is a detailed account of the pioneer fur-trading.

*Area of the Richer Beaver Harvest in North America.* Some penetrations of the beaver men to the heart of the continent, their concentration on the upper Missouri, and the drive to the Western Sea, 1604-1834. By Mari Sandoz. Map and Key. (James F. Carr, New York. 1966. Pp. 16. $8.50).

Indispensible companion to Miss Sandoz' *Beaver Man* and to the study of the fur trade in North America. The map has colored numbered symbols and text furnishing a chronology of the French Trappers of 1604-1755; the Hudson Bay Company, 1670-1834; the North West Company, 1784-1821; Spanish Adventurers of 1680-1780; and other groups.

*The Charles Ilfield Company.* A study of the rise and decline of mercantile capitalism in New Mexico. By William J. Parish. (Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1961. Pp. xxi, 431. $10.00).

A picture of the changing structure of business enterprise in New Mexico from the days of the Santa Fe Trail to modern times. The author gives a discussion through the early phase of mercantile capitalism and the problems of monetary exchange and balance of trade. He writes of such events as the Great Depression that followed the War of 1812, the rise and fall of Lexington's Transylvanian University, the bitter struggle over the enforcement of the "lack laws" in Cincinnati. The last chapters deal with the slow erosion of the foundations of mercantile capitalism that left the ruling business group unprepared for the attack of specialists.

*Memphis, During the Progressive Era 1900-1917.* By William D. Miller. (Memphis State University Press, Memphis, 1957. Pp. xiii, 242. $4.50).

This is a history of one of the violent cities in America, Memphis, swept by a passion for reform, called the "progressive movement." Two decades passed, a time of tumult, and old Memphis was gone. The author points out the character of this reform was "pragmatism," covering most of the standard reforms of "progressivism." Before the iron discipline and benevolence of "Boss" E. H. Crump, Memphis could tolerate "The highest murder rate in the country, while clearing slums and building playgrounds." The author has woven a compelling narrative on the history of Memphis.

*By Cheyenne Campfires.* By George Bird Grinnell. (Yale University Press, New Haven. 1962. Pp. xxiv, 305. $1.95).

This volume gives the folk tales of the Cheyennes—historical events, ethical values. The Cheyenne with simple dignity tell of their wars, their heroes, and their relationship with supernatural powers. George Bird Grinnell's book here is a classic on the Cheyenne, the stories given him as a friend of the tribe, while sitting around the campfires.

*The American Enlightenment.* By Adrienne Koch. (George Braziller, Inc., New York. 1965. Pp. 669. $8.50).

"The period of *American Enlightenment* spans the half-century of 1765-1815 and was, in the words of John Adams, 'An age of revolutions and constitutions.' " The volume presents selections from the writings and papers of five great Americans: Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton. The selections show the scope of the abilities, activities, and contributions that these five Ameri-

can patriots made to the formation of American society. These men preeminently fulfill the role of makers of the American political tradition. "Their vision and their spirit provided the foundations for the free society which developed into the most flourishing democratic civilization in the modern world." Professor Koch in her introduction of 30,000 words gives here a new interpretation of the American Enlightenment.

*The Story of Tullahassee. By Althea Bass.* (Semco Color Press, Oklahoma City. 1960. Pp. 273. $5.00).

An account of the undertaking for education and civilization of the Creek Indians of Indian Territory, now Oklahoma, 1849-1881. This is a part of the larger history of early missionary efforts among the southern Indian tribes in this country. William Schenck Robertson, Presbyterian missionary teacher, is the leading spirit of the noted Tullahassee Mission in Creek history.

*Tales of Old Fort Gibson.* By Joseph Quayle Bristow, LL. B. (Exposition Press, New York. 1961. Pp. 247. $3.50).

"A warm and vivid collection of stories and reminiscences of Oklahoma and other western and southwestern sections of our country at the turn of the century." A colorful presentation of the life of the people in the horse and buggy days over into the era of gasoline and oil.

*Kansas Folklore.* S. J. Sackett and William E. Koch, Editors. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln. 1961. Pp. xi, 251. $5.00).

This is a compilation that may be used for comparative studies, including "Folk Tales," "Legends," "Custom," "Dances and Games," and other sections of Kansas lore.

*Lighthouse on the Corner.* Phyllis Woodruff Sapp, Editor, with Malinda Brown, Director of Research. (Century Press Publishers, Oklahoma City. 1964. Pp. vii, 135. Ills. $3.00).

A compilation of the history of the First Baptist Church of Oklahoma City from 1889 to 1963.

*The First Presbyterian Church of Claremore, Oklahoma, 1889-1964.* By Reba S. Smith, Jr. (Published in the Church Office, Claremore. 1964. Pp. xi, 155. Ills. No price given.)

This book gives a complete account of seventy-five years of service by the First Presbyterian Church of Claremore.

*Archeology and the Historical Society.* By J. C. Harrington. (Pamphlet. The American Association for State and Local History, Nashville. 1965. Pp. 55. Ills. No price given.)

Covers the subject of the place of local historical societies and the part they have in the contemporary scene in America.

*The Nation Transformed: The Creation of an Industrial Society.* Edited with an introduction by Sigmund Diamond. (George Braziller, New York. 1963. Pp. xiv, 528. $8.50).

Original source material covering the period from the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 to the St. Louis Exposition of 1904. This is the fifth book in the six-volume series titles "The American Epochs Series."

*Documentary History of Reconstruction: Political, Military, Social, Religious, Educational and Industrial, 1865-1906.* Selected and edited by Walter L. Fleming, with a foreword, 1966, by David Donald. (McGraw-Hill Book Co., New York. 1966. 2 volumes. $4.90).

A reprint in paperback of a standard work on the Reconstruction, first published in 1906-1907.

*A Handbook on the Care of Paintings for Historical Agencies and Small Museums.* By Caroline K. Keck. (American Association for State and Local History, Nashville. 1965. Pp. xii, 132. Illus. $2.00).

An excellently illustrated guide to the understanding of examination, treatment and conservation of paintings. Included is a listing of sources of supplies, and of recommended conservators for paintings and for paper.

*The Art and Romance of Indian Basketry.* By Clark Field. (Philbrook Art Center, 2727 Rockford Road, Tulsa, Oklahoma. 1964. Pp. 37).

Pamphlet tells story of how Indian baskets were made and used, with about 90 illustrations of the more important baskets.

FICTION

*Manifest Destiny.* By Russell Laman. (Henry Regnery Company. Chicago. 1963. Pp. 533. $5.95).

"Skillful telling of a man's struggle to retain integrity as an individual while carried by fate to a larger and more complex destiny." It gives the life of a family in the stream of Populism, pioneers toward a destiny of human dignity and freedom, finally made manifest to the world. This is a novel that is a true history of Kansas as a part of the Great Plains and the new spirit of the Mid-west.

*Savanna.* By Janice Holt Giles. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. 1961. Pp. 397. $4.95).

The life of a woman forms this novel, set on the frontier of

Fort Gibson and the U. S. Seventh Regiment in the midst of fierce competition among the trading posts of the region. The author, who grew up in Oklahoma, gives a background of authenticity and of feeling for the period portrayed.

*Fever in the Earth.* By William A. Owens. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. 1958. Pp. 384. $4.50).

The author gives the sights and sounds of the oil fields in this novel on the beginnings of America's greatest industry.

*The Fancher Train.* By Amelia Bean. (Doubleday & Company, Inc., Garden City. 1958. Pp. 356. $3.95).

This novel with its scenes in history before the Civil War, gives the background of Mormon history and the notorious Fancher massacre, one of the bloodiest incidents on the American frontier of Utah.

*The Yeoman's Daughter.* By Julia Luker. (Exposition Press, New York. 1953. Pp. 156. $3.00).

The saga of a young girl in Texas. Her letters and memoirs.

*Green Country.* By Beatrice Ricks. (Pageant Press, Inc., New York. 1963. Pp. 156. $3.00).

This is a tale of the "Green Country" as a part of the harsh farm life of tenants in southeastern Oklahoma.

*The Grabhorn Bounty.* By Clifton Adams. (Doubleday & Company, Inc., New York. 1965. Pp. 185. $3.50).

The story centers on the life of an outlaw on a frontier that hints at a background of Indian Territory history.

PERIODICALS

*The English Westerners' 10th Anniversary Publication, 1964.* Edited by Barry C. Johnson. (The English Westerners' Society, London. 1964. Pp. 67. $3.75).

"A collection of original papers on American frontier history, contributed by members of the English Westerners' Society." Included in the Special Publication No. 1 is "Baldwin's Ride and the Battle of Lyman's Wagon Train" by G. Derek West, the locale of which is the Upper Washita, a few miles west of the Oklahoma border. The map shows this locale in the vicinity of the Antelope Hills.

*Southwestern Art.* A Journal devoted to recognition of the Arts in the West and Southwest. (The Pemberton Press, Austin, Texas. Quarterly. $6.00).

Volume I, number 1, spring 1966, contains fine illustrated articles on western art from the pictograph to Frederic Remington, Charles M. Russell, and Melvin C. Warren.

# NECROLOGY

## MARION DONEHEW
### 1878-1966

Dr. Marion Donehew, the first student to enroll at the University of Oklahoma, pioneer school teacher and newspaperman, died at his home southwest of Stratford, Oklahoma, April 6, 1966 at the age of eighty-eight years. Funeral services were held in the Church of Christ in Stratford, with Cole Tidwell, Minister of the church officiating. Burial was in the Abney Cemetery a quarter of mile west of his home.

The Donehew family originated in Ireland and came to this country during the early settlement period. One branch migrated to Tennessee where Morgan Shields Donehew was born. Then his father homesteaded near Westport Landing before Westport, Missouri was established. Morgan Shields Donehew migrated following the Civil War to Texas and settled near Whitesboro, Texas where he married Miss Catherine Crutchberry in November of 1876. Her parents had come from Holland in a sailboat and settled in Texas. To this union were born two sons: Marion, born January 4, 1878 and Zack, born October 26, 1880.

Marion attended rural district schools near Whitesboro, Texas. In March 1892, the family left Texas and filed on a claim near McLoud. Interested in the Educational advantages that the new university at Norman offered, the family moved to Norman in July 1892, where Marion and his father hauled some of the materials and brick used in the construction of the first university building.

Marion was only fourteen years old when he enrolled at the University of Oklahoma on September 15, 1892, becoming the first student to enroll. He did his first newspaper work while attending O. U., working for fifty cents a day as a printers Devil and attending news items for the editor, of the *Peoples Voice,* John S. Allen. He attended two semesters at the University and then attended one year at Draughon's Business College at Fort Worth, Texas, in 1901. In 1926 he obained his degree, Doctor of Scientific Philosophy from the Tope School of Mental Science at Bowerston, Ohio.

As a teacher in fourteen schools and a lecturer on mental science Mr. Donehew gained a wide reputation in Oklahoma. He wrote a number of articles on mental science for magazines and scientific publications. One was published in several editions of a magazine, *The Era,* "How I Used Psychology in the School Room" by Marion Donehew.

He taught his first school in the winter and spring of 1903 at the Adkins or old Brittain school, now known as Goldsby, southwest of Norman. The following summer of 1903 he taught at old Womach, east of where the present town of Blanchard is located and west of Cole before Cole was established. After Christmas of 1903 he taught a mid-winter (1904) and early spring of 1904 at old Riverside on the Washita River north of Pauls Valley. The following summer of 1904 he taught at Bottoms school just north of where the Union Springs school was later located north of Pauls Valley. In the fall of 1904 and early winter of 1905 taught at Homer school, northeast of Ada. He was the leader in establishing this school, and was the first teacher there. The fall of 1905 and winter of 1906 he taught a private science school at Shawnee in the Jake Baumbarger home.

In the early winter and spring of 1907 he taught a thirty day

MARION LORENE DONEHEW

special school at the Adkins Ranch in the pioneer ranch home southwest of Norman. Then in July of 1907 he taught a thirty day private school in the W. Thomas home, southwest of the Bottoms school north of Pauls Valley. In the late fall of 1907 and early winter and spring of 1908 he taught at Klondike near Pauls Valley an old Indian Territory school district. The first school superintendent of Garvin County was trying to do away with Klondike and consolidate it with Beaty. But Klondike was made an independent school and Mr. Donehew was the first teacher after he had the support of enough to back him and patronize the school. In 1909 he taught a four or five months private school at the Adkins ranch home. To quote from his memories of his schools, "I taught many courses of private instruction at different homes. My whole life has been one of teaching and giving instructions in my conversations."

A number of these schools no one else would teach, because of the rough element that existed among some of the older pupils, especially grown boys. But Mr. Donehew with his courage and diplomacy did not have the trouble that previous teachers had had at some of the schools. In many instances he taught students older than he was. He made life long friends of his students. Some of his first students who attended the first school he taught in 1903 continued to visit with him on up to his passing.

In January, 1913 Mr. Donehew began working on the circulation of the *Pauls Valley Enterprise.* The editor was W. M. Erwin for whom he worked eighteen years. He also started his own newspaper subscription business at Pauls Valley, working for a number of years as a rural subscription agent and correspondent for newspapers in Dallas and Fort Worth, Texas, Oklahoma City, Tulsa, and Kansas. In this work, he walked thousands of miles, visited more than ten thousand homes and made hundreds of life long friends. It was during this period of his life that he sold the famous Webster Blue Back Speller. His article "Home Papers are Worth the money" written in 1924 at Pauls Valley states:

"When I first began taking subscriptions for the *Pauls Valley Enterprise,* I was a missionary in the circulation business. It was not hard to find men who boasted of the fact that they never took a newspaper in their life and it gave me a certain joy that is felt only by those who have at heart the real circulation of useful knowledge, when I, after using considerable persuasion and patience succeeded in obtaining a man's first subscription for any newspaper. I have listened to all of the criticisms of the local paper for the past ten years, and I find that the local paper is being more and more appreciated as men advance in their thoughtfulness, and in some localities where men hardly took a newspaper ten years ago, bundles of papers and magazines are received every day."

In 1918 when the county seat fight was on in Garvin County, between Pauls Valley and Wynnewood, Mr. Donehew was the leader in securing signers of the petition that won the fight for Pauls Valley to be the county seat of Garvin County. The Garvin County Judge said, "We owe it to Marion Donehew for our county seat."

Mr. Donehew was married to Miss Della Blackburn on August 9, 1935. They were the parents of one daughter, Marion Lorene Donehew. Both his wife and his daughter survived him at his death. Mrs. Donehew was born near Red River in Southern Oklahoma, in what was known as Love's Valley named for Judge Sobe Love of the old Chickasaw Nation. Her father, Milton S. Blackburn, had secured the first post

office at Nida, Chickasaw Nation, which the records show was established on October 25, 1895, with Richard F. French as Postmaster.

In addition to his teaching and newspaper work, Marion Donehew also was a court reporter at Pauls Valley. He was a stenographer at different times at Pauls Valley and Norman. He accumulated a large library which was burned at his farm home in 1917. This was a great personal loss as well as loss of much data in state history. Mr. Donehew began again to build up another library, accumulating many rare volumes. He spent the last years of his life writing his memoirs and compiling historical data in his home filled with books, papers and photographs.

—Marion Lorene Donehew

*Stratford, Oklahoma*

## MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### JULY 28, 1966

The regular quarterly meeting of the Oklahoma Historical Society Board of Directors was called to order on Thursday, July 28th, by President George H. Shirk at 10:00 a.m. The meeting was held in the Board of Directors Room in the Historical Society Building.

Members in attendance at the meeting were: Henry B. Bass, Edna Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, B. B. Chapman, J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, LeRoy H. Fischer, Bob Foresman, Emma Estill-Harbour, Morton R. Harrison, John E. Kirkpatrick, Joe W. McBride, James D. Morrison, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, Genevieve Seger, and George H. Shirk.

Members absent were: Lou Allard, Robert A. Hefner, W. E. McIntosh, R. G. Miller, and R. M. Mountcastle. President Shirk asked the pleasure of the Board regarding those who had requested to be excused from the meeting. Mr. Boydstun moved and Miss Seger seconded a motion that those who had so requested be excused. The motion was put and carried unanimously.

In making his report, the Administrative Secretary said there were 18 new annual members to be approved and numerous gifts to be accepted. Miss Seger moved that the gifts be accepted and the memberships approved. The motion was seconded by Mr. Harrison and adopted.

Mr. Fraker reported that due to the resignation of Robert S. Kerr, Jr., as Chairman of the Oil Museum Committee, Mr. Millard K. Neptune had accepted the chairmanship. Mr. Neptune is President of the Apco Oil Corporation.

Due to the fact that Mr. McIntosh, Historic Sites Committee Chairman, was not in attendance, Mr. Fraker made the report for this Committee. He stated there had been much favorable comment about the new speed markers. He said that two of these new type markers had been erected; one designating the northern region of the Creek Nation near Bristow on the Turner Turnpike, and another locating the northern area of the Cherokee Nation between Claremore and Vinita on the Will Rogers Turnpike. A monolith marker had recently been dedicated on the grounds of the Pioneer Woman Museum in Ponca City, locating the Birthplace of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission. Mr. Fraker said that in the near future a monolith monument will be dedicated to General Douglas Cooper on the grounds of Fort Washita. A Green Corn Dance marker to be located in the Checotah area will also soon be in place.

The Administrative Secretary read a resolution from the Interstate Oil Compact Commission expressing appreciation to the Historical Society and the Oklahoma Petroleum Council for sponsoring the Ponca City marker.

It was further reported by Mr. Fraker that a large number of youngsters from the Oklahoma City school system had been going through the museums under a program sponsored by the Federal Government. He said approximately 6,000 of these school children had visited the museum under this program.

Mr. Fraker said indications are that approximately 200,000 people

will visit the museum this year, not including the school children mentioned before that toured the museum under the auspices of the Federal Government. This is the largest attendance ever to go through the museums in that period of time, and represents an increase of some 50,000 over previous years. He remarked that apparently word has spread that the Oklahoma Historical Society Museum is worth seeing.

In concluding his report, Mr. Fraker told the Board that by careful handling of expenditures of the Society, only small balances remained in each of the appropriated funds accounts.

Mrs. Bowman, Treasurer, reported that the Annual Tour this year had been successful financially with a balance of $7.29 remaining in that fund. She briefly accounted the profits and losses of the tour each year since 1960, and stated that this is only the second time since that year a balance has been left in the tour account.

In view of the fact that several of the new members had asked for an explanation of the system of the financial operations of the Historical Society, President Shirk explained the three major accounts of the Society and how they are handled. Mrs. Bowman gave a detailed accounting of the Society's funds. Mr. Pierce moved that the Treasurer's report be accepted and that Mrs. Bowman be thanked for the fine job she was doing. Mr. Phillips seconded the motion, which was passed unanimously when put.

Dr. Morrison reported for the Fort Washita Commission, saying that the death of Mr. Harold Weichbrodt, a member of the Commission, was a great loss and that all of the members of the Commission were saddened by his passing. A marker commemorating General Douglas Cooper is to be dedicated on Labor Day of this year, and Dr. Morrison reported that President Shirk is to be the speaker on that occasion. It was reported that Mr. Overton James, Governor of the Chickasaw Nation, had donated approximately $800 toward a special project around the cemetery at Fort Washita. President Shirk appointed Mr. John E. Kirkpatrick to replace Mr. Weichbrodt on the Fort Washita Commission.

Mr. Pierce stated that he and Mr. Boydstun along with two others had visited the site of Sam Houston's trading post, Wigwam Neosho, to exactly locate the site. He said as soon as this is done to their entire satisfaction, the next step is to secure a survey and to begin negotiations for its purchase.

Mr. Bass reported that the Oklahoma Chisholm Trail Centennial Commission, recently appointed by Gov. Bellmon, had been making plans, and that representatives from Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas were scheduled to have a meeting soon in Oklahoma City to discuss plans for the centennial celebration next year. As yet, no definite arrangements have been made, but he was sure that something worthwhile would be developed.

Dr. Dale presented a gavel to the Historical Society made of walnut from a baseboard at Fort Gibson. He also presented two personally autographed books to the Library that he had written. President Shirk thanked Dr. Dale for these gifts and said that the Society felt very fortunate to receive these items.

A motion was made by Mr. Bass, and seconded by Dr. Fischer, that the meeting recess to the auditorium for the presentation of the

Mac Q. Williamson portrait. The motion was passed when put to a vote.

The presentation address for the portrait of Attorney General Williamson was delivered by former Governor William J. Holloway, who gave a tribute to the character and ability of Mac Q. Williamson, who served the State of Oklahoma well in the office of Attorney General for twenty-four years. The painting was received for the Society by President Shirk. A number of Mr. Williamson's relatives and friends were in the audience.

Reconvening in the Board of Directors Room, Mr. Shirk presented to the Society a flag of the State of Oklahoma that had been carried by Astronaut Col. Thomas P. Stafford, a native of Weatherford, Oklahoma, on his historic orbital flight of Gemini 9. The flag had been presented by Col. Stafford to the Oklahoma Historical Society through Lieutenant Governor Leo Winters, who in turn had presented it to Col. Shirk, President of the Historical Society. President Shirk related an intimate piece of information that Col. Stafford had told him about carrying this flag into orbit. Col. Stafford said that in a playful bit of legerdemain, he had hidden the Oklahoma flag under his shirt and thus carried it into orbit.

A special proposal was made by Mr. McBride, who is President of the Oklahoma Memorial Association, asking that the Oklahoma Historical Society consider a request of the Association that it be made an affiliate of the Historical Society. He said that new by-laws had just been written, and that the organization is incorporated. He expressed the belief that such an affiliation would benefit both organizations.

Mr. Pierce explained that he was in sympathy with the Memorial Association, but wondered if there is not some provision in the Constitution and By-Laws of the Society that might prohibit any such affiliation. Mr. Finney said there seemed to be a great deal of merit in the proposal and moved that it be referred to the Executive Committee for study, and that this Committee, after giving the proposal careful consideration, report its findings and recommendations to the Board at its next meeting. The motion was seconded by Mr. Curtis and adopted.

Upon determination that no further business was to be transacted, Mr. Curtis moved for adjournment. Mr. Bass seconded the motion. Upon passage of the motion, the meeting adjourned at 12:10 p.m.

George H. Shirk, President

Elmer L. Fraker, Administrative Secretary

## GIFTS RECEIVED IN SECOND QUARTER, 1966

*LIBRARY:*

*Bark Paintings From Arnhem Land,* Collected by Prof. Edward L. Ruhe; Museum of Art, The University of Kansas; March 27-May 1, 1966.
Donor: Exchange and Gift Section, University of Kansas Libraries, Lawrence, Kansas.

*The News-Press Classified Business and Professional Directory of Stillwater and Payne County, 1948.*

*City Directory for Stillwater, Oklahoma, 1952.* Compiled and Lithographed by Crossman's, 124 West 7th Avenue, Stillwater.
Donor: H. C. Stallings, 217 N.W. 20th, Oklahoma City.

Photocopied Booklet: *On the Trail of "Pretty Boy" Floyd*—A Reporter's Thrilling Pursuit of An Outlaw's Story, by W. R. Draper, 1946.
Donor: Don Wells, Oklahoma City.

*Smithsonian Year, 1965* — A Smithsonian Publication 4648 — Annual Report.

Donor: The Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

*The Treeshaker,* Vol. 4, No. 1, April 1966—The Publication of the Permian Basin Genealogical Society, Odessa, Texas.

Donor: Mrs. Dan B. Hemphill, Editor; 1007 West 15th, Odessa, Texas.

Payne County, Oklahoma: Tax Receipts for 1910, 1912, 1913, 1914, 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1919 & 1925.

Payne County, Oklahoma: Commissioner of Land Office Receipts for 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913 & 1925.

Payne County, Oklahoma: Real Estate Mortgage, 1912.

Greer County, Oklahoma: Tax Sale Redemption Certificate for 1903.

Greer County, Oklahoma: Deeds—1905 & 1908.

Greer County, Oklahoma: Letter from Commissioner of Land Office, 1908.

Greer County, Oklahoma: Mortgages & Assignment, 1903-1905.

Greer County, Oklahoma: Mortgage Notes, 1908-1913-1914-1904.

Greer County, Oklahoma: Tax Receipt, 1920.

Donor: E. A. Burke, 1109 South Carson, Tulsa, Oklahoma

*Yearbook of Railroad Facts,* 1966.

Donor: Thomas J. Sinclair, Association of American Railroads, Transportation Building, Washington, D.C.

*Houses, History and People* by Richard Pratt.

Presented in Memory of Mrs. John P. Cook by the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, Oklahoma Chapter.

*Military Collector and Historian*—Journal of the Company of Military Historians, Vol. XVII, No. 4, Winter, 1965. Containing information of Oklahoma's famed 45th Thunderbird Division and 20th Armored Division of Oklahoma National Guard.

*The Bulldozer,* Vol. XVIII, No. 1, 1966—Containing "History of Oklahoma Turnpike System."

*Names*—Journal of the American Name Society, Vol. 14, No. 1, March 1966.

"You, John Milton"—An Address by Lawrence Clark Powell at the presentation of the one millionth volume to the University of Oklahoma Library, January 14, 1966.

"George Mason of Gunston Hall, 1725-1792" by Mrs. Charles C. Goodrich, West Hartford, Connecticut.

Pictorial Booklet: Markham Ferry, Grand River Dam Authority, State of Oklahoma.

*United Fund of Greater Oklahoma City:*

Report of Budget Committee—June 1963.

Report of Budget Committee—June 1964.

Report of Budget Committee—June 1965.

Report of Economic Survey Committee—June 1965.

*Civil War Round Table*—Oklahoma City, Oklahoma folder file.

Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

Collection of Oklahoma Philatelic Society:

Complete File of *The Oklahoma Philatelist*—official publication of the Oklahoma Philatelic Society—Historical Record in Series of Envelopes.

1. Articles of Incorporation.
2. Certificate of Incorporation.
3. Convention and Officers.

4. Secretary-Treasurer Reports.
5. Official Publications of Oklahoma Philatelic Society.
6. Collection of 28 photographs.
7. File of President's Letter.

Seven Historical Record Notebooks Compiled by Historian regarding conventions, displays, awards, laws, memberships and "First-Day" of Issue Covers.

Donor: Oklahoma Philatelic Society by Mayor George H. Shirk, Oklahoma City.

*Marriage Records, Warren County, Tennessee 1852-1900,* Vol. I; Womack Printing Co., 1965.

*Early History of Warren County* (Tennessee) by Will T. Hale.

Donor: Mrs. Alene Simpson, Edmond, Oklahoma.

*Fifty Years Forward*—50th Anniversary Commemorative Publication, 1966 by Fred Jones; 2 copies.

Donor: Fred Jones Ford of Oklahoma City, Inc. and Mr. Orr, Oklahoma City.

*Arkansas Genealogical Research Aid,* March of 1966; Complimentary Copy.

Donor: Oklahoma State Library, 109 State Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

Microfilm: 1850 North Carolina Census; Roll 622—Buncombe, Burke and Cabarrus Counties.

Donor: Mrs. Edwin J. McMann, 3115 N.W. 40th, Oklahoma City

Microfilm: 1810 Pennsylvania Census; Roll 49—Greene, Indiana and Luzerne Counties.

Donor: N. Dale Talkington, 3037 N.W. 27th, Oklahoma City.

*Tour of the Historical Society—North Washington County, Oklahoma,* May 21, 1966. Compiled by Edgar Weston.

Donor: Edgar Weston, Copan, Oklahoma.

*Annual Convention of the National Congress of American Indians,* Bowling, Montana, October 22-25, 1945. Official transcript compiled by Judge N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City.

*Official Transcript of the Constitutional Convention of the National Congress of the American Indians,* Denver, Colorado—November 15-18, 1944.

*Minutes of the National Congress of American Indians Convention,* Santa Fe, New Mexico, December 4-6, 1947.

*The National Congress of American Indians—Minutes of Proceedings*—Fifth Annual Convention, December 13-16, 1948, Denver, Colorado.

*Minutes of Proceedings—Sixth Annual Convention—National Congress of American Indians*—Rapid City, South Dakota, September 21-24, 1949.

*Minutes of Proceedings—Seventh Annual Convention—National Congress of American Indians*—Bellingham, Washington, August 28-31, 1950.

*Proceedings of Governors' Interstate Indian Conference,* St. Paul, Minnesota, March 14, 1950.

*Proceedings of 17th Governors' Interstate Indian Conference,* September 23-26, 1964, Denver, Colorado.

*Proceedings of 10th Governors' Interstate Indian Conference,* October 24-26, 1957, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Donor: N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City.

*Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, 1964.*

*Year Book of the Society of Indiana Pioneers, 1965.*

*Jonathan Lindley—The Paoli Pioneer* by Nancy Lindley Oslund, Paoli, Indiana.

Booklet: *Friends in Orange County, Indiana* by Gerene O. Pluris. *Corrections to the Index of Revolutionary War Pension Applications* by Sadye Giller, 1965.

*Nathaniel Newlin: Trip to Indiana, 1819.* Diary of Nathaniel Newlin during trip to Indiana and Illinois and return to North Carolina—Indiana Quaker Records, Indianapolis, 1960.

Donor: Clark C. Nye, Oklahoma City.

*The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation*—A Private Fortune—A Public Trust, 1929-1965, by Agnes Lynch Starrett.

Donor: The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation & the Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania, Pittsburgh.

*John Monteith*—Man of Conscience, by Roscoe O. Bonisteel.

Donor: Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan.

*Cuff Stuff,* the Oklahoma Publishing Company, June 1966; editor, Dale Talkington.

Donor: Dale Talkington, Oklahoma City.

*Frontier Days of Love County* by Ralph L. Evans.

Donor: Ralph L. Evans, Marietta, Oklahoma.

Tapes made from original 1919-1920 recordings by the Victor Talking Machine Corp. of America featuring Jules Allen, "The Singing Cowboy."

Donor: Mrs. Pauline S. Hawkins, Oklahoma City.
In Memory of her first cousin, Jules Verne Allen.

*Chattanooga* (Tennessee) *Daily Rebel,* Vol. 1, No. 279, Sunday morning, June 28, 1863.

Donor: Mack Jones, Frisco Railway, Oklahoma City.

*Reports From the New World*—Compiled and prepared by David C. Hunt of *American Scene,* published by Gilcrease Institute.

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"Early Quaker Records in Virginia" from *Southern History Association Publication,* 1903-1902.

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Program "Dedication Ceremonies & Opening of The Five Civilized Tribes Museum, Muskogee, Okla., April 16, 1966."

Program "Ceremonies at The National Hall of Fame for Famous American Indians, July 11, 1966, Anadarko, Okla."
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Records: U. S. Indian Claims Commission:
Cheyenne & Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma vs. U. S., Dockets 329A & 329B
Findings of Fact

Three Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold Reservation vs. U. S., Docket No. 350H
Per Curiam Opinion on Defendant's Motion to Dismiss

Iowa Tribes of Kansas, Nebraska & Oklahoma vs. U. S., Docket No. 79
Order

Kickapoo Tribes of Kansas & Oklahoma vs. U. S., Docket No. 145
Findings of Fact

Lummi Tribe vs. U. S. Docket No. 110
Additional Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Peoria Tribes of Oklahoma

Kickapoo Tribe of Kansas vs. U. S., Dockets No. 99 and No. 315
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Puyallup Tribe vs. U. S., Docket No. 203
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission

Quechan Tribe of Fort Yuma, Calif., vs. U. S., Docket No. 319
Order allowing attorneys fees

Lower Sioux Indian Community vs. U. S., Docket No. 359
Order granting intervenors' motion for summary judgment of title

Sisseton & Wahpeton Bands of Indiana

Lower Sioux Indian Community, vs. U. S., Dockets No. 142 and 362
Opinion: Re Petitioners' Motion for determination of questions of law

Confederated Tribes of Umatilla Reservation vs. U. S., Docket No's 264, 264a, 264b
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Donor: U. S. Indian Claims Commission, Washington, D. C.

*Indian Voices,* Feb. & Mar. 1966, and April & May 1966
Donor: Robert K. Thomas

"Bicentennial Commemoration of Birth of Sequoyah," appearing in Congressional Record May 25, 1966
Donor: Mrs. Gertrude Ruskin, Decatur, Ga.

Newspaper article: Letter from Larkin McGee, trader, Chetopa, Kansas, dated Dec. 1, 1891
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Pictures:

Oklahoma Historical Society Oil Well Restoration (2 photographs)
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Arrowhead Lodge

Five Civilized Tribes Museum
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Two Interiors at Gilcrease Museum
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Camelot Inn at Tulsa
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Governor Henry Bellmon and Lawrence R. Alley at Ponca City
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Goodland School, cast of play presented in 1923
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Oil Portrait of Dr. Henry S. Bennett
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Exhibits:
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Donor: R. A. Wampler, El Reno, Oklahoma
Spanish American War Bayonet
Donor: Mrs. James B. O'Reilly, 1621 N.W. 41, Oklahoma City
Mustache Cup with name "James Brazell" on the side of cup
Donor: Mrs. James Brazell, Oklahoma City
Document-Homestead Application
Trustee's Deed
Tax Receipts, Oklahoma County 1897-98-99
Receipt from Spivey-McGill Furniture Store 1908
Receipt from J. A. Bratt Lumber Company, 5-10-1898
Leather Wallet owned by Captain J. H. Hoback
Donor: J. Ross Wildman, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Oklahoma City High School Annual 1916
Photograph Book 1918
Gown, old fashion white muslin gown with hand crocheted yoke
Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown, Oklahoma City
Surveyor's Chain (Gunter's, 100 feet)
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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

The major objective of the Society involves the promotion of interest and research in Oklahoma history, the collection and preservation of the State's historical records, pictures and relics. The Society also seeks the co-operation of all citizens of Oklahoma in gathering these materials.

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GREAT SEAL OF THE STATE OF OKLAHOMA
1907

# The CHRONICLES of OKLAHOMA

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*COVER:* This picture of "The Oklahoma Run, 1889" is from the painting by Robert Lindneux, in the College of Education, the University of Oklahoma.

# CUBAN VIEW OF THE OKLAHOMA RUN

*By Francis Donahue**

Interest in the opening up of Oklahoma was not limited to the United States. Latin Americans were given a vivid account of the Run through reports in Spanish written by Cuban Jose Marti in 1889.

Marti (1853-1895), Cuba's national hero, sparked and directed a revolution to wrest independence for his homeland from Spain. This revolutionary—a black-eyed wisp-of-a-man, was also Cuba's most celebrated writer—poet, essayist and author of children's stories. While planning his revolution from his New York headquarters, Marti wrote regular columns for *La Nacion* (Buenos Aires), *El Partido Liberal* (Mexico) and other Latin American dailies.

In April, 1889, he sent a vibrant account of the "Run" to his Latin American clients. Here are highlights, in English translation:

"Homesteaders wait impatiently on the distant prairie for the stroke of noon on Monday when they will invade the new Promised Land and stake their claims in the ancestral hunting ground of the Seminole. They clean their rifles, pray, and carouse. All along that straining frontier, held in check only by the vigilance of the troops, one hears the shouted greetings of the penniless who are about to become landowners, of the speculators who see a froth of gold, of the adventurers who live by crime and death. Who will be the first to arrive? Who will drive the first stake on the plot that will front the main street? Who will lay claim with the heels of his boots to the fertile acres? Miles of wagons; a welter of horsemen; random shots fired in the air; a coffin, followed by a woman, and child; from the four corners of the land besieged by settlers one cry goes up: 'Oklahoma! Oklahoma!'

"After ten years of work, the railroads, the speculators, those who want to 'grow with the country,' those to whom the soil of Kentucky or Kansas has not been kind, those who want finally to settle down somewhere, who are tired of living on the move, hungry one day, begging the next, gather on the

---

* Dr. Francis Donahue is a professor of Spanish American Literature at California State College, Long Beach. His published works include three books of literary criticism: *Washington Irving* (Havana, 1958, in Spanish), *The Dramatic World of Tennessee Williams* (New York: Ungar. Publishers, 1964), and *Diez Figuras Ilustres de la Literatura Norteamericana* (Madrid: Estades, 1965). His articles on historical, educational and cultural topics have appeared in many periodicals in this country and abroad.—Ed.

borders of the territory where many of them have already been squatters, raising children and grazing cattle on the very spot ambition has marked as the best site for the city, and where the only signs of man now are the ashes of the settlers' cabins, the tracks of the railroad and the red station.

"The isolated towns along the frontier fill up with people; horses and wagons soar in price; bronzed faces, of dark and sinister eye, turn up where they were never seen before; there are hand-clasps in the shadows between those vowing aid to one another and death to their rivals. The settlers close in from every side until they are face to face with the cavalry guarding that million acres of free land. There they wait in silence, side by side, with their horses, their covered wagons, their rifles on their shoulders, and their wives beside them. Only the marshals named by the President are allowed within the territory, and persons authorized by the army, such as railroad workers laying track, a newspaperman setting up his press, a hotel man preparing his establishment, and the employees of the land office, where the eager throng must register its claims in orderly turn . . . Whole towns have migrated. In clusters, in straggling lines, in cavalcades they come, amidst clouds of dust.

"Arkansas City has torn the awnings from its houses to make beds for the immigrants, and every saw in town is nicked and dulled from cutting up lumber for benches and tables. There is no milk left to sell a pioneer woman who steps down from the wagon where her husband watches over their only possessions—a tent, a stove, a plow, and the stakes with which to establish their claim to the land . . . Texas cowboys are roaming the town, and there is not a man without a woman.

"There goes the Widow Dickinson, with three daughters and two rifles bouncing in the wagon. Many wagons carry a sign painted on the canvas: 'Land or bust!' One wagon . . . carries this sign: 'There are plenty of damn fools like us!' Covered with dust, and with spades on their shoulders, a group of men plods forward under the command of a spare man, who is everywhere at once . . .

"By noon the next day everybody is ready, everybody is silent; 40,000 human beings and and not a sound. Those on horseback are crouched forward on their horse's neck; those in wagons, standing with their foot on the footboard, the lines in their hands. Those with spavined beasts are to the rear . . . A bugle note rends the silence, the cavalry turns aside, and from all sides at once that human torrent pours into the territory, spur to spur, wheel to wheel, without cursing, without talk, all eyes fixed on the dry horizon. From Texas, the horsemen at a dead gallop, firing their rifles, standing in their stirrups, yelling

like mad, and slapping their horses with their hats. From the opposite direction, the ponies from Purcell, running flank to flank, without yielding their place, without surrendering the advantage. From Kansas, at full tilt, the heavy, bouncing, thundering covered wagons on the heels of the riders . . . They pour into the valley.

"The wagons gradually come to a halt, and their hidden occupants, the wives and children, spread out on the prairie, where the father drives his stakes. They do not climb down, they erupt. The children roll in the grass, the horses whinny and swish their tails, the mothers shout distractedly and wave their arms.

"The railroad station, the tents of the troops, and the registry office, flying the flag, are in Guthrie, which will be the principal city. All of Arkansas City and Purcell moves into Guthrie. The men throw themselves into the cars like madmen, fighting, punching and biting to keep their place, tossing out their knapsacks and suitcases to be among the first arrivals, riding on the roofs of the cars. The first train pulls out with shouts and hurrahs . . .

"But how is it that in twenty-five minutes there are corners, avenues, streets and squares? The truth comes out: there was trickery! The favorites, those hidden in the underbrush, the ones who 'came out of the ground,' the ones who entered in the guise of marshals and railroad workers, held their meeting at 10 a.m., when, legally, there was no land on which to hold a meeting, and divided up the city, marked out the streets and lots assigned themselves the best plots, and at twelve noon were placing their privileged signatures in the registry book.

" 'Bank of Oklahoma' it says on one big tent. 'Guthrie's First Hotel!' 'Rifles for sale!' 'Water, a nickel a glass!' 'Bread, a dollar a loaf!' Tents everywhere, with banners, signs, gambling tables and banjos and violins at the door. '*The Oklahoma Herald*, with the announcement of election for city officers.' The meeting is at four o'clock, and 10,000 men are present. At five o'clock the *Herald* gets out an extra with the list of elected officials.

"Sandwichmen parade through the crowds advertising names of carpenters, hardware merchants, and surveyors. One cannot see the ground for the discarded handbills. At nightfall, the red railroad station is a living city. Forty thousand children sleep for the first time on the Oklahoma prairie. A muted sound, like the beating of a surf, is carried by the night wind from the prairie.

"The black shadows of those still abroad are thrown against the tents by the light from the fires. All night a light burns in the registry office. All night the pounding of the hammer is heard."

# REPORTS OF THE GOVERNORS OF OKLAHOMA TERRITORY
## 1891 to 1899

*By B. H. Johnson**

The dust stirred by optimistic Oklahoma settlers at the opening of the Territory had long since settled by the fall of 1899. Prosperous farms had sprung up both in Old Oklahoma, as the regional settlement was called, and in the successive areas opened to white inhabitation. Where buffalo and Indians had once roamed, school bells now rang with the bustle of a growing civilization. Oklahoma Territory had survived her childhood, and, in the eyes of some, had moved into maturity.

Oklahoma's dramatic growth inspired a variety of promoters from the beginning. To those who believed in the future of Oklahoma, it was natural to tell the world of her greatness—to "sing her praises" as the booster often exclaimed. Thus, Cassius M. Barnes, the fourth governor of Oklahoma Territory, could speak of continued growth in his annual report to the Secretary of the Interior in 1899. In ten short years, he reflected, immigration to Oklahoma had changed from the "dash of a great storm wave" to a "slowly incoming tide." Indeed, Oklahoma offered new hope for those "dissatisfied with their surroundings." In typical booster language, the governor wrote:[1] "Not a day during the year but the white-topped prairie schooner can be seen wending its way from north, south, east, or west toward a new abiding place in Oklahoma; every train brings newcomers to the cities, towns, or farms of the Territory."

Governor Barnes was by no means unique in lavishing praise upon a new territory. Such a spirit had pervaded all the American West and much of the entire New World. Walter Prescott Webb once observed that the American experience had bred "unbridled optimism." Roy M. Robbins, in his book on the public domain, noted that the government itself began an impressive promotional campaign after the Civil War. Such agencies as the Land Office, the Immigration Bureau, and the Army Engineers produced attractive reports designed to lure settlers to the hinterlands. Even

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[1] *Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior*, 1891. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891), pp. 85-6. Hereafter all reports will be cited when given as *Report* with the appropriate year and page.

Other sources are:

Walter Prescott Webb, *The Great Frontier* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952), p. 5; Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain 1776-1936* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), p. 236; Edwin C. McReynolds, *Oklahoma: A. History of the Sooner State* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), p. 306.

the territorial governors' official reports were not immune to the all-encompassing booster spirit.

This study will investigate the promotional activities of Oklahoma's governors as reflected in their reports to the Secretary of the Interior for the years 1891 to 1899. This period spans the administrations of four governors and covers the first decade of white settlement in Oklahoma.[2] Although the treatment is largely topical, a chronological pattern has been followed when possible. Before discussing the actual reports, however, the personal backgrounds of the four governors who wrote and compiled them are briefly discussed.

George W. Steele, a native of Indiana, served as the first chief executive of Oklahoma. His Republican political associations and ten years of experience as a major in the Army of the West influenced President Benjamin Harrison to appoint Steele. He took office on May 22, 1890, and resigned on October 18, 1891, after nearly a year and a half of confused politics.[3] After his resignation, Steele told a Pittsburg newspaper reporter that he accepted the job impulsively; when he tried to back out, President Harrison persuaded him to accept the position. Steele remarked that he found matters in "pretty bad shape" upon his arrival. Nevertheless, he took pride in the development of Oklahoma during his administration and even boasted that the Territory showed evidence of having been settled a hundred years instead of a few months.[4]

The next governor, A. J. Seay, moved into the governor's chair from his seat on the territorial supreme court, a post he had gained when Steele was named governor. Born in Virginia, Seay had moved to Missouri when a child. He taught public school there and later read law, but the outbreak of the Civil War in April, 1861, forced him to postpone a legal career. Instead, he entered the Union Army as a private and rose to the rank of colonel. After the war he served as a state judge in Missouri and later entered the banking business. His tenure in the governor's office lasted from February 1, 1892, to May 7, 1893, when the election of a Democratic president, Grover Cleveland, sent him back to his banking interests in Kingfisher.

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2 This study is not concerned with the boomer activities that preceded the opening of Oklahoma. The subject has been treated by Carl Coke Rister in *Land Hunger: David L. Payne and the Oklahoma Boomers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942). The political involvements leading to statehood are given in Roy Gittinger, *The Formation of the State of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939).

3 John B. Meserve, "The Governors of Oklahoma Territory," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XX (September, 1942), pp. 218-219.

4 Dora Ann Stewart, *Government and Development of Oklahoma Territory* (Oklahoma City: Harlow Publishing Company, 1933), pp. 233-34.

GOVERNOR GEORGE W. STEELE

William G. Renfrow, the only Democrat of the four, served from May 7, 1893, to May 24, 1897. Although a native of North Carolina, Renfrow had moved to Arkansas after his release from the Confederate Army. Settling at Russellville, he held minor political jobs before moving to Oklahoma in 1889 and establishing a bank at Norman. Renfrow's relatively long tenure as governor enabled him to pursue a more orderly program than had his two predecessors.

When William McKinley entered the White House in 1897, the governorship reverted to the Republicans. This time the office went to Cassius M. Barnes, a former Receiver in the United States Land Office at Guthrie. Barnes had served in the Union Army, and, like Renfrow, had later settled in Arkansas where he served as Chief Deputy United States Marshal in the court of the famous Judge Isaac Parker. When Barnes moved to Oklahoma, he entered politics and served in the Third Territorial Legislature. Before his retirement on April 15, 1901, Barnes was recognized throughout the Territory as an effective governor. It was during his administration that Oklahoma celebrated her tenth birthday.

As chief executive of the Territory, the governor held an enviable position. Not only could he further the objectives of his party, but he could also enjoy the personal satisfaction of being the Territory's leading citizen—without the rigors of an election. Although his appointment came from the President, the territorial governor worked under the Secretary of the Interior, for whom he filed a written report at the close of each fiscal year. Through the years, these reports increased in volume, thus portraying in a sense the growth of the Territory itself.

The first report, dated October 9, 1891, was only fifteen pages in length. It dealt summarily with such topics as population, schools, taxable property, railroad freight, agriculture, and laws. A few statistical tables were appended. Brief as it was, this report set the pattern for the years ahead. Henceforth, each governor would mention virtually the same topics. Although each man added pertinent material, the format remained essentially the same except for the introduction of photographs in later reports.[5]

By 1897, the Report had grown to forty-one pages. In addition to his own comments on the condition of Oklahoma Territory, Governor Barnes included statements by other territorial

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5 Obviously, the governors were assisted by their staffs, and it is likely that the actual language was that of an aide. Newspaperman Fred L. Wenner worked on the reports while serving as private secretary to Governor Barnes. Nevertheless, the governors are accorded authorship since the reports appeared under their names. See "Wenner Biography," Wenner Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma Library, Norman.

GOVERNOR A. J. SEAY

officials and experts. In 1898, he increased the document to seventy-six pages and included photographs of Oklahoma scenes and products, as well as a map of the Territory. The next year a 106-page report claimed to offer complete information on nearly all phases of life and activity in Oklahoma.

Despite their overt interest in promotion, the governors were aware of the need to be truthful. For instance, Governor Renfrow testified in 1894 that he was presenting the true condition of the Territory, "free from any of the pernicious 'boom' statements that have heretofore been so injurious to many of the Western States.[6] The next year he repeated his intent to make a "faithful report" based on reliable sources. Similarly, Governor Barnes vouched for the veracity of his 1898 report, despite its fictional appearance. Nevertheless, the governors exploited the propaganda potential of such material. Nearly seventy-five thousand copies of the 1897 report were circulated through the North and East, while some fifty thousand copies of the next year's study were given away at the Omaha exposition.[7] Information came from several sources, such as territorial officials and business leaders. Newspapermen were particularly adept at furnishing "boom" material.[8]

It is evident that the governors' reports contained masterful propaganda. Numerous examples show the effective use of overstatement, as in the case of Governor Renfrow, who predicted an "enviable destiny" for Oklahoma because of her "soft Italian climate" and "pure" American inhabitants. Moreover, the existence of "fine cities" where deer had recently grazed proved the enterprise of Oklahoma's citizenry. Surely no other state had attained so much in six short years.[9]

The assistance of the deity was implied from year to year. To the booster, there was a great similarity between the Oklahoma settlers and the Children of Israel. The relative orderliness of Oklahoma's settlement further convinced optimists that God was on the side of those who sought a better life in the Territory. The subsequent establishment of schools, churches, fraternal organizations, and other agencies of civilization dispelled any remaining doubt: God had smiled on Oklahoma.

One of the first topics to appear in each report was population. Dull as the figures seemed, they were of major importance

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[6] *Report*, 1894, p. 3.

[7] *Ibid.*, 1899, p. 97.

[8] For the role of the newspaper editor, see Bobby H. Johnson, "Booster Attitudes of Some Newspapers in Oklahoma Territory—The Land of the Fair God," *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. XLIII (Autumn, 1965), pp. 242-64.

[9] *Report*, 1895, p. 3.

to a growing country. A special census cited in Governor Steele's 1891 report showed a total of 60,417 persons in Oklahoma. The population more than doubled in the next year, and by 1894 the number of inhabitants had reached an estimated 275,000. The figure exceeded 310,000 in 1898, but Governor Barnes complained that assessors had been too conservative in their estimates. Nevertheless, a steady tide of immigration raised the population to 375,000 persons by the end of the decade.[10]

But mere population figures did not tell the entire story. The governors were equally interested in the quality of Oklahoma's inhabitants, as shown by Governor Steele's boast that Oklahoma citizens were "unusually intelligent, above the average in education, generous, . . . and God-fearing." Governor Renfrow revealed a similar pride in the mettle of Oklahoma's citizenry when he noted that a worthy moral element had overcome the ruffianism of earlier days. He marvelled at the enterprise and hardiness of the people.

The speed with which Oklahomans established religious foundations was another indicator for the watchful governors. The fact that many towns had held religious services before they were a week old especially impressed Governor Barnes. He had further reason to boast when Oklahoma's Christian Endeavor Union won a national prize for growth. The governors deemed religion so important that they devoted an entire section to churches each year.

The presence of various social and fraternal groups also drew their attention. Governor Seay described such organizations as the Masons and Knights of Pythias as "instrumentalities of good." The Oddfellows and the Grand Army of the Republic were the largest fraternal groups in Oklahoma. The latter had a special appeal to Oklahomans, many of whom were Union veterans. Yearly G.A.R. encampments drew thousands.

The reports similarly accorded the press a share of the credit for Oklahoma's progress. Governor Barnes considered territorial newspapers comparable with those in any part of the nation. He termed Oklahoma editors "loyal and energetic" in looking after the territory's best interest.[11]

In addition to noting the contributions of the church and the press, the governors took pains to point out other special assets. Several of these "advantages" would not be particularly well regarded now because they dealt with nationality and race. Governor Renfrow's boast that Oklahoma's people were largely Ameri-

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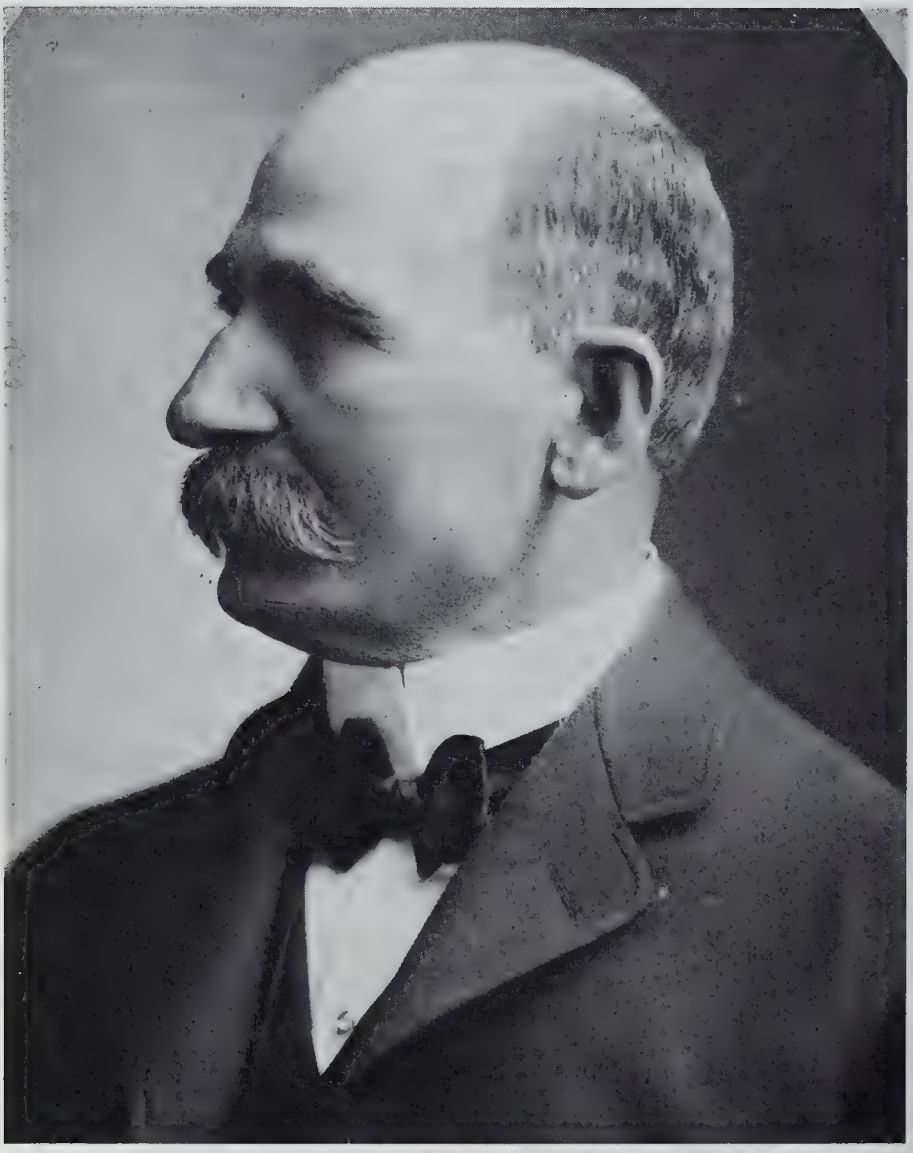
[10] A breakdown by races revealed that the population was 85 per cent white, 10 per cent Negro, and 5 per cent Indian. *Report*, 1892, p. 3.

[11] *Ibid.*, 1897, p. 18.



GOVERNOR WILLIAM G. RENFROW

can by birth probably received applause in a time of heavy European immigration to America.[12] Earlier, he had reported that Negro settlement had slowed; consequently, there were few Negroes in Oklahoma. Since a hardy stock of "pure" Americans prevailed in Oklahoma, Governor Renfrow naturally resented any effort to impugn her citizens. He attacked the Associated Press in 1895 for implying that the Territory was filled with criminals and charged that desperadoes were as much a curiosity to Oklahomans as to Easterners.[13]

Oklahoma's concern over her public image is readily understandable when one ponders the true state of affairs. No doubt her assets were numerous, but the accomplishments of only ten years hardly placed her on a plane with older states. Nevertheless, comparisons abounded in the governors' reports, even if laboriously contrived. Governor Renfrow once boasted that the Sabbath was better observed in Oklahoma than in many older states. In another vein, Governor Barnes compared Oklahoma's cultural life to that of other areas: "Nearly every town has its literary society or Chautauqua circle, good lecture courses are carried on, the best of concerts and theatrical entertainments are well patronized, and the legislative and inaugural balls and banquets and other gatherings of note at the capital and other leading cities will bear the closest comparison with similar affairs in any State or Territory."[14]

A more bizarre comparison appeared in Barnes's 1898 report when he observed that Oklahoma had one convict for every 2,150 persons, while Arizona Territory had one for every 425 persons.[15]

In direct contrast, Oklahoma had a high percentage of school children. The implications did not escape the governors. The vision of a schoolhouse convenient to every family particularly delighted Governor Renfrow. Oklahoma's quest for knowledge led Governor Barnes to declare: "No community on earth ever took so early a stand for higher education or made so rapid progress in an educational way as has Oklahoma."[16] That the advantages of learning were not limited to whites was shown by Chilocco Indian School, which had five hundred students. Neither did the Territory ignore her Negro students, who had their own school in the Territorial Agricultural and Normal University at Langston. Governor Barnes also acknowledged the contributions of several

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[12] *Ibid., 1896,* p. 3.

[13] The Oklahoma Press Association filed an official complaint with the Associated Press in 1895 for sending out such reports. See *Official Report of the Semi-Annual Meeting of the Oklahoma Press Association.* El Reno, August 16-17, 1895, p. 11.

[14] *Report, 1897,* p. 15.

[15] *Ibid.,* 1898, p. 61.

[16] *Ibid.,* p. 10.

religious institutions, which included a Catholic school at Sacred Heart, a Congregationalist college at Kingfisher, and a Friend's academy at Stella. Business colleges at Oklahoma City and Guthrie offered practical training.

Higher education also drew the governors' praise. The Territory had three such schools by 1892: a territorial university at Norman, a normal school at Edmond, and an agricultural and mechanical college at Stillwater. Within three years the University had 147 students and five faculty members. Its graduates, thought Governor Renfrow, would prove "as well equipped as the graduates of Eastern institutions of learning." Another normal school opened at Alva in the fall of 1897, located on a forty-acre tract donated by the city.

The question of school support was particularly vital. Sections 16 and 36 of the public domain were reserved for the benefit of public schools by an act of March 4, 1889; sections 13 and 33 were later set aside in some counties. This land was leased to settlers, and by 1898 thousands of persons were living on school land. In 1894 the per capita apportionment for each school-age child was forty-two cents. The next year it reached sixty-nine cents, and by 1897 it amounted to $1.34 for each of the Territory's 90,585 school children. Such expense seemed justified when it was revealed that Oklahoma's illiteracy rate was lower than that of thirty-five other states and territories. Governor Barnes attributed this to the Territory's fine educational system and summed up the desire for learning as follows: "A penitentiary we have gotten along without, jails were slow in building, poorhouses we have none, but schoolhouses are everywhere, nearly 2,000 of them capping the hilltops or dotting the valleys of the Territory."

Unlike man-made advantages, Oklahoma's natural attractions gave the governors a built-in sales device. The weather is of fundamental importance to any new land, and each governor dealt with it in some manner. Renfrow thought the climate "delightful, except for a short period in midsummer." The subject of rainfall recurred frequently, as though the chief executives felt compelled to show that Oklahoma had adequate moisture. For example, Governor Renfrow declared that the rains of recent years had removed Oklahoma from the realm of the "great American desert." Governor Barnes cited statistics from the weather bureau at Oklahoma City to prove that there were comparatively few droughts in Oklahoma. He also castigated eastern newsmen for leaving the false impression that Oklahoma was plagued by storms. To erase the stigma caused by such reports, he cited government records which showed that Iowa, Missouri, Ohio, Kentucky, and New York had experienced more storms

with loss of life than Oklahoma in the preceding decade. He apparently failed to consider the more sophisticated record systems of the older states.

The governors further portrayed Oklahoma's climate as a panacea for the nation's infirm citizens. Governor Renfrow cited Dr. C. D. Arnold, the territorial superintendent of public health, to show that persons afflicted with throat and lung trouble had regained their health in Oklahoma. In 1897, Governor Barnes quoted Dr. L. H. Buxton, who asserted that there was "no better land under the sun for the consumptive or person with lung trouble." To those threatened by consumption, Dr. Buxton promised:[17]

> We will not banish you to desert, uninhabited plain; to bleak, barren mountain region, exiled from the sympathizing hands of humanity, but welcome you to our boundless, undulating prairies, dotted with churches and schoolhouses, and invite you to find employment and enjoyment, to eat of the bounty of our grainladen fields, sit under your vine and fig tree, and become one of our intelligent and prosperous citizens.

The climate also befriended agriculture, the Territory's leading means of income. Governor Steele considered Oklahoma "an excellent agricultural country. In Governor Renfrow's opinion, the territory was capable of producing all kinds of plants. Governor Barnes spoke of agriculture and her "handmaiden horticulture" as the mainstays of Oklahoma. Such crops as wheat, oats, cotton, and fruit were considered the basic sources of agrarian wealth. The most graphic example of agricultural promotion appeared in Governor Barnes' 1899 report. Although he admitted that the exploits of Oklahoma's farmers sounded like fiction, Barnes himself resorted to colorful language: "The farmer has converted the raw prairie into fields of grain, orchards of fruit, and gardens of vegetables; his home dots the landscape, his cattle and his sheep cover the hills, his swine run the timber, his horses and mules line the highway conveying a market the products of the land which has been made to bloom as the rose."[18]

Another phase of agriculture—stock-raising—brought still more comment from Oklahoma's official boosters. Governor Steele predicted success for the live stock industry because of the nature of western Oklahoma. The fact that he had never seen or heard of a horse with the "heaves" further convinced Steele that the Territory was suited to animal husbandry. Governor Barnes deemed Oklahoma's grazing lands among the finest in the nation. To Governor Renfrow the Territory's extensive grasslands were a haven for ranchers.[19] Fortunately, land was plentiful for those

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[17] *Report*, 1897, p. 36.

[18] *Report*, 1899, p. 61.

[19] *Ibid.*, 1898, p. 44. Governor Barnes placed the number of cattle, hogs, and horses at more than one and a quarter million in 1898.

GOVERNOR CASSIUS M. BARNES

who wished to enter the live-stock trade. A steady stream of settlers continued to flock into the western part of the Territory as late as 1898. They settled on some 7,046 sections, or a total of more than a million acres.

Although agriculture reigned in the 1890's, the governors were not blind to commercial and industrial advantages. Cities inevitably sprang up, and with them came the channels of commerce necessary to support a thriving population.[20] Governor Seay called on his own banking experience to predict success for the infant forms of business and industry that existed in 1892. Governor Renfrow later advised eastern capitalists to visit Oklahoma for a ripe investment market. By 1897 Governor Barnes could boast of such diversified industries as distilleries, canning plants, and railway shops. The Territory was virtually free of unemployment, he noted, except for an influx of "tramps and beggars" from northern and eastern states. Railroads were of primary importance to the growing commerce of Oklahoma, and each governor took care to include railway information in his report. In typical fashion, Governor Barnes boasted that there was "no new country with a tithe of the transportation facilities possessed by Oklahoma." The Territorial Board of Railway Assessors reported some 920.65 miles of track in Oklahoma in 1899. Of similar value to territorial commerce were the communication networks provided by the Western Union, the Missouri and Kansas Telephone Company, and the Perkins Telephone Company.

One of the by-products of development was sound public finance. Property valuation climbed steadily, although many farms were not yet subject to taxation. In 1891, Territorial Auditor J. H. Lawhead reported that taxable property totaled nearly seven million dollars. Less than ten years later, it was almost forty-three million dollars, and Governor Barnes thought this much too low. Moreover, Oklahoma enjoyed the best fiscal condition of all the territories. The per capita debt in New Mexico and Arizona was far higher than in Oklahoma, where it was less than seventy-five cents.[21]

Much of Oklahoma's growth was due to her stable government, for which the governors modestly took their share of the credit. After arguing about the location of the capital, the first legislative assembly finally enacted a code of law which Governor Steele described as "very fair."

Governor Renfrow took a more critical view a few years

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[20] Oklahoma Territory had fifty-five banks with a total paid-up capital of $789,786 in 1898.

[21] *Report*, 1898, p. 7. Arizona had a per capita debt of eleven dollars; New Mexico, four dollars.

later when he accused the early legislators of producing a mass of incongruity. He deemed the next two legislatures more capable, however, and praised them for writing a set of laws "fully abreast with the best thought of the times and the particular needs of the people." Another sign of responsible government was evident in the Territory's concern for her insane. The mentally ill were first sent to a private hospital at Jacksonville, Illinois, but this proved so expensive that they were returned to a private sanitarium at Norman. Such a move would save the Territory some eight thousand dollars a year, argued Governor Renfrow.[22]

Despite the effectiveness of their territorial government, most Oklahomans looked forward to statehood. Indeed, this was the most popular topic throughout the Territory. Governor Seay called for immediate statehood as early as 1892. His predecessor followed a more cautious policy in proposing single statehood for Oklahoma and Indian Territory. Renfrow offered the following candid appraisal of the problem: "The question of statehood for Oklahoma has been much agitated, and the people are divided on the question. Some desire statehood for Oklahoma with its present boundaries [1894]; others prefer to have the matter of statehood deferred until such time as Oklahoma and the Indian Territory may be admitted as one State."[23]

Governor Barnes also favored single statehood. Whereas one state would give Oklahoma vigorous position, he reasoned, separate states would be "burdensome and annoying." Barnes preferred one large state which would bring "pride and gratification" to its people.

True to his role as official booster, Governor Barnes placed great emphasis on "pride." He was no different in this respect from the rest of the governors and most of the populace. The country itself was a source of pride at first; later, the people and their institutions became the joy of Oklahoma's promoters. The governors' reports reflect this penchant for self-praise. From mere pamphlets of a few pages, they evolved into lengthy dissertations, filled with statistical tables, eye-witness accounts, and photographic proof of Oklahoma's progress. It would be unfair, however, to dismiss the reports as a mere indication of Oklahoma Territory's inferiority complex. More important, they present a wealth of factual material, much of which is unavailable elsewhere. The documents also tell a story of true growth,

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22 *Report*, 1895, p. 9. William M. Jenkins, the fifth governor of Oklahoma Territory, was removed from office in 1901 because of a political scandal concerning the hospital for the insane at Norman. See McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, p. 303.

23 *Report, 1894*, p. 12.

for it can not be denied that Oklahoma grew with the speed of a cyclone, although one of her governors might have objected to such a comparison.[24]

The historian should approach these sources with care. To cite them indiscriminately would be misleading, since their very nature fostered distortion. Thus, one should weigh them as he would the material gathered by pressure groups today—with one eye on the facts and the other on the gatherer. Or, in the case of Oklahoma, with one ear attuned to the song, the other to the singer.

[24] The population rose from 61,834 in 1890 to 398,331 in 1900. U.S., Office of the Census, *Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900. Population*, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 1i.

# THE OKLAHOMA FREE HOMES BILL 1892-1900

*By Vernon S. Braswell**

There was great contrast between the land system of Europe and the emerging land system in young America. In Europe land had been the foundation of social stability and determined the position and status of an individual in society. In America, feudal restrictions on the use and disposition of land were abandoned and replaced with a broad concept of individual property rights.

Individuals wanted free or cheap land and were not without their champions in Congress to implement the idea. After the American Revolution, Congress gave land to persons rendering outstanding service, and soldiers received military bounties in the form of land warrants. Senator Thomas Hart Benton was a firm advocate of the cheap land principle as was Galusha A. Grow, Congressman from Pennsylvania, and Senator Andrew Johnson of Tennessee.

Congress responded to popular demands and developed a liberal land policy. One instance was the Ordinance of 1785. Federal law permitted purchase of public land at cheap rates on an installment basis. A special Homestead Act was passed in 1842 for the benefit of settlers in Florida.[1] Eight years later a similar act was passed for Oregon, followed soon thereafter by like laws for Washington and New Mexico. Another great law passed was the Homestead Act of 1862, fathered by Mr. Grow.

The Homestead Act provided that any person over twenty-one years old who was a citizen, or had filed intent to become one, could file claim on a quarter section or less of the public domain. Anyone who had borne arms against the United States, or helped its enemies was ineligible. People who had preempted a homestead were protected. A settler who resided on a claim five years, cultivated it, and paid the land office fees received his patent. The right of commutation was allowed at the option

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1 U.S., *Statutes at Large*, Vol. V, pp. 502-03. Hereafter cited as Stats.

of the settler, after six months residence by compliance with preemption requirements and the payment of $1.25 an acre.[2] Under this law the vast spaces of the West began to fill.

By April 22, 1889 when the Territory of Oklahoma was opened to settlement, good farm land was becoming hard to get. The provisions of the Homestead Law applied to this opening and all land occupied was free to the settler, except for office fees and other minor charges to prove up his claim after five years of occupancy. Total fees ran from ten to twenty-five dollars. All later openings in the Territory were governed by agreements between the various Indian tribes and the Cherokee Commission.[3]

Subsequent openings had the provision that the entryman would pay a certain specified amount per acre for all land entered, in addition to fulfilling all the provisions of the Homestead Law. In some entrys he also was required to pay a four per cent per annum interest charge on the unpaid balance.[4] This was a clearcut departure from the twenty-nine year old policy of free land established by the law of 1862. To fulfill the provisions of the Homestead Act, plus paying so much per acre, was considered unfair and discriminatory. To remedy this alleged

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[2] After 1891, fourteen months residence was required. A wait of six months before establishing residence was permissible, so actually only eight months residence was required before commutation was allowed. Military service, also credited toward residence requirements, further shortened the period.

[3] The original members of this commission as appointed by President William H. Harrison were: General Lucius Fairchild, John F. Hartrauft, and Judge Alfred M. Wilson. General Fairchild resigned, and Mr. Hartrauft died, making new appointments necessary. They were David H. Jerome and Warren G. Sayre. This group is referred to by two names: The Cherokee Commission, or the Jerome Commission, and eventually negotiated agreements with practically all the Indians with reservations lying to the west of the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma Territory. Agreements were made with tribes in other states and territories also. All agreements provided for land surplus to the needs of the Indians to be ceded to the United States for settlement by the whites. Edward E. Dale and Morris L. Wardell, *History of Oklahoma* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1948), pp. 257-58.

[4] Various conditions controlled each opening with the understanding the settler would pay so much per acre for land entered. The land of the Iowa, Sac and Fox sold for $1.25 an acre. That of the absentee Shawnee-Potawatomi, Cheyenne-Arapaho, and Kickapoo tribes sold for $1.50 an acre. The Tonkawa and Pawnee lands were $2.50 an acre plus a four per cent annual interest charge until final payment was made. The Cherokee Outlet had three prices set, according to the longitudinal location. All land east of 97½° west longitude cost $2.50 per acre. Land lying west of 98½° west longitude sold for $1.00 an acre, and in between these two lines it could be obtained for $1.50 an acre. Interest was charged at the rate of four percent annually on the unpaid balance. *Stats.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 759, 1026; Vol. XXVII, pp. 563, 642-45.

wrong required a law of Congress. Such a law was advocated by the Territorial Delegate to Congress from Oklahoma Territory and was commonly referred to as the Free Homes Bill.

From 1892 to the end of the century agitation for Free Homes grew in Oklahoma. It centered primarily around Dennis Thomas Flynn and the Republican Party, and influenced political issues and elections for a decade. Flynn had come West and settled in Kansas some years before he took part in the first run into the Territory. He ran for the office of Territorial Delegate in 1890 but was beaten by David A. Harvey. Two years later he won the position when he began agitation for "free homes."

Once in Washington he obtained two extensions of time on the final payment for the settlers claims, utilizing riders to the annual Indian Appropriation Bill. He also introduced a Free Homes Bill which was laughed out of the Public Lands Committee as an attempted raid on the treasury.

While Flynn worked in Washington his constituents acted in Oklahoma to obtain Free Homes and "as early as 1892 . . . local organizations were formed here and there in the Territory looking toward the agitation of this subject."[5] Flynn continued to use Free Homes as his main political issue and was reelected in 1894.

On January 17, 1895 the citizens of Rose Township organized a Free Homes Club to obtain free land in the Cherokee Strip. This group invited delegates to attend a meeting in Perry on January 22, and it was here the Free Homes League was born.[6] League officials requested all people of the Territory to join the fight and assist the organization. They intimated its members were interested in creating a new state, not in buying one, and requested aid from the Territorial Legislature and the press. The former responded with a $500.00 donation.

Arguments advanced by the League were that Congress should repeal the portions of the acts that opened Indian Lands for settlement and compelled the aggregate payment of $20,000.000 in addition to fulfilling the provisions of the Homestead Law. This additional payment according to Free Homes advocates, meant grinding poverty for all but the well-to-do. To many it meant impoverishment and loss of work put into improvements on their claims. Leaders of the movement claimed that the United States imposed on the people of Oklahoma its Indian problem of four

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5 U.S., Congress, House, *Annual Report of the Governor of Oklahoma to the Secretary of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1901* (Washington: G.P.O., 1901), p. 86.

6 *The Eagle Gazette*, January 17, 1895. Hereafter cited as *Gazette*.

centuries by these acts; and the revenue it received would amount to no more in the long run than if no charge were made for the land.

Meeting at El Reno on January 10, 1896, the League adopted a memorial to Congress. This document summarized prior government homestead policy, precedents, changes in policy, the burdens created thereby, and the alleged injustice and effects of the present laws on the people of the Territory of Oklahoma. On January 22, League President James J. Houston circulated a petition to the county and local leagues to be signed and forwarded to Flynn.[7]

Prospects for the passage of a Free Homes bill appeared good in the spring of 1896 as the House had passed Flynn's bill and it was in the Senate. The Republicans renominated Flynn by acclamation in the Territorial convention in April and declared for free silver. At the Republican Presidential Convention in St. Louis in June, Flynn pressed to include a plank for Free Homes in the Party platform. The sub-committee fought it, however the Resolutions Committee decided unanimously to include it, to counteract the effect of the gold standard plank in the West. This made Free Homes respectable and at the same time forced the Democrats to include it in their platform, or face decline in Oklahoma. The money conflict in the national and local platforms hurt Flynn badly in his campaign.

James Y. Callahan, Populist candidate, was endorsed by the Democrats as their nominee as the two parties fused. This resulted in the most bitter and exciting of all territorial campaigns with the issues dissolved down to Free Silver and Free Homes.

In support of the latter issue a movement to organize "Dennis T. Flynn Free Homes Clubs" got underway in each school district. The first club organized was at Norman on June 29 followed on July 1 by one at Lexington and others at Moore and Noble. These were Republican clubs, but were made to appear nonpartisan so as to appeal to Democrats and Populists. Late in the campaign a number of Democratic clubs of the same name were organized.[8]

Although Flynn picked up some Democratic support he lost the election. He returned to Washington, keeping his promise to get the Free Homes bill through the Senate even though he lost

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[7] These documents may be found at the Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

[8] *Flynn Reminiscences*, Campaign and Election, 1896, 3-4 (Dangerfield Collection, Division of Manuscripts, University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma). Hereafter cited as *Reminiscences*. *Gazette*, July 2, 1896; *El Reno News*, September 18, 1896. Hereafter cited as *News*.

the election. Speaker of the House Thomas B. Reed defeated the bill when it returned for reconciliation of changes by simply not allowing it to move up on the calendar causing it to die on adjournment. He was a friend of Flynn's and figured Callahan would receive the credit Flynn should have if it passed.[9] Also it saved Flynn his pet issue for the campaign two years later.

Flynn received the nomination and endorsement of every candidate of the Republican Party in 1898. National figures endorsed him also and with Free Homes and Statehood as the most important issues he swamped his opponent, James R. Keaton. He returned to Washington to work for his favorite bill.

During his absence various Free Homes bills had been introduced into Congress, but none had progressed very far. Additional extensions on the time of payment had been secured in the usual manner, via a provision in the Sundry Civil Appropriations bill.[10] These proved worthy as the Free Homes bill that was successful was not introduced until after December 4, 1899.

Flynn introduced a Free Homes bill but the honor of presenting the one that passed, H.R. 996, went to Frank M. Eddy of Minnesota. On February 3, 1900, the Committee on Public Lands reported the bill, with an amendment. Special Order was granted on April 18, and it came up for debate on May 3.[11] It was considered by the Committee of the Whole and debate was limited to two hours with equal time alloted to each side.

Eddy stated the government had disposed of its public domain in the past in four ways: by donations to corporations for railroads and other public improvements; donation to States for educational purposes; for cash considerations; and to men who settled on the domain, resided there, and received a patent. The case under consideration was the only one in the history of the United States where a man had to pay a double price. He yielded to Flynn.

Some of the arguments utilized in the debates of the 1896 bill were summarized by Flynn. The foes of the bill claimed it had been the intent of Congress to reimburse the government for money expended in acquiring these lands from the Indians or it would not have departed from the usual policy and required additional payment after five years of residence. They felt the course was proper and the people of the entire nation should

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9 Callahan during his two years in office met with total failure. He was from a minority party with economic views hostile to those of the administration and failed to sponsor even one successful bill.

10 *News*, March 26, 1897.

11 U.S., *Congressional Record*, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1900, XXXIII, Part 2, p. 1482; Part 5, p. 4399; Part 6, p. 5052ff. Hereafter cited as *Record*.

not be burdened to furnish free homes to a very small group. These settlers were aware of the law when they entered the lands, and this payment was the foundation of the whole arrangement. If the settlers were relieved of payment, Congress would have to appropriate funds to pay the Indians. This had been refuted by insisting the Indians had already received their money or it had been invested for them. The Indian was not concerned about the bill as it did him no harm and might even help him through increased prosperity in the Territory.

Opponents claimed that little advantage had been taken of the commutation clause but Flynn offered proof that many farmers voluntarily commuted their holdings in good times. Final proofs during the period May 20, 1862 to June 30, 1895, amounted to a total of 488,837 issued in the entire United States. This number indicated a ratio of one out of five people took advantage of commutation throughout the country at large. Flynn pointed out that in 1894, $449,514.26 was collected from the settlers of Oklahoma alone. Based on that one year it would seem fairly certain that between $1,000,000 and $2,000,000 had been paid to the Land Office by the Territory on commuted claims.[12]

An estimate of $15,000,000 had been made by the enemies of the bill as the loss to the government if the bill passed. This was a gross overstatement as it included all types of land, the good, bad, and in between at full price. No deductions had been made for the reserved sections 16 and 36, townsites, Indian allotments, and worthless land that remained unsold which amounted to 7,073,901 acres. It was estimated that forty percent of the settlers would be forced to relinquish their farms or sell to salvage something for their improvements. A large area would be covered by mortgages if they did neither and borrowed to commute.

This bill, H.R. 996, covered millions of acres outside Oklahoma Territory, whereas Flynn's bill pertained to Oklahoma only. This ran the estimated loss to the government to about $35,000,000 as computed by people opposed to it. Friends claimed that after deducting unsalable semi-arid, desert, and mountain land the loss would not exceed $17,500,000. This was not considered as lost revenue because the foundation would be laid for future commonwealths.[13].

Senator Orville H. Platt of Connecticut had opposed the bill in 1896 because as he saw it the Indian lands had been acquired strictly to open them to settlement. Settlers who entered these lands had well understood that they would be required to

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[12] *Ibid.*, 54th Cong., 1st Sess., XXVII, Part 3, p. 2838ff.

[13] *Ibid.*, 2d Sess., 1896 XXIX, Part 1, p. 360ff.

pay for the land they claimed. Those individuals in Congress who advocated opening these lands had insisted that this was understood by the settler. Platt declared that it was clearly stated in each act the amount the settler was to pay per acre, and this constituted a specific contract between him and the government when he settled.

Platt argued that had Congress not understood this contract, probably no agreements would have been ratified, or lands opened. Under the homestead policy the land had been obtained for other purposes and not primarily to give away, and there was no question of contract or moral responsibility involved. But where the land was purchased and opened on the specific demand of the settler for his benefit, the policy that he pay for the land was the correct one. There could be no justification for the purchase and donation by the government of a quarter-section farm to an individual. This would be the same principle as the government buying a house from a syndicate and then giving it to a person. If this debt was relinquished all other persons who owed the government should be relieved of their debts also.

After this summation the Delegate from Olahoma added a few new arguments. He wanted the bill for 7,000 ex-Union soldiers and also for 3,000 ex-Confederates who had served in the United States Army during the past year. Their sons had known but one country and one flag and had followed that and Roosevelt up San Juan Hill like the rest. All political parties had endorsed this bill as unjust discrimination in their national platforms and they should keep their promises.

Land purchased by the government for thirty cents an acre had been sold to the settler at a profit of $1.20 an acre. The choicest land had been taken by the Indians and remained tax-free for twenty-five years with the government in c o n t r o l through its Indian agents. In Blaine county, Oklahoma Territory, Indians owned 1,384 allotments, which was enough to control the vote and fix tax rates that settlers were compelled to pay, while the Indians were exempt. Nearly one-half the county did not pay taxes of any kind.

At the request of the presidents of the agricultural colleges the committee submitted an amendment. No money paid to these colleges was derived from land east of the Alleghany Mountains, yet twelve to fifteen states there insisted on an annual payment of $40,000. Flynn charged that these states figured the colleges were supported by receipts from public land sales and wished to deny free homes for fear it would thereby reduce their revenue. Funds paid to them were not collected from year to year, however, but were paid from the grand total of $300,000,000 collected by the treasury since the public land

policy had been adopted. Funds from land sales had not been sufficient to support these colleges for some years and diminished each year. Receipts dropped to a new low of about $1,500,000 in 1897 from a high of almost $13,000,000 in 1888. In 1899 receipts rose to $2,500,000. The General Land Office spent $1,000,000 more annually than it collected from the sale of land for expenses.

Flynn reported that many who could, paid their money under the commutation clause and proved up their claim. Of 107 final proofs taken by one individual in a land office, eighty-seven had obtained mortgages to pay off. A few paid because they had the money, others feared not having a title in hand, some dreaded what would happen in the event of death, or if a contest was made on ownership of their claim. Most, if possible, paid after a residence of about fourteen months rather than chance an uncertain future. In Oklahoma a total of 37,271 homestead entries had been made up to November 29, 1898. Of these 2,151 final receipts had been issued, while the remainder was still unpatented.

States and corporations had received large grants from Congress, a total of 89,325,896 acres going to railroads up to June 30, 1899. Of this amount the states had received 39,584,164 acres, but donated it to the railroads. An additional 2,047,419 acres had been given in the form of wagon road grants. Other acres were given for schools, seminaries, colleges, salt springs, public buildings, and internal improvements.[14] Fifteen states had received a total of 59,797,237 acres in swamp-lands and swamp-land indemnity lands, while 63,507,410 acres went to nineteen states for military bounty land warrants.

Congressman Eddy assured the dissenters to the agricultural college proviso that it had been introduced to settle the question beyond all controversy. Consultation had been made with Henry H. Goodell, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experimental Stations, who had specifically requested the amendment offered. He explained that the system of appropriations for colleges was based on a legislative fiction that provided for funds from the receipts of public land sales. Sales did not produce enough money for this purpose as over $1,000,000 was needed annually to fulfill this commitment to the colleges and stations. This bill established a secure foundation for appropriations and helped, rather than hurt, them.

Congressman Edgar Wilson of Idaho claimed that those who wished to open surplus Indian lands for settlement had been forced to accept the bills offered, or fail completely in their objective, therefore, the system of payment favored by the East

[14] Not counting the sections reserved for school lands, a total of 12,243,020 acres were given for other purposes listed.

was adopted. He said its injustice was recognized everywhere, and this bill would right the wrong inflicted. If the principle of the Homestead Law was wrong it should be repealed. If not, it should be abided by. Only 57,000 out of 174,690 acres, had been taken in the Coeur d'Alene area in seven years while the Nez Perce Reservation was still only half settled six years after it was opened.

John F. Shaforth, Colorado, said the government did not function to make money out of land it acquired, but to obtain political power and jurisdiction; to produce settlement and develop the area. Departure from this policy was wrong. Equality was justice. Inequality was wrong. In the states with good land, land had been free, now in the arid and semi-arid states it should be. These states had been unfairly treated. Continuing on, he asked why it was considered wrong for funds paid to colleges to come from the general treasury? Under the present system of payment by the settlers, it constituted an indirect tax on them for support of colleges in other states. Reservations discussed consisted of an insignificant area when compared to the entire public domain, as less than three per cent of the total was involved.

After the opponents had argued along the lines of the bill of 1896, Mr. Eddy moved that debate on the section and amendments be closed, and it carried. Amendments were adopted in gross, the bill as amended was engrossed for the third reading, and passed. The following day, May 4, 1900, Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota requested that H.R. 996 be substituted in the Senate for S. 17 as they were similar, and that S. 17 be indefinitely postponed. It was ordered. [15]

On May 11, Senator Nelson reported H.R. 996 from the Committee on Public Lands without amendments. Three days later it went before the Committee as a Whole, was reported without amendment, and passed by that body. The next day the Speaker of the House signed it and the following day the president pro tempore of the Senate did likewise. It was then forwarded to President William A. McKinley and on May 17, 1900, he signed it into law. [16]

Thousands in Oklahoma shared Dennis Flynn's joy at the passage of the Free Homes Bill. Flynn had sent his friend, Captain Charles Day of Blackwell, the following telegram: "Senate just passed Free Homes Bill. My loyal friends are entitled to the credit."[17] This message set off many celebrations throughout

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15 *Record*, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., 1899, XXXIII, Part 6, p. 5124.

16 *Ibid.*, pp. 5576, 5583; Part 7, p. 5871.

17 *Blackwell Times Record*, May 17, 1900.

the Territory. For once the Populists, Democrats, and Republicans all united in one pursuit: To honor Flynn, their benefactor.

Flynn found the taste of victory exceedingly sweet as some people had doubted his veracity while fighting to pass the bill. Some figured he utilized the issue strictly for political capital, proved up their claims and thereby called him a liar by their actions, yet later requested him to introduce a bill to secure them reimbursement. He estimated about $20,000,000 worth of mortgages were removed by the bill from Oklahoma, and approximately $40,000,000 from the other areas concerned. In Kay County alone it was estimated the residents saved $1,000,000 as 2,500 entries had been made and only 500 proved up. Every person who had lived on his claim for five years saved an average of $500 which could now be used for other purposes than paying for land.[18]

With the passage of Free Homes the attitude of former opponents changed. This change aided areas that failed to fall under the provisions of Public Law 105, although some had been assumed to fall thereunder at the time the bill passed Congress. The Jerome Commission had concluded an agreement with the Kiowa-Comanche and Apache Indians on October 6, 1892 at Fort Sill, Indian Territory, and according to it the Government would take some 2,500,000 acres for settlement. Eighty per cent of this was fit for agriculture, while the remainder was mountains. Another area in Oklahoma not covered by the original bill was the Wichita Reservation although the agreement with this tribe had been ratified on March 2, 1895.[19] Still another area, but not in Oklahoma, was the northern half of the Colville Reservation in Washington which was ready for opening on October 10, 1900. Unfortunately, since this date fell after the Free Homes Bill victory, a law had to be passed covering the area specifically to make it comply with the provisions of the Homestead Law.

Senator George L. Schoup of Idaho worked up a bill to open the Fort Hall Reservation containing a half million acres in his state. Flynn saw an opportunity to open 3,500,000 acres on the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation by amending this bill. His plan worked and on January 4, 1901, "An Act to open certain Indian lands in Idaho, known as the Fort Hall Reservation" passed and opened the Oklahoma area also. Other small areas were covered by various bills in succeeding Congresses as they became necessary.[20]

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[18] *Reminiscences*, pp. 50-51 (Dangerfield Collection); *News*, May 31, 1900.

[19] *Ibid.*, March 8, 1900; *Woodward News*, April 20, 1900; *Gazette*, January 24, 1901.

[20] *Reminiscences*, pp. 52-54 (Dangerfield Collection); *The Kiowa Chief*, February 1901.

Public Law 105 proved beneficial to Oklahoma in many ways. First—payment in full had not been required until proving up the claim was accomplished, therefore many farmers suddenly found themselves with several hundred dollars on hand to use as they wished. It was estimated by the Governor in his 1901 report that $15,000,000 was saved to the people of the Territory, most of which was invested in houses, barns, livestock, and implements for personal comfort and better farming.

A second result was increased immigration to the Territory. Before the bill passed, the western part of Oklahoma was very sparsely settled as few farmers moved into it because payments were required. After the charge was removed they were eager to take claims, although it took several years for those areas like Beaver County, fit only for grazing purposes, to fill up.

The third result was a rapid proving up of homesteads in all portions of the Territory which increased the taxable land and other assets. Oklahoma was regarded as having "excellent credit in the East. Her municipal bonds and mortgages are considered gilt edge securities, which demonstrates that the people of the East not only have confidence in the material development of Oklahoma, but also have a high opinion of the citizenship of our territory."[21]

The Free Homes Bill grew out of the basic desire for a home by the poorer class of citizens. The settler in Oklahoma wanted to be treated as homesteaders had been since 1862, with the passage of the Homestead Act. He felt he had been discriminated against, and rightly so, when he had to fulfill the provisions of the Homestead Act, and in addition, pay a specified amount per acre for the land he settled. This policy had been a reversal of the trend towards free land since the formation of the Republic. President McKinley had stated the Homestead Law had been one of the great laws written that aided greatly the development of the country to increase the wealth of it, and its citizens. Congress allowed this great law to lapse for approximately eight years on certain lands, realized its error, and corrected it for the affected citizens. It is Acts such as Free Homes that make an individual recall the words of Solon: "That is the most perfect government under which a wrong to the humblest is an affront to all."[22]

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21 El Reno *Daily American*, April 29, 1903.

22 T. Edwards, *Useful Quotations: A Cyclopedia of Quotations* (New York: Grosset and Dunlap, n.d.), p. 227.

# THE CLASS OF 1903 AT OKLAHOMA A. & M. COLLEGE

*By R. Morton House*

As soon as it was finally determined that the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Oklahoma Territory would be located in Stillwater, its citizens—a competitive, tenacious, sturdy group of pioneers—accepting no interference as insurmountable lost no time in starting this A. &. M. College. Even though there was no building to meet in, the first students were enrolled and the first classes were held in the Congregational Church at the corner of 6th and Duncan streets on December 14, 1891. Later "Old Central," the oldest of the territorial college buildings now standing in Oklahoma was built for $14,948.00, under contract with Mr. H. Ryan dated June 30, 1893. This building was dedicated on June 15, 1894.[1]

During those pioneering days homes were not bothered with incorrigible children, nor were schools bothered with "drop-outs" for the reason that everybody, including the children, had to work and pull his or her share, to keep everything going right. Most people now work to "make a living" and for extra money for luxuries. Then, we had to work 14 or 16 hours per day to 'make our living' without luxuries, and had to tame a wild country at the same time.

There were no herds of beef cattle and even milk cows were scarce. We had to raise corn to grind meal for our cornbread. Posts and rails had to be split from felled trees and fences built. Barns, sheds and houses had to be erected. Wells had to be drilled or dug, or water had to be hauled in barrels from some distant source. Timber had to be cleared, brush burned, stumps pulled, and sod plowed. We had no cars, few buggies, no telephones, and we had no time for visiting. All teenagers and most of the younger children did as much of the adult work as they could.

School of four or five months per year, with all grades under one teacher in one room, was such a relief from the drudgery on the "claim" when they were not in school, that they were glad to go to school all they could. It was fun. I remember teaching my second school when I was 18 years old. I taught

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[1] The first building at the University of Oklahoma, Norman, was completed in August, 1893, at a cost of $32,000, and was a total loss by fire in April, 1903 (Edward Everett Dale, "David Ross Boyd: Pioneer Educator. "*The Chronicles of Oklahoma*" Vol. XLII [1964]. p. 15). The first students were enrolled at the University of Oklahoma on September 15, 1892 (Letter from Jack D. Haley, Division of Manuscripts, Library of University of Oklahoma, to R. M. House, dated September 27, 1966).

five months in 1898 for $30.00 per month, in a log school house three miles west of Arlington, Oklahoma. We enjoyed a wonderful winter together even though our school program was badly interrupted by numerous absences from school, for mumps, measles, cotton-picking, and extra bad weather. The temperature dropped to 20 below zero for four nights and three days. Father and I harvested ice 6½ inches thick that winter, cut from quiet ponds of water which had overflowed from Deep Fork River, for storage and sale at Sac & Fox Agency.

In September of 1899, ten years after the first opening of land in Oklahoma Territory, from the background of the rigorous life in the Territory as just described, 46 girl and 49 boy teenagers enrolled as freshmen in the Class of 1903, in the A. & M. College at Stillwater. Those 95 students came from 51 post offices across the land; 1 from Chicago; 3 from Missouri; 1 from Ohio; 1 from Texas; 2 from Kansas; 1 from South Carolina; and 86 from Oklahoma postoffices. Many of these have disappeared and have been forgotten. Only 31, a third of our freshman class, claimed Stillwater as their home.

When the students arrived in Stillwater, they found three completed college buildings on the campus: "Old Central"; a stone "Shops Building," standing where Gunderson Hall now stands; and a two-story brick "Chemistry Building." The latter was straight west of Old Central, northeast of the present "Communications Building" on the present parking lot. The rear half of the Chemistry Building was occupied by the Agriculture Department and the Experiment Station, presided over by Professor John Fields, who later ran for Governor, but lost the election count to Jack Walton. The Chemistry Building was razed in 1936. The stone "Shops Building" housed the Foundry, Machine Shop, Blacksmith Shop, and Electric Laboratory on the ground floor; and the Printing and Physics Departments and the Mechanical Drawing Room, on the 2nd floor. The present Power Plant and Engineering schools grew out of that "Stone Building."

The then incomplete east half of our New Library Building (now Williams Hall) was started in the spring of 1899 but was not occupied till late in 1900. There were no trees or shrubs anywhere on the campus. A driveway going north from Knoblock street entered the campus and curved to the left to serve the Library and Old Central, and then continued south from the campus to Hester street. The driveway and the walk beside it were covered with coal cinders from the power plant. We had no natural gas to burn in those days but artificial gas was manufactured in the basement of Old Central. Cisterns with rainwater supplied the needs of the buildings. Inside toilets and lavatories were unknown luxuries.

Arriving as freshmen in September 1899, our class, of course could not build a football team for that fall as most of the boys had never seen a football game. Some of the mothers objected to their boys playing the game because it was too rough and dangerous from descriptions given in the newspapers of the day. My mother persuaded me before I left home to promise her that I would not play college football.

However, the class of 1902 had a team in the fall of 1899 when they were all sophomores. They had no opposition except from groups without experience, volunteers from day-schools in towns near by, all absolutely without training. At that time there were only 26 boys and 6 girls enrolled as '02 sophomores; 6 boys and 3 girls as '01 juniors; and 5 boys and 1 girl as '00 seniors. Our class of '03 enrolled the fall of 1899 with 49 boys, and soon things began to happen. There were two "Sub Freshmen" classes and one class of "Special" students, all filled with boys and girls who needed to learn many subjects they had never had in their young schools at home where high schools were so few and far between. As a result of this increased enrollment in these different groups, class competition and class loyalty became powerful forces in the growth of our school.

President Angelo C. Scott announced in Chapel one winter morning that the colleges of the Territory had organized the Oklahoma Intercollegiate Athletic Association including A. & M. College at Stillwater, Northwestern Normal at Alva, Kingfisher College at Kingfisher, Central Normal at Edmond, and the University, now O.U., of Norman. Then Dr. Scott electrified the students with the idea of proving their supremacy in athletics!

The 26 sophomore boys and the 49 newly enrolled freshmen, enthusiastically organized the A. & M. Athletic Association in January of 1900. I laugh when I think of how the boys and some good sports of the faculty scrambled around getting ready for the first local track meet on April 22, 1900, in preparation for the First Territorial Field Meet. This was to be held in Guthrie, May 4th, 1900. I enrolled in A. & M. College April 4th, only 18 days before our first local track meet.

A quarter-mile track was scraped out of a close-cut, short, stiff-stubbled alfalfa field, just north of what now is the old Gym or Armory building. While practicing the mile walk on this new track, "Doc Lew" (the nickname everyone gave Dr. L. L. Lewis, Head of the Zoology Department, who was our best friend) would follow on his bicycle. He kept coaxing all the contestants to try harder. He told them the difference between a running and a walking "hip-wiggle," and said that the judges at the field meet would rule a "running hip-wiggler" ineligible for a score. Doc Lew and John Fields persuaded different boys to

enter contests they never had seen or heard of before with remarks such as: "Sutton, why don't you enter the hurdles?" The first high hurdle race we ever had, ended with every hurdle being knocked down, and some very sore feet and ankles, "Slaybaugh, why not enter the pole-vault?" So we entered, and how stiff and heavy that vaulting pole was and how hard that ground was when we landed! Wallace Thornberry of '02 won first place in our first local vaulting contest at 8′6″. Joe Slaybaugh and I tied for second and third places at 8′3″. We all went over the bar in a sitting position with our feet in heavy rubber soled shoes, wearing full length trousers and long sleeved shirts, none of which helped us over the bar or improved our score.

However, Doc Lew and John Fields whipped us into shape and we went to Guthrie May 4th 1900, for the First Territorial Field Meet in Oklahoma. We won for A. & M. College with a score of 55 points. Central placed second with 44 points, and Northwestern won 13 points. O.U. did not attend the meet but lost a base-ball game that day at Alva, 14 to 2. A. & M. also won first possession of the "Douglas Cup," which was to be the permanent possession of the school which "first won three Champion Meets."

When college opened in September of 1900, the organization of an "All-College Football Team" was inevitable. I had become twenty-one years of age since the first field meet, so I wrote home to Mother stating that, "as I am now 'on my own' I simply must rescind my promise not to play college football, because I feel I must be loyal to my classmates and to my school." Thus I announced my intentions and joined the team. Its work that fall consisted of learning and executing plays, learning which boy was best suited for a particular position, and playing practice games with class teams, and "gun-fodder" groups which could be found in neighboring schools. All this was done in preparation for a schedule of real off-campus games the next fall.

In the spring of 1901, April 22, our local field meet was won by the class of 1903, and resulted in a slight change in the members of the track team that A. & M. sent to the Second Territorial Track Meet at Guthrie May 24th, 1901. A. & M. won the meet with a score of 64 points. O.U. won 47 points, Northwestern won 12, and Central 2 points. On that track team there were one '02 boy, nine '03 boys, eight '04 boys, and one '05 boy. The Douglas Cup came back to A. & M. for the second time.

That fall, during the 1901 football season, A. & M.'s first All-College Football Team played six games: Kingfisher College at Kingfisher; Northwestern Normal at Perry; Logan High at Guthrie; and Chilocco Pawnee Indians, and Stillwater High,

**OKLAHOMA A. & M. COLLEGE FOOTBALL TEAM, 1901**

Front row, left to right: Joe Thornberry, Charley Morrow; middle row, Ralph Kratka, Manager George Janeway, Alva Pierce; back row, Morton House, Wallace Thornberry, Runt Hughes, Art Flower, Rex Shiveley, Joe Houska, Charley Egerton. Rogers, Slaybaugh, Tarr, and Sutton missed the picture.

all on A. & M. campus. We had no coach. (The 1907 team was the first A. & M. team that had a coach and he was a local volunteer. The 1908 team had the first paid coach.) Our '01 players took advice from all who gave it, for we thought the one who offered it surely must have known more about the game than we did. We knew so little. Most of us played the full time in scheduled games because of a lack of substitutes. I remember that we had only fourteen boys on the squad when we went to Kingfisher, where I served as a "sub" but was promoted to the "first string" during the game, which Kingfisher won 12 to 0.

The First Varsity team playing six games its first year, made a seasonal game record of 3-3-0, while scoring 72 points and holding the opponents down to 28 points. The 1908 team, after statehood, was the first to surpass our 3-3-0 record, but they had a paid coach, and we had none. Also they played one more game than we did, and although they scored 14 points more, their opponents scored 38 points more than ours did. Also, after the 1903 boys graduated and went out to conquer the world, the A. & M. college team played 11 scheduled games and made only **ONE** touchdown.

Mr. Otis Wile of the Athletic Department puts out annually, a football "almanac," a wonderful volume of sports data, well worth having in any library. The 1965 edition shows that in more than thirty different years since our time, A. & M.-O.S.U. teams made poorer season-game records than the 3-3-0 record of our '03 class.[2]

Mr. Wile's almanac also reports that no football was fielded in 1902. The reason for that statement is the fact on an off week-end in late fall of 1901, a promiscuously assembled team was made up on the campus, some regular players and some not, to travel to a neighboring town which had challenged A. & M. to play an unscheduled game. The rival team was made up of its own town boys, who were untrained, without a coach, and unusually tough. Their line was almost immovable and our team decided to use the old-fashioned Flying Wedge play to buck their

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2 Still another comparison in favor of our '03 team's record, is found in Mr. Wile's 'almanac':

| Year | Games Played | W-L-T | A&M Scored | Opponents Scored | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1901 | 6 | 3-3-0 | 72 | 28 | First A.&M. All-College Team |
| 1903 | 4 | 0-2-2 | 6 | 16 | |
| 1904 | 4 | 0-4-0 | 0 | 109 | First game with O.U. |
| 1905 | 5 | 0-3-2 | 16 | 29 | |
| 1906 | 7 | 1-4-2 | 24 | 93 | |
| 1907 | 5 | 1-3-1 | 24 | 81 | First A.&M. coach—a Volunteer |
| 1908 | 7 | 4-3-0 | 86 | 66 | First A.&M. Paid Coach |

line. Our strongest man was at the head of the wedge formation. Our opponents simply "dogpiled" our point man, and crushed his chest. The next day our fine, generally admired student, Joe Houska, a wonderful boy from Kremlin, Oklahoma, died. The Faculty immediately met in force and unanimously ruled that no scheduled football should be played next season, and that no home games, in future, should be played off campus. Since our class would graduate in the spring of 1903, our football days were over.

The results of the third local track meet April 22, 1902, again slightly changed the personnel of the group that went to Guthrie for the Third Territorial Track Meet on May 23, 1902. A. & M. won the meet with a score of 57½; O.U. placed second with a score of 54, and Central won 4 points. Northwestern did not attend the 1902 meet. Kingfisher won all the points in tennis in all three meets, but had so small an enrollment of boys, that the school did not compete in field athletics. However, C. C. Roberts, their best tennis player was the Territorial tennis champion for several years. We took The Douglas Cup home to A. & M. for the third time, and to keep. On this track team that finally won the Douglas Cup there were five '02 boys, six '03 boys, five '04 boys, and four '05 boys. Wallace Thornberry missed the picture but Doc Lew was there with the cup.

The main social event of our '03 class when freshmen in the spring of 1900, was our freshman class party, held in one of the larger homes near the college. The enrollment was almost 100, and a smaller home could not accommodate 46 girls with their beaus as lively as we freshmen were. We were having a fine time with the parlor games of those days when the doors were crashed and a group of sophomore boys rushed in and threw liquid ammonia into the room. Several girls' faces, arms and dresses were splashed and pandemonium reigned. We boys immediately gave chase but the offenders fled in all directions and we had no idea of what we would do to them if and when we caught them. We were only freshmen and this was our first experience with hazing. We learned quite a bit that night about class fights.

One of our groups found George Janeway of '02 under the hay in the loft of his father's barn on a Duck street alley, crying out that he would tell his father who would surely fix us if we boys did not leave him alone. Another group found Merle Woodson of '02 under the bed in the farthest corner of his upstairs room in the square brick house which stood where the Kappa Alpha house now stands at 308 South Hester street. Merle was terror stricken and white with fear. We felt so sorry for him that we left him as he crawled back under his bed. We caught

Arthur Flower on the front steps of Old Central and took him to the cistern around on the north side and pumped water in his face, quickly learning how easily a person can be drowned, for we almost drowned him. It would have been awful if we had. All of us learned much that evening. Arthur took his punishment like a man. All of us were good friends as long as we were together in college. He later became a highly respected zoology professor in Missouri University.

Class loyalty in those days was a wonderful force. Its bonds of friendship overcame all personal peculiarities among classmates. Classes were kept intact and separate. Hazing was still a college custom, brought from older eastern schools. Sophomores resisted larger freshman classes taking over. As a result seniors sided with sophomores, and juniors sided with freshmen when "scraps" arose, and we "had 'em." Tricks were only tricks, to be repaid with interest, and then forgotten. Chicken roasts, ice cream thefts, ducking in the pond, party raids, flag fights, purloining food, and all such (and we had many of them) were simply expressions of exuberance, whether against other classes, the faculty, town citizens, or college employees.

During the spring of 1900, four of us boys learned how each of us liked to sing, and organized a male quartet. Jack Robinson sang wonderful, high tenor; Joe Slaybaugh a fine second tenor; Frank Hall an excellent melody; and I sang bass, even low C. We met in Frank's home at the corner of Elm and Duck streets every Sunday at 3 p.m. rain or shine, hot or cold, with or without our girls and sang till 4:30. We built up a repertoire of two and one half hours, with or without accompaniment. We stayed together till Frank Hall during the winter of 1902, left for a fine bank job in Wichita, Kansas. We later learned that we had spoiled our chance for lasting notoriety because of our name. We were the first regularly organized A. & M. College male quartet, and were quite popular on local programs and as serenaders on moonlight nights. A friendly night-listener once called us the "Tom Cat Quartet." The name stuck, and has never been forgotten. Both Jack and Joe died lately, Jack in Nevada and Joe in California. Frank became a Vice President of one of the large Life Insurance Companies in New York City, and now divides his time between Long Island and Florida.

Some of us boys were fortunate in having janitor jobs at $10.00 per month in the different campus buildings. I had the lower floor of Old Central in 1900, the east half of the Library till Christmas of 1902, and half of our new Engineering Building until graduation. The remains of our first Engineering Building are just south of Gunderson Hall. It was a two-story

building until 1937. It still shows over the south door that it was built in 1902.

While I was janitor at Old Central in 1900, I became well acquainted with "Uncle Jimmy" (James W.) Means who taught mathematics in the east rooms on the first floor of Old Central. He was a fine, earnest, well-liked Christian professor. Twice during the fall of 1900, the obstreperous class of 1902 swiped the ten gallon ice cream freezer from a faculty party and after disposing of all the ice cream, left the empty freezer in "Uncle Jimmy's" classroom where I had to care for it under his direction. He admirably retained his self-control, and never spoke a word against the perpetrators. One of Uncle Jimmy's teaching routines was to have a quarter of a clean sheet of paper, 4½ by 5½ inches, on our individual chairs every Monday morning, with a problem assignment on the blackboard. Our ability to solve the problem proved whether or not we had mastered our week-end assignment. Our term grades were greatly affected by those slips of paper and it paid to be neat and accurate with no careless scribbling. We often had two slips per week.

In the spring of 1901 President Scott organized a chorus class of seventy voices, less than a dozen of which were students. The chorus met every week in the home of Mrs. H. B. Bullen, our accomplished pianist. Dr. A. C. Scott also was a wonderful musician. It was a joy to have him sit down at an old-fashioned pump organ in our chapel or elsewhere, pull out all the stops and without the music before him, inspire the audience with music that made us all want to sing our very best and loudest.

We had chapel every morning, short sessions but well attended and interesting. President Scott would give us a short, snappy talk telling us the important local news, the current plans, and the group programs, with the result that the various student groups were a close-knit body completely in harmony with his capable leadership. Each student sat in an assigned seat and monitors kept records of attendance which affected our grades. I remember one chapel session when a visiting Y.M.C.A. official addressed the group. I do not remember his name or any part of his address, except the one word "Others," and his application of it to our lives. He made such an impression on me that it has been a part of my life for these sixty-five years. When we were dismissed from Chapel that day, President Scott had us file out past him and the speaker. Each student was introduced by name to the visitor. Our enrollment was over 400, we upper classes marched out last and were amazed with the demonstration. Our respect for Dr. Scott's many abilities was greatly enhanced that day.

Dr. Scott's chorus class gave "His Majesty's Ship Pinafore"

in the Opera House in the spring of 1902, and the "Mikado" in 1903. The Opera House, much in use then, is the remodeled building at 116 East 9th, now occupied by Remy and Shepherd Furniture Company. Membership in that chorus was part of our quartet's college education, a part which we certainly enjoyed.

The girls of the class of '03 also were "starters," for the first "Domestic Economy" class at A. & M. was begun July 1, 1900, by Miss Maud Gardner. Our sophomore girls of 1903 were her first students with the class held in the southeast basement room of Old Central. In 1901, the erection of the west half of our new Library building (Williams Hall) and our larger auditorium (Prairie Playhouse) was begun. The second floor of the Library was to be occupied by the expansion of Doc Lew's Zoology Department. Miss Gardner's "Domestic Economy" girls were to move to the ground-floor front of the new building. Still later when Gardner Hall was built a block north of the Library Building, they moved into it. Four of the '03 girls who started the notable A.&M.-O.S.U. School of Home Economics are still living. They can rightly be proud of the National prominence of the school they helped start. They are Mary Jarrell Hartmen of Tulsa, Oklahoma; Ninabelle Hurst Nichols of Truth or Consequences, New Mexico; Mary Nielsen Taylor of Perry, Oklahoma; and Bertha Ruble Warren of Kansas City, Missouri.

For all my college life, several classmates and I lived in the square, two-story, gray, shingle-covered house across east from the Prairie-Playhouse on Knoblock street. Each floor had four rooms with two boys per room, at $2.00 each per month, rent. Six of us '03 boys decided that for our senior year we would rent all four upper rooms, but would keep one empty, as our parlor for visitors. One of my sisters came to visit me once between terms, (we had three terms instead of two semesters) and was a guest in the home of three sisters, (one of whom was my best girl) over the week end. Four of us boys on the upper floor invited the four girls to share a chicken feed in our spare room, and for them to bring the hors d'oeuvres.

It was my time to get the chickens and I knew just where to get them for I had been watching them grow for weeks. At the corner of Maple and Knoblock just east of Williams Hall where the little restaurant now is, there used to be a chicken-coop in my day, with a high woven fence around it, with fat Plymouth Rocks inside. I only needed one of our boys to stand outside the fence to receive my "find" and keep them quiet.

The girls had brought a big stew-kettle and we soon had a big luscious stew with lots of rich thin broth for eight, healthy, hungry, growing, college students. Of course I was lauded for being such an ample provider, but I received my punishment with-

GIRLS' BASKETBALL TEAM

OKLAHOMA A. & M. COLLEGE, 1903

Stella Nelson, Abbie Nelson, Pearl Holmes, Lila Nelson, Mamie Houston, Mary Millhollen, Mary Jarrell, Mary Nielson, Esther North.

out delay. I have always liked to drink warm, rich chicken broth from cups or bowls, and we all had cups for this feed, but I did not wait long enough for the broth to cool enough, and blistered my whole mouth so badly that it was almost unuseable for more than a week.

Our '03 girls are to be remembered not only for their starting the "Home Ec" school, but they organized A. & M.'s first basketball team and played our first basketball. Surprised? The microfilm of one of Stillwater's early newspapers, *The Gazette,* of April 23, 1901, reads as follows: "Field Day yesterday was most heartily enjoyed. Contestants were well trained and brought their records up. Hundreds witnessed the exhibition. Basketball was the main feature."

Yes, years before our A. & M. boys became interested in the game which made A. & M. famous under the expert coaching of Mr. Henry Iba, our '03 girls drew enthusiastic crowds to enjoy their games. The girls made their own dress uniforms in their sewing laboratory. Their playing uniforms, the old-fashioned full sized "bloomers" of that day, also were made by the students.

Classmate Henry Lincoln's father owned a fine apple orchard just south of where Murray Hall now stands and each fall some of us apple lovers would go out on moonlight nights with empty 'gunny' sacks and get them filled with apples hand-picked from the trees. The road out there was an old-fashioned two-ditch road and one night we saw an opossum ahead of us in the ditch, on our way home. We kicked it out of the ditch and as usual it played dead and we took it home for a feast. We put it in our sheet iron heating stove which had not been used since last winter, to keep it till after morning classes were over, when we took it to a colored man living where the Catholic Student Center now stands, and his wife, for twenty five cents, agreed to cook a fine "possum and sweet tater" dish for us upstairs boys who enjoyed a fine feast that evening.

At the time the west half of our Library building was being built, the cinder walks were being changed to brick walks, and great piles of bricks were located near where they would be used. (Concrete was not yet in common use, then.) "Buck" Herrick, a fine fun-loving freshman from Guthrie and his playboy cronies, called me out with our signal whistle on a beautiful night about midnight and suggested that the Library's front entrance would look better if nicely filled with some of those brick, and we all agreed for it was such a beautiful night for working. We filled the entrance of the Library (Williams Hall), and to finish the job we went out to the street and carried a light-pole in and stood it up diagonally in front of the closed entrance. (The city was then building its first pole-line for electric service lines to the campus). In the joy of the occasion I

climbed the pole. When I was more than half way up "Buck" called to me, "House! House! here comes President Scott!" I jumped and ran. No telling how long the President had been around that corner of the building learning who all of us were. Six boys gleefully chattering, clinking brick, bright moon, midnight quiet, only two blocks from his house, of course he could hear us. Next morning Buck was called before a full faculty meeting, and I became quite uneasy for I had never been caught before. I knew Buck would never implicate me but I also knew that the President had heard my name loudly called. We finally decided to send a petition to the faculty promising Buck's good behavior the rest of the year, if they would free him this time. All his class signed—but not I. It worked! That was my closest experience!

We had a fine young professor, Robert H. Tucker, on the Faculty who was different from all the others, in that he was typically an Easterner, a graduate from William and Mary College of Williamsburg, Virginia. He taught Latin, German and English. Our English textbook was a small, thin, blue book entitled "Unity, Coherence and Expression," and it was simply wonderful how much he taught us from that tiny book. Every Monday we had to turn in a note-book page theme, a theme of 250 words every month. He assigned about half of the theme titles and we could write on any subject we chose for the rest. "Uncle Bobby" would grade and return them to us, take one or two of them and criticize the errors or weak spots and tell how better it should have been expressed. That was very fine but he favored the girls' themes and we boys seemed to be unworthy of notice, or it is possible that he thought the girls needed more instruction. I wrote a parody of three verses on a poem. My theme was discussed at the next class session, and I "belonged to the fold" thereafter. After graduation, while I was with Westinghouse, I entered a nation-wide theme contest and sent mine to my old English professor, and asked for his criticism. Later I was awarded a prize of $4,000.00. Professor Tucker was highly esteemed by all his language students.

It was in 1902, I remember one bright moonlight night when our class of '03 had hoisted our class colors on the flagpole then located on the high east end of the apex of the Old Central roof and then had painted with red barn paint our year, 1903, on the west side of the roof of the Prairie Play House which had just been erected. We then went to our rooms and retired. Soon however we heard that the class of '04 was out in force. I hurried out across the street and sat down on the grass where I could watch how the '04 class would try to outdo our '03 class stunts. Soon I saw a boy emerge from Old Central belfry, crawl to the roof apex, slide east to the flagpole at the end and pull our

FIRST HOME ECONOMICS SEWING CLASS, 1902
OKLAHOMA A. & M. COLLEGE

Martha McPheeters, Jessie Morrow, Esther North, Mamie Houston, Mary Jarrell, Lila Nelson, Mary Nielson, Eva Parker.

colors down and also the rope out of the pulley, thus making the pole unuseable. I cringed for he was in a high, steep, and dangerous place, where a fall would have meant crippling or death, but he slipped back safely to the belfry and to the ground. Other '04 boys climbed the new roof that we had ornamented and painted 1904 above our 1903. Years later when we returned in 1929 to Stillwater to live, we could still dimly see those figures on the roof, where age and weather had not eliminated them, but that "bloomin' " 1904 was still above my 1903.

The Faculty had forbidden our playing college football in 1902 but neighboring teams invited groups of us to help them in their local games and we appreciated their friendliness. Guthrie High School asked Charlie Morrow and me to help them defeat an opponent one Saturday afternoon. We enjoyed the trip down there but not the game. Charlie played halfback and I played tackle, and the field in the Guthrie Park, was simply covered with goat-burs, which are far meaner than sand-burs. I surely did not help much in the line. I suffered much and Guthrie lost the game. On our return to Stillwater however, we forgot our disappointment over the loss of the game, for we stopped to visit our good friend Mr. John Meyers who owned a clothing store, and found him talking loud and long of what he would do if he could only learn who painted up his advertisements on three large sheet iron elephants, on roads leading into Stillwater. Their heads were painted red, their front halves were white and their rear halves were blue. Of course like everyone else, we sympathized with him, telling him it was a "lousy" trick, but he remained noisy. To this very day, I think Mr. Meyers and his fine clothing business received more notoriety from the repaint job, than if the elephants had been left alone. Of course everybody thought Charlie and I had been in bed asleep as we were supposed to be, the night before we were to play a hard game of football the next day. Maybe the game was lost because we could not play our very best.

Regular pay for labor in Stillwater then was 10 cents per hour and most of us who were working our way through school, say 95% of us, were picking up every job we could find whether or not it was sewing, housework, chores, yard-work, gardening, stableboy, farm work for college or farmer, stuffing envelopes for experiment station, running a foot-power printing press, milking cows, washing dishes, waiting tables, laundry work, or helping anybody at any thing. Believe me! We were busy, and the town looked clean and well kept. Now, with wages between $1.50 and $2.00 per hour we can hardly get any one to help do any work around the house.

When I became a sophomore I decided I wanted to run a

laundry basket for a second job but Bill Burleson of '04 would not release the agency and I had to wait two years to get it. There was no steam laundry in Stillwater, the nearest being in Wichita, Kansas. I finally got the agency, then I gathered, marked, recorded, tied, packed, and expressed to Wichita on Mondays. They would return the basket of clean laundry on Fridays. On Saturdays I delivered and collected the cash. The Wichita Steam Laundry Company paid all express and I was allowed to keep one fourth of the collections, which netted me slightly more than $4.00 per week and that $17.00 per month was a wonderful help.

President Scott was a well educated man, already having earned two degrees from Kansas University and a year's travel in Europe. He also was well trained in music, both vocal and instrumental. He later earned in 1885 the degrees of LL.B, and LL.M., and still later the degree of Litt.D. was conferred upon him. A trait which Dr. Scott undoubtedly acquired during his time spent at Heidelberg University in Germany, was his inordinate love of the German song, "Die Wacht Am Rhein." I think it is safe to say, without exaggeration, that this song was sung twice or more each month during our college life, by that student body packed in that chapel, with Dr. Scott getting all the music possible out of that organ. It was wonderful to be there.

President Scott was of medium size, with no excess fat, erect, and lithe, and he walked with a spring in every step. He impressed one with the idea that he was the equal of any one in his group and that no group was better than his. His attitude and behavior simply demanded that we students should measure up to his high ideals and his presence among us brought those results. I almost worshipped him.

When we as seniors were preparing for graduation, we quarreled about commencement invitations. The larger group decided to purchase an invitation costing only 16 cents each. The group I was in thought that as we would be graduating but this once and having but few relatives and friends to send them to, we could afford slightly more expensive ones. The larger group took the matter to President Scott who called both groups before him and made quite a speech about our class as a unit, and our loyalty to each other, but all in favor of the cheaper invitation. In his address he said, "Might makes right." I jumped out of my seat shaking my fist and shouted, "No Sir, might does not make right." My idol had fallen from its pedestal, and I broke down and cried. The President said not a word but quietly left the room. The class filed out without discussion. We purchased the 16 cent invitations. I still have mine and it looks pretty good after 64 years. I have always attributed President Scott's opinion of "Might," to his sojourn in Germany. Had he only have said, "Majority rules," nothing would have happened. So I forgave him

long ago, and enjoyed a nice visit with Dr. and Mrs. Scott in their fine Oklahoma City home before his death in 1949.

One great thing about the class of '03 was the characters of its members. They spent four wonderful years together, and never was a classmate the subject of gossip, or in trouble for immorality, drinking, profanity, or an illegal act of any kind, or before the faculty, "on the carpet" for questionable behavior.

Our class record however was almost spoiled the night our Governor was hanged in effigy from a light-pole, near Morrison's Drug Store, at the corner of 7th and Main Streets. The student body and citizens were pretty well worked up because the Governor had just vetoed a bill in the Legislature which included a much needed appropriation for improvements on the campus. It was one of those beautiful moonlight nights and many excited people were all along Main street, which then extended from 10th north to 7th, when a big noise and a large crowd suddenly attracted everybody's attention to Morrison's Corner Drugstore where some boys from the "obstreperous" class had hanged an effigy. The crowd enjoyed itself for about twenty minutes, until President Scott arrived from his home on North Duck street. He was greatly worried because politics were pretty "touchy" in those days. A few boys seemed to be drinking and one was arrested and jailed in the old corrugated iron one-storied jail at the southwest corner of the court house yard. The governor's effigy was cut down and everybody went home to bed. Next morning the jailed boy was forgiven and turned loose. Some of our '03 boys were there, in fact I was there, but we were unscathed in that affair, for which I was truly thankful.

Instead of fraternities we had a Clubhouse (boys' dormitory) with 2nd floor rooms, simply but completely furnished for two boys at $2.00 each per room per month; and 3rd floor smaller dormer-windowed rooms, similarly furnished for two boys, at $1.50 each per month. We had to take our Saturday night bath in a big round washtub because we poor folks had no modern plumbing then. The residents of the clubhouse organized themselves into an "Eating Club," with one of the boys as manager and one as treasurer, each getting his board and room for nothing, for the time and work involved in caring for the Club. We hired a professional cook for $60.00 and board and room per month. (An awful expense, we thought in those days.) The cook, manager and the treasurer would buy the food, pay the bills, and divide the cost among the rest of the members, collect from each and square the books. Thus the cost was kept down to about $2.00 or $2.25 each per week. The old clubhouse is still standing but has been sawed in half and is now two rooming houses numbered 410 and 418 on West Maple street.

One of most noticeable changes in the appearance of Stillwater since those days is the condition of the trees, flowers and yards. Roses of all species and colors grew profusely everywhere. Neglect and insects have almost eliminated them. Dandelions and their seed stalks are a pest. Many varieties of trees have been planted without thought of regularity of distance apart, and left to grow without pruning, or trimming or any kind of control. It was a beautiful town then but ugly on many streets now.

The auditorium part of Williams Hall (the Prairie Playhouse) was not completed, even when needed for the program of the first class to be graduated in it, our class of 1903, but it was filled to overflowing to witness the first commencement program in that new auditorium, June 3, 1903. The building was so incomplete that the march of the Board of Regents, the faculty, and the graduates, was to the graduation platform on the north side of the room instead of on the south side, as it now is arranged. We first assembled in the large Library reading room, then marched single file through the northwest exit, across a bending, very heavy timber-like walking across a "footlog"; some of the girls giggled and screamed and some had to be kept from falling into the southeast entrance of the new auditorium. Then we marched down the sloping, narrow, east aisle to the platform, where the Regents and the Faculty were seated on the west side and center, leaving the east half of the platform for our class of twenty-three graduates.

What a day! What an experience! Twenty three of us had worked our way through college and were now getting our college diplomas! What a heart-ache followed! After four years of wonderful, friendly, clean association our class had to separate, never to be together again!

We had started in 1899 with 46 girls and 49 boys, lost one by death, and added five in the four years we were together. There were 23 of us, 11 girls and 12 boys, graduated June 3, 1903, the largest busiest class between the beginning of A. & M. and 1908.

Five of that "wonderful class of 1903" are still living: Mary Jarrell Hartman, Catoosa, Oklahoma; Nina Hurst Nichols, Truth Or Consequences, New Mexico; Mary Nielsen, Perry, Oklahoma; Bertha Ruble Warren, Kansas City, Missouri; and R. Morton House, Stillwater, Oklahoma. After sixty-eight years, at reunion time, these five can be heard proudly giving their class yell:

Cream and Crimson, Who are WE?
Sumus, Sumus, Populii!
Cream and Crimson, Who are WE?
Ausgezeichnet, Nineteen Three!

# THE FIRST FEDERAL INVASION OF INDIAN TERRITORY

*By Gary N. Heath**

When the Civil War broke out in 1861, the Confederates held the balance of power in Indian Territory. The leader of the Loyal Indians, Opoethleyohala, and his followers were pushed out of the area in December, 1861.[1] The Confederates then had virtual control of all the Territory.

The Loyal Indian refugees in Kansas were most anxious to return home. When William P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, arrived at Fort Leavenworth, to give what aid he could to the refugees, he assured them that every effort would be made to return them to the Territory at the earliest possible date.

The Battle of Pea Ridge, Arkansas, on March 6-8, 1862, was the turning point of the war for Indian Territory[2] The Confederate forces were defeated and from this point on the Federal power was to grow while the Confederate power began to wane.

Commissioner Dole thought that the Federal power in Kansas had increased to such a point that a try at an invasion of Indian Territory could at last be made. On March 13, 1862, he recommended to Secretary of Interior Caleb B. Smith that he ". . . procure an order from the War Department detailing two Regiments of Volunteers from Kansas to go with the Indians to their homes and to remain there for their protection as long as may be necessary, also to furnish two thousand stand of arms and ammunition to be placed in the hands of the Loyal Indians."[3] The effect of this letter was instantaneous. In less than a week Dole had been promised a force of two white regiments and two thousand Indians, appropriately armed.[4]

To expedite matters and avoid any difficulties that might arise, a semi-confidential agent, Judge James Steele, was sent by

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[1] Grant Foreman, *A History of Oklahoma* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942), p. 107.

[2] United States War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter referred to as *Official Records*) Ser. 1, Vol. 8 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), pp. 287-92.

[3] United States Government, *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1862* (hereinafter referred to as *Indian Affairs*) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), pp. 147-9.

[4] *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. 8, pp. 624-5.

the Indian Office in Washington, D. C. to General Henry W. Halleck, Commander of the Department of Mississippi, with an order for the delivery at Fort Leavenworth of the requisite arms:[5]

> It is the desire of the President, on the application of the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, that you should detail two regiments to act in the Indian country, with a view to open the way for the friendly Indians who are now refugees in Southern Kansas to return to their homes and to protect them there. Five thousand friendly Indians will also be armed to aid in their own protection, and you will please furnish them necessary subsistence.

General Halleck disliked the order. He was opposed to arming the Indians and would not commit himself as to when the auxiliary force would be available. Halleck was interested at the moment in the suppression of jayhawkers, and wanted Dole's nominee as commander of the Indian Expedition, Colonel Robert B. Mitchell, to command his own forces.

General Halleck at last put the wheels in motion that would culminate in the Indian Expedition. On April 5, 1862, he ordered General James W. Denver to designate the First Kansas Infantry, the Twelfth and Thirteenth Wisconsin Regiments, the Second and Seventh Kansas Cavalry and two batteries of artillery for the Indian Expedition.

It took some time to accumulate and inspect enough arms for two thousand Indians. By April 8, 1862, however, these arms were collected and shipped to Superintendent of Indian Affairs William G. Coffin in southern Kansas where they arrived eight days later. Coffin was sure that complications would arise as soon as the distribution of the weapons was begun. He believed that all the Indians, whether they intended to enlist or not, would try to obtain weapons.

The time was right for starting the expedition south. Confederate troops had not been sighted recently by the patrols, and only small bands of raiders detested by both sides were to be found. At this critical juncture General Denver was relieved of command of the Indian Expedition, and he was succeeded by General Samuel D. Sturgis on April 10, 1862.[6]

The replacement of Denver by Sturgis in command of the Indian Expedition was the beginning of what contemporaries described as "Sturgis' military despotism."[7] The policy of General Sturgis toward the recruitment of Indians for the expedition was unknown. His ideas were soon revealed and were hostile to the whole project. Sturgis issued an order on April 25, 1862, put-

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[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 662, 683.

[7] Annie Heloise Abel, *The American Indian as Participant in the Civil War* (Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1919), p. 104.

ting a summary stop to the enlistment of Indians for the expedition and threatening the arrest of anyone disobeying the order.[8] Superintendent Coffin, and Colonel John Ritchie of the incomplete Second Regiment Indian Home Guards, protested this action. They wrote to Commissioner Dole for new instructions.[9]

While this internal conflict was raging the Department of Kansas was being reestablished under orders of May 2, 1862. General James G. Blunt was placed in command and took over his duties on May 5. On the day of his assumption of command, Blunt issued the following order countermanding the Sturgis order of April 25: "The instructions issued by the Department of Washington to the Colonels of the two Indian regiments ordered to be raised will be carried out, and the regiments will be raised with all possible speed." With this endorsement of the plan to use the two Indian regiments as guerrillas in the forthcoming expedition, orders were received to hurry the organization and departure of the regiments.[10]

The reason for the rush of preparing the troops at the earliest possible date was the increased activities of the secessionists in southwest Missouri. This brought up the question of what had the Indian allies of the Confederacy been doing since the Battle of Pea Ridge? The Territory seemed to be undefended and, indeed, deserted. This was one of the main reasons for the immediate launching of the invasion.

After the Battle of Pea Ridge, General Earl Van Dorn, the Confederate commander, had ordered the secessionist Indians to return to their own country to protect it. The Indians were to harass the Federals by cutting off their supply trains, by hit and run raids on undefended places, and in general annoy the enemy. The Indians had followed these orders to the letter. They terrorized and desolated the border area during the late spring.

Colonel Douglas H. Cooper and Colonel Stand Watie and their men were the two most active commands during this time. The Indians took to the hit and run tactics with such vigor that Colonel Cooper recommended that they be employed as guerrillas. On April 21 the Confederate government authorized the use of partisan rangers, and on May 6 Colonel Cooper made a recommendation for the use of his Indians in this capacity.[12]

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[8] *Official Records*, Vol. 8, p. 365.

[9] *Indian Affairs, 1862*, Coffin to Dole, April 29, 1862.

[10] *Official Records*, Vol. 13, pp. 368-70.

[11] *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, pp. 823-4.

[12] United States Senate, 58th Congress, Second Session, *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States*, Senate Document Number 234 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1905), p. 285.

A small action was fought at Neosho between Colonel Watie's scouts and the First Battalion of the First Missouri Cavalry on April 26. Watie remained at the site of the skirmish until May 31. Watie's men fought in conjunction with Colonel John T. Coffee at Neosho, where they defeated a Union force under Colonel John M. Richardson of the Fourteenth Missouri State Militia Cavalry.[13] On the morning of May 31, Colonel Richardson was attacked by Confederate forces. These forces were 500 men strong composed of white men and Indians. He was forced to retire from the field of battle with a loss of eleven men. The Confederates lost one man and captured a number of tents, wagons, horses, and other supplies. After this engagement Watie moved through Missouri into Indian Territory and encamped on Cowskin Prairie.

Meanwhile, The First Regiment of the Indian Expedition had completed its enrollment. This was composed of eight companies of Creeks and two companies of Seminoles. The Second Regiment was not as homogeneous in its composition as the first and therefore was not as readily completed. The prospective commander of the Second Regiment, Colonel John Ritchie, had gone south to try and enlist some of the Osage Nation.[14] These Indians were in a state of confusion due to a lack of cooperation between Superintendent Coffin and the Neosho Indian Agent Peter Elder. This situation delayed Colonel Ritchie's return and the enrollment of the Second Regiment.

The Indian Expedition was outfitted at Humboldt, Kansas. The man selected to command it, Colonel William Weer, of the Tenth Kansas Infantry, would have preferred that the outfitting take place at his home base of Fort Scott, Kansas. The supplies issued to the union Indians were of decidedly inferior quality. In some instances the weapons issued to the Indians would not fire and were completely useless.[15]

The main portion of the white troops that were to comprise the auxiliary forces for the Indian Expedition had been kept busy chasing bushwhackers in the Cherokee Neutral Lands and adjoining areas of Missouri.[16] At the time of Blunt's assumption of command of the Department of Kansas, Colonel Frederick Salomon of the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry was in charge of Fort Scott. The troops stationed at Fort Scott under his command were the eight companies of his own Ninth Wisconsin, a part of the Second Ohio Cavalry under Colonel Charles

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13 *Official Records*, Vol. 13, 1862, pp. 61-3, 90-92, 94-95.

14 *Indian Affairs, 1862*, pp. 164-6.

15 *Official Records*, Vol. 13, 1862, p. 418.

16 Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

Doubleday, the Tenth Kansas Infantry under Colonel William F. Cloud, and the Second Indiana Battery.[17]

General Blunt gave the command of the expedition to Colonel Doubleday of the Tenth Kansas. Doubleday made his plans accordingly. His command consisted of one regiment each of cavalry and infantry and one battery of artillery.[18] His plans called for a rendezvous of his command at the mouth of Shoal Creek, where he would make his temporary headquarters. On June 1 the expedition moved south to the rendezvous site. Blunt, however, had a change of mind and decided to give the command of the Indian Expedition to Colonel Weer. Colonel Doubleday was to be assigned the command of the Second Brigade.

Doubleday was still in command when he conceived the idea that it would be possible to reach Fort Gibson without interference, provided that the attempt were made before the various commands of the Confederate forces could unite to resist the advance. Doubleday's scheme called for cutting off Watie, who was believed to be encamped in the Cowskin Prairie area. Accordingly, on June 6, 1862. Doubleday with one battery of artillery and 1,000 men moved south from Spring River towards Grand River and Cowskin Prairie.

The expedition reached the Grand River around sundown. Watie was "encamped three miles distant."[19] Doubleday immediately ordered the First Battalion of the Second Ohio Cavalry across the river. They were followed by the artillery and the supporting infantry. At a distance of about 500 yards the artillery fired a few rounds of ammunition into Watie's camp. Watie managed to escape under the cover of darkness, leaving behind 500 to 600 head of horses and cattle which were captured by the Federal forces. Had Doubleday been as successful as his report to Weer indicated, he might have retained the command of the whole expedition. As it was, Weer arrived at Fort Scott and ordered Doubleday to make no further advances southward without the Indian regiments.

Although the Indian regiments had a setback and their transportation was inadequate, Weer was determined to start the expedition south before Watie could be reinforced by Brigadier General James S. Rains. His plans came to naught and by the middle of June he was back at Leroy, Kansas. He left Salomon and Doubleday at Baxter Springs, Kansas, on the west side of Spring River, with Salomon in command.

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17 *Ibid.*, pp. 371-2, and 377.

18 Joseph B. Thoburn, and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma, A History of the State and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1929), Vol. 1, p. 334.

19 *Official Records*, Vol. 13, 1862, pp. 102, 397, 408.

Weer was becoming impatient with the delay. He knew that he must get the Indians away from the influence of their respective chiefs if the expedition was to have any chance of success. By June 16 Weer had the Indians ready to move south from the Humboldt. The final packing for the start of the expedition on June 21 was completed. It was not long before Weer's force made its first movement south.

The dawn of June 28, 1862, saw the Indian Expedition moving south. The first Federal invasion of Indian Territory had begun. The first contingents of the expedition moved forward at daybreak. At the head of the column was the First Brigade, composed of two sections of the Indiana Battery, one Battalion of the Second Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and six companies of the Ninth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry. One day later the white contingent of the Second Brigade and the unmounted First Indian Brigade followed.[20]

The expedition followed the military road across the Quapaw Strip. They proceeded from the border to Hudson's Crossing at the Neosho River, and awaited the supply trains from Fort Scott. These movements went smoothly and were undetected by the Confederates.

After a two day delay at Hudson's Crossing the main body of the expedition crossed the Neosho River and moved down the west side of the Grand River to Carey's Ford where it crossed to the east bank and encamped at Round Grove on Cowskin Prairie.[21]

The Second Indian Regiment, under Colonel John Ritchie, followed a day later by the mounted men of the First Indian Regiment under Major William A. Phillips. Both Ritchie and Phillips were ordered to leave the military road and cross to the east bank of the Spring River. They were then to turn south and proceed to scout the country between the Grand River and the Missouri line.

The Confederates were still in the vicinity of Cowskin Prairie, as they had been since Watie's return from the Battle of Pea Ridge. They were determined to oppose and stop the Federal invasion. General Thomas C. Hindman had assumed command of the Trans-Mississippi Department in late May under orders from General P. G. T. Beauregard.[22] His assumption of command was apparently without the knowledge or official sanction of the Confederate War Department.

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20 *Ibid.*, Vol. 13, 1862, pp. 418-19, 430-1, 434, 441, 458-60, 461.

21 Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

22 *Official Records*, Vol. 13, 1862, pp. 28, 456.

On June 23, General Albert Pike ordered Colonel Cooper to proceed to the country north of the Canadian River and to assume command of all the troops in the area, with the exception of Jumper's Seminole battalion. Three days later on June 26, Hindman, who was uninformed of the prior appointment, ordered Colonel James J. Clarkson to assume command "of all forces that are now or hereafter may be within the limits of the Cherokee Creek, and Seminole countries."[23] It became Colonel Clarkson's fate to be the first Confederate force to oppose the expedition.

The invaders fully expected their advance to be opposed by all the power the Confederates could concentrate. They believed that Rains, Coffey, and Watie were in the immediate vicinity awaiting the opportunity to strike singly or in a united force. The advance had not been contested and Weer knew the area behind the Federal force was clear of Confederate troops, thanks to the very able scouting of the Indians under Colonel Phillips. The way ahead was an unknown quantity. The possibility of concerted Confederate action was ever present.

Colonel Watie had been keeping a sharp watch for the advancing Federals. When he learned the location of the Union forces he planned to head off the advance guard of the Federals. Using the guerrilla tactics of surprise and hit and run, Watie was able to hold up the Federal advance guard at a skirmish at Spavinaw Creek.[24]

In the meantime, Weer had learned that Colonel Clarkson was encamped at Locust Grove. Weer began to make plans to engage Clarkson as soon as possible. Weer sent his baggage and supply trains, part of his artillery, the Second Ohio Cavalry, and the Ninth and Twelfth Regiments of Wisconsin Infantry, from Round Grove to the west bank of the Grand River with orders to continue on the military road to Cabin Creek. Weer then ordered Lieut. Colonel Lewis R. Jewell of the Sixth Kansas Cavalry to take his men and engage Stand Watie.[25] This diversionary raid was supposed to keep Watie from joining Clarkson at Locust Grove, where the main engagement was to take place.

The skirmish at Locust Grove began at dawn on July 3, 1862. Weer was successful in surprising Clarkson. He had between 200 and 300 men with which to strike an unknown number of Confederate troops. The suddenness of the attack and the broken nature of the battlefield caused the troops engaged to rely on their individual efforts. The engagement was short but decisive. Colonel

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 839-46, and Vol. 22, p. 728.

[24] *Indian Affairs, 1862*, pp. 162-3.

[25] Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border*, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904). Vol. 1, p. 300.

Clarkson was completely defeated. Clarkson lost one-hundred men killed and one-hundred prisoners, and was himself captured. Along with the prisoners, a large amount of supplies was taken.[26]

The significance of the skirmish at Locust Grove was not so much that the Federals had captured a number of Confederates and their supplies, but that the Confederates had been defeated. The routed men of Clarkson's battalion fled towards Tahlequah spreading fear and panic among the Indians there. This panic brought about a disintegration of the Confederate alliances with the Indians. They became thoroughly frightened and sought refuge within the Federal lines. This, of course, gave a big boost to the invading forces.[27] The Confederate loss at Locust Grove had another side effect also. Many of the Confederate Indian soldiers deserted to the Federals. Colonel Drew lost most of his regiment in this manner. This desertion and subsequent enlistment in the Federal army by the ex-Confederate Indians facilitated the completion of Colonel Ritchie's Second Regiment.

The Indian Expedition had started out with a definite program regarding the management of Indian affairs. John Ross and his people were to be given a chance to return to their old alliance with the United States Government.[28] Further, the program as stated by First Lieutenant James A. Phillips, Acting Assistant Adjutant-General, to Colonel William R. Judson, was:[29]

> The evident desire of the Government is to restore friendly intercourse with the tribes and return the Loyal Indians that are with us to their homes. Great care must be observed that no unusual degree of vindictiveness be tolerated between Indian and Indian. Our policy toward the rebel portion of them must be a subject of anxious consideration, and its character will to a great degree be shaped by yourself in conjunction with Colonel Salomon. No settled policy can at present be marked out. Give all questions their full share of investigation. No spirit of private vengeance should be tolerated.

After the skirmish at Locust Grove, Colonel Weer thought that the time had come to attempt to fulfill the first part of the program. Weer addressed a communication to Ross stating:[30]

> I desire an official interview with yourself, as the Executive of the Cherokee people. The object will be, on my part, to endeavor to effect a restoration of good feeling and the observance of law and order in this beautiful country, now threatened with the horrors of civil war.
>
> I desire to ascertain from you officially if some plan satisfactory to all parties cannot be adopted by which the unfaithful portion of the Cherokees may be induced to place themselves, their families, and property under the protection of my forces.

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26 *Official Records*, Vol. 13, 1862, pp. 137-8.
27 Abel, *op. cit.*, p. 132.
28 *Official Records*, Vol. 13, 1862, pp. 137-8, 450, 463-4.
29 *Ibid.*, p. 456, Phillips to Judson, June 28, 1862.
30 *Ibid.*, p. 464, Weer to Ross, July 7, 1862.

Ross's reply was entirely unsatisfactory to Weer:[31]

> . . . in reply I have to state that a treaty alliance, under the sanction and authority of the whole Cherokee people, was entered into on the seventh day of October, 1861, between the Confederate States and the Cherokee Nation, and published before the world, and you cannot but be too well informed on the subject to make it necessary for me to recapitulate the reasons and circumstances under which it was done. Thus the destiny of this people became identical with that of the Southern Confederacy.
>
> . . . . I cannot, under existing circumstances, entertain the proposition for an official interview between us at your camp. I have therefore respectfully to decline to comply with your request.

Verbal reports reached Weer that Ross was acting diplomatically and waiting for the right time to change sides. Weer referred the whole matter to his commanding officer, General Blunt. Blunt was in the process of trying to hurry Weer along on his mission of returning the Indians to their homes.

Weer, aware of his open position, began sending out reconnaissance parties to scout the area. He sent two detachments on patrol on July 14. The detachments were commanded by Major William T. Campbell and Captain Haris S. Greeno. Major Campbell's force was "to reconnoiter the alleged position of the enemy south of the Arkansas." Captain Greeno's force was dispatched to Tahlequah and Park Hill. Campbell advancing south soon ran into a considerable body of Confederates encamped at Fort Davis. Campbell turned toward Fort Gibson where he awaited a junction with Weer.

In the meantime Captain Greeno moved to his assigned area of Tahlequah and Park Hill. Park Hill was the residence of Chief Ross. When Greeno arrived all the leaders of the Cherokee Nation had been summoned to Park Hill. Greeno captured all of the commissioned men and made them prisoners of war. He then decided to arrest Ross and to release him on parole.

The Indian Expedition seemed to be able to do nothing wrong. Everything they had attempted up to now had gone off smoothly. From this point on things began to turn against the expedition. There had been certain basic weaknesses of the expedition since its beginning. These began to show themselves and soon proved to be insurmountable. Most of the white troops involved were from Ohio and Wisconsin. They were ill-equipped and not used to the stifling summer heat of Indian Territory. With supplies running low and the troops exhausted by the heat the expedition ground to a halt at Fort Gibson.

Colonel Weer had been warned by General Blunt not to extend his communication with Fort Scott to such a point that

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31 *Ibid.*, pp. 486-7, Ross to Weer, July 8, 1862.

they would be easy to cut. Weer realized the low condition of his supplies and had made a desperate effort to reach the Grand Saline River to replenish his supply of salt at a place used by the Confederates. In this effort he failed. He had also known that to obtain certain ordnance supplies he would have to send to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

With events moving from bad to worse, Colonel Salomon acted. On July 18, 1862, Salomon committed a clear case of mutiny when he arrested his commanding officer, Colonel Weer.[32] The reasons Salomon gave for his act are contained in his announcement to his associates:[33]

> Sirs: In military as well as civil affairs great and violent wrongs need speedy and certain remedies. The time had arrived, in my judgment, in the history of this expedition when the greatest wrong ever perpetrated upon any troops was about to fall with crushing weight upon the noble men composing the command. Someone must act, and that at once, or starvation and capture were the imminent hazards that looked us in the face.
>
> As next in command to Colonel Weer, and upon his express refusal to move at all for the salvation of his troops, I felt the responsibility resting upon me.
>
> I have arrested Colonel Weer and assumed command. The causes leading to his arrest you all know. I need not reiterate them here. Suffice to say that we are one-hundred and sixty miles from the base of operations, almost entirely through an enemy's country, and without communication being left open behind us. We have been pushed forward thus far by forced and fatiguing marches under the violent southern sun without any adequate object. By Colonel Weer's orders we were forced to encamp where our famishing men were unable to obtain but putrid, stinking water. Our reports for disability and unfitness for duty were disregarded; our cries for help and complaints of unnecessary hardships and suffering were received with closed ears. Yesterday a council of war, convened by the order of Colonel Weer, decided that our only safety lay in falling back to some point from which we could reopen communication with our commissary department. Colonel Weer overrides and annuls the decision of that council, and announces his determination not to move from this point. We have but three day's rations on hand and an order issued by him putting the command on half rations. For nearly two weeks we have no communication from our rear. We have no knowledge when supply trains will reach us, neither has Colonel Weer. Three sets of couriers, dispatched at different times to find three trains and report, have so far made no report. Reliable information has been received that large bodies of the enemy were moving to our rear, and yet we lay here idle. We are now and ever since our arrival here have been entirely without vegetables or healthy food for our troops. I have stood with arms folded and seen my men faint and fall away from me like the leaves of autumn because I thought myself powerless to save them.
>
> I will look upon this scene no longer. I know the responsibility I have assumed. I have acted after careful thought and deliberation. Give me

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[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 160-2, 472, 478, 486-9.
[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 476-7, Salomon, July 18, 1862.

your confidence for a few days, and all that man can do, and with a pure purpose and a firm faith that he is right, shall be done for the preservation of the troops.

In his report of Colonel Weer's arrest to General Blunt, Salomon made the same charges as he stated in his announcement to his associates.

This action by Salomon brought the Indian Expedition to a complete halt and precipitated thorough confusion throughout the command. Salomon, now in charge, decided to order a retreat and abandon the Indians. On July 19 the white troops began their retrograde march to Hudson's Crossing. Salomon retreated to Hudson's Crossing where he set up a commissary department. The reasons he chose Hudson's Crossing for his permanent camp were: "The vicinity of Hudson's Crossing appears as the most commanding point in this country not only from a military view as a key to the valleys of Spring River, Shoal Creek, Neosho, and Grand River, but also as the only point in this country now where an army could be sustained with a limited supply of forage and subsistence, offering ample grazing and good water." Salomon left behind, to guard his retreat, the First and Second Regiments of the Indian Home Guards. These troops were deployed along the Grand and Verdigris Rivers and the fords of the Arkansas.

This ended the first Federal invasion of Indian Territory. The expedition made rapid and practically unopposed progress from the start. Their good fortune brought military victories, a weakening and in some instances disintegration of Confederate alliances with the Indians. The inherent weaknesses of the expedition, that had been there from the first, finally began to take their toll of the invasion. They finally culminated in Weer's arrest and the assumption of the command by Solomon. The expedition that began with such high hopes then ended in complete failure.

# THE SECOND FEDERAL INVASION OF INDIAN TERRITORY

*By William J. Willey**

During the opening months of the Civil War the Confederate States of America concluded treaties with a majority of the tribes of Indian Territory. As most inhabitants of this region had developed close ties with the Southern states because of similar traditions, these treaties were no great surprise to Federal authorities. Union forces policed Indian Territory when war broke out, but these troops were sorely needed in the Eastern theater. With their withdrawal on April 17, 1861, the area became a power vacuum. Southern forces immediately moved in, and from this time until late October, 1862, Confederate authority prevailed.

On June 1, 1862, Federal military units made their first attempt to retake Indian Territory. This troop movement has been called both the "Indian Expedition" and the "First Federal Invasion of Indian Territory."[1] This force moved southward from Kansas and reached a point fifteen miles north of Fort Gibson, on July 12. Although this group met little effective opposition, disagreement occurred among the officers concerning the expedition's future. After a curious struggle for control of the unit, the new commander ordered a full retreat on July 19. With the failure of this expedition, Confederate forces once again had command of the region.

Following the abortive first Federal invasion, the Union commanders of the departments of Missouri and Kansas determined that the next attempt would be part of a broad, well-planned operation. Consequently, the second Federal invasion was integrated into a general plan which included the occupation of northwestern Arkansas. Although it is impossible to determine the exact date of its inception, this invasion probably began when Indian Territory became a Federal military objective in September and October of 1862. During these months the military forces of both factions engaged in brisk campaigning, with the Federals succeeding in conquering northwestern Arkansas.[2] With this region secured, the Army of the Frontier, includ-

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1 Joseph B. Thoburn and Muriel H. Wright, *Oklahoma: A History of the State and Its People* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1929), I, p. 334.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 341.

ing Brigadier General James E. Blunt's First Division, camped for nearly a week on the Pea Ridge battle site. Several scouting expeditions were sent out from this point to ascertain the location of the retreating Confederate forces.[3] After learning the Confederate position, Blunt's division left Pea Ridge at 7:00 p.m. on October 20 and marched to Bentonville, Arkansas.[4]

On the evening of October 21, General Blunt's division began a forced night march and attacked the Confederate forces of Brigadier General Douglas H. Cooper and Colonel Stand Watie at Old Fort Wayne on the morning of October 22.[5] This was the first important action in the new Federal itinerary which occurred west of the Arkansas-Indian Territory border. The activities and results of the skirmish at Old Fort Wayne, on Beattie's Prairie, are an integral part in the narrative of the second Federal invasion.

General Cooper had reached Old Fort Wayne on October 17, 1862. Upon arrival, he was surprised to find that several units were not there as directed. Some commanders had simply disregarded orders to report to the fort, while others never received then. General Cooper knew that a Federal force of unknown strength was advancing toward his position but he "supposed it to be a scout."[6] This miscalculation was a boon to the Federals. General Cooper had received orders from Confederate authorities to leave Old Fort Wayne on October 22 and move north for the proposed attack on Fort Scott, Kansas. Had General Blunt arrived one day later, General Cooper would have had such a head start that he could not have been overtaken before reaching Kansas.[7] Despite this conjecture, the fact remains that General Blunt did not delay, and the stage was set for actual combat.

While passing through Maysville, Arkansas in search of the forces under General Cooper, a group of Federal soldiers discovered a Confederate officer's Negro servant. After convincing him that he was now a free man, the Union troops persuaded him to lead them to the Confederate encampment.[8] As the ad-

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[3] Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border* (New York: G. P. Puttman's Sons, 1904), Vol. I, p. 366.

[4] U. S. War Department, *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereinafter referred to as *Official Records*), Ser. I, Vol. XIII (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885), p. 325.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 324-325.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 334. Brig. Gen. Douglas H. Cooper, Commanding, First Brigade, Scullyville, Indian Territory, 15 December 1862, to Maj. Gen. Thomas C. Hindman, Commanding, First Corps, Army of the West, Trans-Miss. Dept.

[7] Britton, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 370.

vance unit was drawing near to the Confederate stronghold, General Blunt personally engaged in a rewarding feat of deception. Although the general vicinity of the enemy camp was known, the Federal unit could profit greatly by discovering its exact location as well as its total strength. Likewise, if precise picket stations could be ascertained, it would be relatively simple to capture these outposts without alarming the main Confederate force. General Blunt, disguised as a lost Confederate soldier, went to a large farmhouse pretending to be seeking aid in locating his regiment. The lady of the house, "whose husband was a soldier in the rebel camp," readily supplied the desired information.[9] After receiving this fortunate aid, General Blunt and six companions advanced toward the hostile position. In route they unexpectedly encountered a small enemy cavalry detachment. The General and his men gave chase and were led into a guard of about eighty men. For a few moments both surprised units faced each other. Finally a shot was fired, narrowly missing General Blunt. The Federals returned the fire and hastily retreated. Instead of pursuing the reckless General, the Southern troops moved off quickly to the main camp.[10]

The entire action at Old Fort Wayne took place in less than an hour and resulted in a decisive Union victory. General Blunt's account of the action is contained in his report to the commander of the Army of the Frontier. He estimated the strength of the Confederate unit at from 4,000 to 7,000 men but failed to record his own numerical strength. He admitted a loss of four Federal soldiers killed and about fifteen wounded, but reported much higher casualties for the Confederates. He claimed thirty prisoners of war and approximately 150 of the enemy killed and wounded. General Cooper's report to Major-General Thomas C. Hindman gives another impression. According to the Confederate leader, Federal strength was "at least 5,000" men, while his own was "only about 1,500." In the same letter, General Cooper listed six Confederate troops killed and thirty wounded, while estimating Federal losses at seventy-five to one hundred killed and wounded. Such discrepancies in battle reports occurred regularly with these generals.[11]

Although General Cooper acknowledged defeat, he did not accept personal responsibility. Rather, he listed several factors which were beyond his control as causes for the outcome of this engagement. One major reason for his defeat was that four Texas regiments had been withdrawn from his command just before the action began. Another explanation for defeat concerned the Indian forces under his authority. Although certain

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9 *Official Records*, Vol. XIII, p. 326.
10 Britton, *op. cit.*, p. 371.
11 *Official Records*, Vol. XIII, pp. 324-337.

Indian units had been previously ordered to assemble at Old Fort Wayne and prepare for an invasion of Kansas, only Watie's group was at the fort when General Cooper arrived. Several times in his report, General Cooper referred to his own "little" command and the "overwhelming" forces of his adversary. In General Cooper's defense, it should be remembered that the number of Federal forces did exceed his own, but probably not so much as these statements imply. Confederate shortcomings were primarily concerned with supplies or the lack of determination in the Indian units. Only once did General Cooper mention any personal connection with the defeat. In the same report he said that he was very ill before, during, and after the battle.

The importance of the action at Old Fort Wayne was illustrated when General Cooper referred to his defeat as a "disaster."[12] As a result of this engagement, Indian Territory north of the Arkansas River came under Federal control, facilitating the return of many loyal Cherokees to their homeland.[13] Above all, this was the first in a series of engagements which eventually brought the end of Confederate control in Indian Territory.

Following this action, Federal troops made no immediate important attempts to enlarge their position in the region. Most available troops were used in the consolidation of adjacent areas in Missouri and Arkansas. Only one notable scouting expedition took place between the Battle of Old Fort Wayne and late April, 1863. At the close of the year 1862, troops under the command of Colonel William A. Phillips, United States Army, attacked and burned Fort Davis in Indian Territory, as an exhibit of power. Colonel Phillips had hoped that this show of force would help persuade the pro-Confederate Creek and Choctaw factions to conclude treaties with the Federal government. Colonel Phillips was unable to accomplish his mission, however, as he was ordered by General Blunt to rejoin the main force before negotiations could be completed.[14]

After securing their position in northern Arkansas and southern Missouri, Union forces occupied Fort Gibson in the Creek Nation on April 18, 1863.[15] Using this as a base of operations, United States commanders engaged in several actions which resulted in Federal control of the whole of Indian Territory. Although it is impractical to discuss each skirmish in detail, the coverage of four major conflicts is necessary in a discussion of the second Federal invasion of Indian Territory.

On the night of April 24, 1863, a detachment under the

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12 *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 332.
13 Britton, *op. cit.*, p. 375.
14 *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, pt. 2, pp. 61-62.
15 *Ibid.*, p. 224.

command of Colonel Phillips left Fort Gibson, crossed the Arkansas River, and marched thirty miles south to attack the forces of Colonel Watie at daylight on April 25. This action has been designated as the Battle of Webber's Falls, due to its location at this point on the Arkansas River. Once again the Union forces were victorious, although casualties in both groups were light. At first, Colonel Phillips admitted losing two soldiers while "killing a number" of Confederates. Later he learned that "two rebel captains" were killed at Webber's Falls. The real success of this battle from Colonel Phillips' point of view was not, however, the elimination of a few Confederate troops. According to a proclamation, the Confederate Cherokee legislature was to meet at this location on April 25. The Union victory prevented the proposed meeting, basic to Confederate Cherokee organization. After the engagement, Colonel Phillips followed the retreating Confederates until it became obvious that they were bound for Fort Smith, Arkansas, a secessionist stronghold.[16]

After the skirmish at Webber's Falls, Colonel Phillips returned to Fort Gibson, recently renamed Fort Blunt.[17] Expecting a supply train from Fort Scott, Kansas, Colonel Phillips dispatched Major John A. Foreman, along with six hundred men and a howitzer to act as an escort for the train. Major Foreman joined the train at Baxter Springs, Kansas, on June 24, 1863, and began the return march on the following day. On the first of July, this group arrived at Cabin Creek, in Indian Territory, a position which commanded the ford necessary in crossing the Grand River. Here they encountered an enemy force under the command of Colonel Watie, "concealed in a thicket on the south bank of the creek." The Union forces immediately attacked, but were unable to rout the enemy because the river was too high to ford. The Federals withdrew and camped for the night. On the following morning the stream had sufficiently receded to facilitate crossing. At 8:00 a.m. the Union troops began a "brisk cannonade" which lasted for forty minutes. Apparently the Confederate unit withdrew under the heavy fire and a Federal attack force crossed the river. As this group, led by Major Foreman, reached the opposite bank, they encountered a "violent fire of musketry from the enemy." In spite of this, the Federals were

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16 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, pp. 314-316.

17 At an undetermined date between 9 and 15 May 1863, the name of this installation was changed from Ft. Gibson to Ft. Blunt, in honor of the Major General by that name referred to in this study. This new name was kept until 3 December 1863, when it was dropped in favor of Ft. Gibson.—See *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, p. 276; and Grant Foreman, *Fort Gibson: A Brief History* (Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1936), p. 36.

again victorious. Colonel Phillips called the engagement spirited and regretted that they had not pushed "the broken enemy." This was not done because "a desire to lend everything to the safety of the train restrained it."[18]

No Confederate record of this engagement is available. Statistical results are obtainable only from the reports of Major Foreman and Colonel John M. Williams, Commander of the First Kansas Colored Infantry and leader of the supply train. According to Major Foreman, the number of Confederate dead and wounded was unknown but probably very heavy. He records the capture of nine Confederate prisoners. His report lists Union losses at three killed and thirty wounded. He did not mention the relative strength of the units. The report of Colonel Williams gives the same general impression of Union victory, but differs somewhat in details. His report lists Confederate losses at nine captured, approximately fifty killed, and about the same number wounded. He recorded his own losses as one killed and twenty wounded. Finally, his report estimated Confederate troop strength at approximately 1,600 to 1,800 while his own "column of attack, which crossed the stream, was less than 900 men, all told."[19]

Regardless of these details, the forces of the Union once again won an important battle in the struggle for the control of Indian Territory. The significance of the Union victory at Cabin Creek was that the troops under the command of Colonel Phillips at Fort Blunt received provisions which enabled them to maintain the initiative in the area.

The military actions discussed thus far are not large enough to be considered major battles. Yet, this pattern was not continuous in Indian Territory. Slightly more than two weeks after the action at Cabin Creek, the largest battle of the Civil War in the territory took place when the forces of General Blunt attacked the command of General Cooper at Elk Creek, near Honey Springs.

On July 11, 1863, General Blunt had arrived at Fort Blunt with reenforcements and prepared for major actions to drive the secessionists out of Indian Territory. Upon his arrival, he learned that General Cooper's force of 6,000 men was encamped at "Elk Creek, 25 miles south of the Arkansas on the Texas road." Also, the 3,000 man unit of Brigadier General William L. Cabell was expected to join General Cooper on July 17 for an attack on Fort Blunt. Considering these factors, General Blunt elected to attack the enemy forces at once, hoping that the element of surprise would produce favorable results for his command.

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[18] *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, pp. 378-380.

[19] *Ibid.*

At midnight on July 15 General Blunt left the fort and proceeded toward the enemy position. At 8:00 a.m., July 17, the Union forces were halted about half a mile from the enemy's line and given a two hours' rest. At 10:00 a.m. General Blunt formed his units into two columns and attacked the Confederate position. This engagement lasted over two hours, a record for Indian Territory. Again the Federals tasted the fruits of victory, as the Southern troops were forced into a full retreat. Although the Confederates highly outnumbered the Union group, superiority of Federal firepower, especially in the artillery batteries, was the deciding factor in the outcome of the battle.

As usual, the opposing commanders recorded different versions of the results of the action. General Cooper's report lists 134 secessionists killed or wounded with forty-seven lost as prisoners of war. In addition, he said that he learned from one of his surgeons, who was at Fort Blunt when the Federals returned, that General Blunt's unit had sustained a loss of two hundred wounded or killed in battle. According to Federal authorities, their own losses at the engagement amounted to thirteen killed and sixty-two wounded. General Blunt also claimed to have inflicted losses on the enemy in the amount of 150 killed, 400 wounded, and seventy-five taken prisoner.

The capture of precious war material was as important here as it was in every battle of the Civil War, but the fate of fifteen Confederate supply wagons under General Cooper's control is unclear on the basis of the official reports of the commanders. General Blunt reported the capture of "1 piece of artillery, 1 stand of colors, 200 stands of arms, and 15 wagons," which he later burned. General Cooper failed to mention the artillery, colors, or arms, but did say that he lost one wagon. He recalled that it was an ambulance which was "purposely thrown in the way of the enemy by the driver."

Using the above statistics and remaining ever mindful of the tendency of both commanders to exaggerate for the purpose of self-aggrandizement, it s still safe to conclude that the Union forces were definitely victorious. Yet, after a tacit admission of defeat, General Cooper attempted to strengthen his prestige by saying that after the battle, "General Blunt withdrew his forces and commenced a hurried march to Gibson· [Ft. Blunt]." The idea that General Blunt left the scene of the battle because of fear of reprisal is implicit in this statement. The Union commander's report depicts the situation in an entirely different light. General Blunt claimed to have bivouaced on the battlefield, expecting the secessionists to return in the morning. General Cooper's claims of completely deceiving the enemy and placing

them "under the influence of . . . reasonable fear" do not seem compatible with the fact that his unit was in complete retreat.[20]

The steady success of Federal units was not entirely due to superior leadership or numbers. Although the Confederate force at the Battle of Honey Springs was about twice as large as its opponent, the Federals had much better arms and equipment. General Blunt's command had four artillery batteries while General Cooper had but one. The deciding factor seemed to be, however, the condition of the Confederate ammunition. Certain units were rendered virtually useless due to their wet gunpowder. General Cooper's opinion of the effect of this misfortune on his unit is apparent in the following sentence from his report: "I feel confident that we could have made good the defense of the position at Elk Creek but for the worthlessness of our ammunition."[21]

On July 18, 1863, the day after the Battle of Honey Springs, General Blunt returned his forces to Fort Blunt. Here his troops recuperated until the evening of August 22, when they again resumed the offensive. On this day the Union force of nearly 4,500 men began marching to a point sixty miles south of Fort Blunt to attack General William Steele. The Confederate commander's force included the units of Cabell, Cooper, and Watie. Upon reaching their campsite after a forty-eight hour march, Beneral Blunt discovered that the Confederate force had split into three units. At 3:00 a.m. on August 25, the Federal commander learned that the largest force, containing the units of Generals Steele and Cooper and Colonel Watie, had retreated to a point about twenty miles south. Immediately upon receipt of this intelligence, General Blunt moved in pursuit of the enemy. By 8:00 p.m. the Confederate rear guard was overtaken at Perryville, in the Choctaw Nation. This village had served as a supply depot for the secessionist forces and was not surrendered without a limited engagement. After an exchange of artillery fire, the Confederate defenders left "in haste," abandoning a substantial amount of precious food and equipment.[22]

After the victory of Perryville, the Federals turned on the forces of General Cabell and the secessionist stronghold at Fort Smith, Arkansas. General Blunt assigned the task of pursuing General Cabell to a subordinate, Colonel William J. Cloud, Commander of the Second Kansas Cavalry. Colonel Cloud's unit overtook the Confederates at a point sixteen miles south of

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[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 447-449, Gen. Blunt, Fort Blunt, 26 July 1863, to Gen. Schofield.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 597-598.

Fort Smith on September 1. Following a short but intense skirmish, the Southern forces retreated. On the same day, the forces of General Blunt occupied Fort Smith with no opposition.[23]

Although the outcome of the Battle of Honey Springs spelled doom to the Confederacy in Indian Territory, the mission of the second Federal invasion was not accomplished until the fall of Ft. Smith. After this, there was little real threat to Federal superiority in the entire land of the Five Civilized Tribes.

It is the historian's duty to do more than simply record events. A military campaign of this magnitude provides ample records from which theories of causation may be derived. No single flaw in the Confederate army led to its defeat in this invasion. Rather, several inherent weaknesses in this force gradually undermined its morale and the chain of command.

Typical of most Confederate troops in the Civil War, the forces of General Cooper and Steele suffered from acute shortages of adequate food and equipment. Many times their available material was almost useless, as was exemplified by the wet gunpowder at the Battle of Honey Springs. The relative impotency of the Confederate Indian units, resulting from these shortcomings, was pointed out by General Steele on May 1, 1863: "Our Indian troops are so badly armed and have so little ammunition that they do not count for much." On a later date General Steele referred to the "poorly clothed and badly equipped Indians who have remained true to the South." General Steele's helplessness in the face of the unsolvable problem of Indians who deserted the secessionist cause because of the unbearable hardships of serving in the Confederate army is apparent in this statement.[24]

An insufficient supply of war material was not the only shortcoming of the secessionist units in Indian Territory. Indian troops found it extremely difficult to conform to the disciplinary standards of a white man's army. Members of the Indian regiments demanded and received the privilege of electing their own unit commanders. In turn, these leaders were guilty of neglect in the enforcement of discipline.[25] Desertion, an offense punishable by death in wartime, was a common occurrence, especially in the Indian units. The Confederate commander's awareness of these problems becomes obvious in his reference to "officers [who] appear to pander more to the whims and caprices of the men rather than look to the best interests of the service." Although General Steele was greatly concerned with this problem,

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[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 598-599, Col. William F. Cloud, Commanding Ft. Smith, Ft. Smith, Ark., 8 September 1863, to Gen. Schofield.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 834, 862.

he felt that there was really little that could be done to solve it: "I suppose some allowance must be made for the Indians, who have been in the habit of meeting subterfuge and trickery in their official intercourse with the white men."[26]

Of the several factors which harmed secessionist activity in Indian Territory during the second Federal invasion, the most damaging was the intense rivalry between the two commanders of general rank. General Cooper had much previous experience in the area before the Civil War as an Indian agent. He felt that he knew the Indians better than other possible commanders and was obviously disappointed when General Steele was given the command of the Confederate forces in the region. Although a definite rivalry did exist between the two generals concerning superiority in rank, it would have been no more serious than many similar incidents throughout the country, had not the subordinate Indian leaders so vehemently voiced their opinions. Their feelings, known by their subordinates, were the primary cause for the seriousness of the dispute. Between April 16 and October 14, 1863, several messages were sent by various Confederate army officers and Indian leaders asking that General Cooper be promoted to full command. They were addressed to prominent civil and military leaders such as President Davis; James H. Seddon, the Confederate Secretary of War; and Lieutenant General E. Kirby Smith, Commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department.[27]

General Cooper's sentiments on the problem are best shown in a letter which he wrote to General Smith on October 9, 1863:[28]

> His want of acquaintance with the people and topography of the country satisfied me that his administration of affairs would be a failure. Subsequent events have, unfortunately, sustained that opinion, and it is proper you should know that he has so entirely lost the confidence of the Indians that it will be impossible to hold them together under his command. . . . It is with you to continue General Steele in command at the hazard of losing our Indian allies, and with them the Indian Territory. I shall endeavor to do my duty as long as any Indian troops remain in our service, which, I fear, will not be long under General Steele's administration.[33]

This letter was written when General Cooper was under

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[25] Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 347.

[26] *Official Records*, Vol. XXII, pt. 2, pp. 1063-1064.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 1116-1125, Moty Kanard and Echo Harjo, Chiefs of Creek Nation, Camp Stonewall, 18 May 1863, to Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States, Richmond, Va.; William McLish, Speaker of the House of Representatives, *et. al.*, Chickasaw Nation, 7 October 1863, to Hon. James A. Seddon, Sec. of War for the Confederate States of America, Richmond, Va.; Lt. Col. Otis G. Welch, Commanding Twenty-ninth Texas Cavalry, *et. al.*, Camp Bragg, Choctaw Nation, 14 October 1863, to Lt. Gen. E. Kirby Smith, Commanding, Trans-Miss. Dept., Shreveport, La.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 1037-1038.

the command of General Steele. Developments in this situation reached a climax on December 20, 1863, when General Steele received orders relieving him of command in the region. When Steele was told that General Cooper would probably take command of the territory, he replied, "I cannot serve under him."[29] Unknown to General Steele, however, the information concerning General Cooper's probable appointment as commander was incorrect. The same order which relieved him appointed Brigadier General Samuel B. Maxey as his successor.[30] Although the controversy was finally settled, irreparable damage had already been done, for less than four months earlier the Federal forces had completed the mission of the second invasion of Indian Territory by occupying Fort Smith, Arkansas.

In the weeks and months of the second Federal invasion, political and military events of much greater magnitude occurred in the embattled Eastern section of the United States. Famous battles such as Murfreesboro, Chancellorsville, Vicksburg, and Gettysburg were fought, killing thousands of soldiers and greatly influencing the outcome of the Civil War. On January 1, 1863, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing the slaves in those states then in rebellion against the United States. During these same months a series of military engagements took place in a relatively unknown combat zone, killing hundreds of American soldiers and profoundly effecting the everyday lives of another racial minority, the American Indian. It is for this reason that the events of the second Federal invasion of Indian Territory should be remembered as important phase of the Civil War.

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29 *Ibid.*, p. 1108.
30 Thoburn and Wright, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 347.

# SOUTHERN REGIONAL EDUCATION

*By J. L. Franklin**

Oklahoma for a number of years has participated in the Southern Regional Education program designed to achieve economy in higher and professional education, while providing increased opportunities for students who desire advanced training. The state's decision to cooperate in this project was prompted by many of the same considerations that motivated her sister states. Faced with an ever-expanding educational load, and too few taxes to accommodate the full needs of its youth, educators and politicians concluded that a careful constructed cooperative effort among states would aid in allaying at least part of their difficulties. While informed leaders realized that such a plan represented no panacea for all the educational ills, they could not ignore many of its obvious advantages. There were those who argued that Oklahoma's interests were more closely allied with those of the West and Southwest than with the South. This argument aside, the people of Oklahoma have reaped measurable benefits from the program. Whether they are sufficient to sustain continued membership in the regional arrangement, only time will decree. Since few in Oklahoma are aware of the existence of this broad undertaking, this article is presented in an endeavor to provide a brief historical sketch of Southern Regional Education.

In 1948, the Southern Governors' Conference endorsed plans for regional cooperation in graduate and professional education. That action represented a direct response to a number of crucial problems. Careful observers of higher education had long recognized that duplication in plant facilities and in personnel took an unnecessary share of the regions appropriation for learning. Composed of states that lacked sufficient taxable resources, this was a waste the South could hardly afford. Moreover, separate educational establishments for whites and Negroes added to the complications. Objective southern citizens and educators soberly faced the dismaying realism that adequate provisions for certain graduate and professional study did not exist in many schools below the Potomac for either of the races. Yet, a strongly entrenched historical traditionalism dictated the continuation of the "old order." But this deference to the past proved an economic detriment to academic progress. Beyond this, however, there was

*The author of this brief history on Southern Regional Education expresses his thanks to Professor John S. Ezell, Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, the University of Oklahoma, for reading the entire manuscript, and to Dr. A. M. Gibson, Head of the Division of Manuscripts, for sustained encouragement when the paper was in preparation. Mr. J. L. Franklin is Assistant Professor of History in Wisconsin State University, Stevens Point, Wisconsin.—Ed.

an acute realization that even some of the more progressive states of the region would be unable to meet the needs of their populace had segregation suddenly disappeared overnight.

The regional concept in higher education had antecedents which pre-dated the governors' meeting. In 1937 the president of the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions, O. J. Hagen, called for "reexamination of higher education so that . . . institutions may recast their programs and build their plans with some conception of the regional needs in mind . . ." Hagen challenged schools to devote their efforts toward achieving competency in a few areas of learning. The result, he reasoned, would be mutually beneficial to all concerned.[1] The regional idea also drew warm support from President H. Y. Benedict of the University of Texas who admonished reluctant educators to substitute cooperation for competition, especially in the more expensive areas of study, and in fields pursued by a small number of students. "It is to be hoped," Benedict wrote, "that there will arise voluntary and supplementary curricular boards representing both public and private universities and colleges in [the southern region] and even in the nation . . ." [2] Non-southerners, too, such as Professor George A. Works at the University of Chicago argued the value of cooperative planning.[3]

Long before any legal regional compact was ever devised, a number of schools in the South had developed cooperative academic programs. This remarkable propensity for combined action stemmed from the practical objective of obtaining as much quality education as money could buy in cities and states which normally suffered from "anemic budgets."[4] In the late twenties, for example, Atlanta University, Morehouse and Spelman joined in the creation of the "Atlanta University System." Atlanta assumed responsibility for graduate and professional work while the other two schools became undergraduate colleges for men and women.[5] Roughly ten years after the formation of this program, Emory University, Georgia Institute of Technology, Georgia

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1 O. J. Hagen, "The Concept of Regionalism in Higher Education," *Educational Record*, Vol. XVII (April, 1937), pp. 147-58.

2 H. Y. Benedict, "Desirability and Place of Cooperation in American Higher Education," *School and Society*, Vol. LXV (January, 1937, pp. 105-06.

3 William McGlothin, "Toward More Effective Education: The South Plans Across the Region," *Educational Forum*, XVI (March, 1952), p. 294.

4 For further comment see, George Gant, "Self Evaluation in Southern Universities," *Educational Record*, Vol. XXIII (April, 1952), pp. 184-85.

5 Redding Sugg and George Hilton, *The Southern Regional Education Board: Ten Years of Regional Cooperation in Higher Education* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960), p. 7. Hereafter the Southern Regional Board will be cited as SREB.

State College, the University of Georgia, Columbus Theological Seminary and Agnes Scott College organized the "University Center in Georgia." Jointly, they were able to bring lecturers to their campuses, share in research grants, and provide a union catalog of their libraries. By 1946, eleven universities in the state of Virginia had organized a similar, but much broader, program. Lesser but equally important efforts were clearly being demonstrated while these developments unfolded. Duke and North Carolina universities carried out a joint inter-library project; and in Tennessee, Vanderbilt, Peabody and Scarritt College, duplicated this arrangement. The latter two schools also agreed to exchange credits, and students could attend any one of the institutions, with a financial balancing of accounts at the end of the year.[6] Before 1949, at least three universities had established a joint curriculum in the field of public administration.

The success of these programs coupled with the peculiar economic hardships of the South had a profound impact upon the governors of the region. Dixie leaders were likewise aware of a prevailing historical trend which directly involved their educational outlook. During the post-war period, the South witnessed a growing student enrollment which placed heavy demands upon graduate, professional and technical education.[7] States of that region which one president termed the nation's number one economic problem experienced difficulty in coping with such expansion. Indeed, they already devoted a large share of their income to education, and it appeared almost impossible to meet the new demands attendent to an increasing school population, specifically at the graduate and professional levels.[8] Moreover, undergraduate training lagged behind that of the other regions of the country; and the fact that college enrollment alone doubled in the decade between the beginning of World War II and 1950 did little to allay the severity of what some described as nothing less than an educational trauma.

Enlightened southern statesmen could not stand prayfully by in acceptance of their trials as if it were a curse of the Lord. Knowledgeable southerners of the proudest sort recognized the existing state of educational affairs. They knew for example that the rather progressive state of Florida had neither a medical, dental or veterinary school for its youth.[9] Thus, with their im-

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[6] For cooperative enterprises in education prior to 1949 see, *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8; and William McGlothin, "The South Advances: Regional Planning in Education," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. XXI (March, 1950), pp. 114-15.

[7] *Southern Regional Educational Program* (Atlanta: SREB, 1956), p. 5.

[8] Sugg and Hilton, SREB, p. 4.

[9] "Big Southern Campus," *Time* Vol. LX (September, 1952), p. 91.

mediate and long-range goals fully in view, southern governors summoned to their side college and university leaders to help create plans to confront the momentous challenge of qualitative and quantitative education required for the future. The product of their endeavors was the formulation of the 1948 interstate compact signed by nine southern governors, who agreed to submit the document to their respective legislatures for ratification.[10] In the meantime, the chief executives' authority proved sufficient to establish an interim "Regional Council for Education," a nonprofit organization, which, as its permanent successor, the Southern Regional Education Board (SREB), had offices in Atlanta.

The Council's objectives were clearly defined. Basically, it sought to "assist states . . . institutions and agencies concerned with higher education in their [desire] to advance knowledge and to improve the social and economic level of the southern region."[11] Governor Millard Caldwell of Florida echoed the sentiment of his colleagues when he noted that regional education was an arrangement whereby adequate educational facilities could be extended students in all fields. Interstate cooperation would also lead to higher academic standards and at the same time result in the wisest and most economical expenditure of the South's limited resources. Caldwell, nevertheless, strongly emphasized that the program did not aim at saving money per se, but to prescribe means of pooling resources for over-all regional economy. And very importantly, he stressed that it was geared toward graduate and professional training.[12]

The administrative structure of the new organization was by no means complicated. The Council's membership initially included the governor and two members from each of the participating states, but this was altered later to allow for the appointment of Negroes. To advise and assist, the governors also named a Board of Consultants.[13]

The Council undertook a thorough research program in determining the more pressing needs in education. It secured the collaboration of state committees, professors, public agencies and a number of academic institutions, since wide participation

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10 Maryland, Georgia, Arkansas, South Carolina, Texas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, and Alabama. Subsequently, governors of the other states signed the agreement. Presently, sixteen states belong to the regional group. Besides the states of the old Confederacy, the others are Kentucky, West Virginia, Oklahoma, Delaware and Maryland.

11 William McGlothin, "Regional Bootstraps for Higher Education," *Higher Education*, Vol. V (January, 1949), p. 98.

12 For Caldwell's comments in full see his "Regional Education Planning Makes Progress in the South," *State Government*, Vol. XXI (May, 1948), pp. 100-01.

13 McGlothin, "Regional Bootstraps," p. 98.

would help to insure the soundness of the findings while encouraging support for regionalism.[14] Through various methods, the group surveyed existing institutional programs before concluding which academic activities warranted modification or strengthening by state or regional cooperation.[15] It was finally decided after careful study that medicine, veterinary science, and dentistry required immediate attention. The Council then devised plans to work out arrangements with various institutions for services under contractual agreements.[16]

While the temporary regional Council busied itself with research, the interstate compact to establish a permanent Southern Regional Education Board met with general favor. Legal and constitutional questions, however, required consideration before it became operative. The agreement between the states organized them into "a geographical district . . . for regional education supported by public funds derived from taxation by the constituent states for the establishment, acquisition, operation, and maintenance of regional educational . . . institutions for the benefit of citizens of the respective states . . ."[17] A very pressing issue was whether or not the document required congressional approval, since it was interstate in character. Many who favored such action by Congress argued the legal contention that Article 1, Section 10 of the Constitution expressly forbade any state to enter "any treaty, alliance or confederation" without congressional consent.[18] Others, however, stressed equally as strongly that the compact did not "increase the political power of the states," nor did it infringe upon, weaken or interfere with "the just supremacy of the United States,"; therefore, the action of Congress was entirely unnecessary.[19]

Differences of opinion aside, southern representatives submitted the compact to the House. Very little opposition developed and that body quickly approved it by an overwhelming vote. Resistance in the U.S. Senate, however, was clearly manifest. Many senators contended that the Constitution reserved to the states power over education and they found it difficult to

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14 *Ibid.*

15 *Ibid.*

16 John Ivey, "Regional Education: It is Working in the South," *State Government*, Vol. XXII (December, 1949), p. 278. It should be pointed out that the regional arrangement was not a device for states to escape their constitutional responsibility to provide within the limits of their resources higher educational facilities for all its citizens. See Caldwell "Regional Education Planning Makes Progress," p. 100.

17 Sugg and Hamilton, SREB, p. 15.

18 Millard Caldwell, "Legal Aspects of the Regional Plan for Higher Education," *Higher Education*, Vol. VI (January, 1950), pp. 103-05.

19 George Gant, "The Southern Regional Education Program," *Public Administration Review*, Vol. XII (Spring, 1952), p. 106.

understand why the pact had been presented in the first place.[20] Some argued more technically that the compact required the congressional stamp of approval, but by custom and judicial precedent interstate cooperation in certain areas had been carried on without consent. The ever aggressive Wayne Morse of Oregon questioned the motives of the southerners. The only reason the document had been sent to Washington, he said, was to secure endorsement of segregation. Morse and other liberals never deemed the compact invalid, although they were strongly opposed to any steps to preserve discrimination.[21] The sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee after a two-day hearing ruled favorably on the South's measure, but not without spirited debate on the floor of the upper chamber. By a vote of 39 to 38, the Senate sent the compact back to committee where it never emerged a second time.[22] Thus, the Congress without taking a positive stand permitted regional cooperation in southern education.

Generally, southern state legislatures in ratifying the compact did not reflect the unwillingness apparent in the Congress. While some fears and reservations existed, to be sure, they were not sufficient to wreck the proposed program. A few politicians and citizens said that regionalism would divert funds from institutions within their own borders, and that the administration of the scheme was not feasible. The majority, however, regarded their educational position as nothing less than precarious. They refused to ignore the fact that graduate schools of the South were experiencing phenomenal growth out of all proportion to available funds. Between 1938 and 1950, for example, enrollment more than quadrupled from 9,600 to 39,800; and projections showed that by 1970 this figure would top 100,000.[23] The undergraduate population likewise continued to rise. To illustrate once again, college enrollment in 1930 was only about 233,000, but twenty years later it had jumped to 620,000, representing an increase of 166 per cent.[24] It was possible, proponents of regional education pointed out, for the states of the South to stem this

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20 Sugg and Hamilton, SREB, p. 19.

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 19-20.

22 George Johnson, "The Eightieth Congress and Regional Education," *Higher Education*, (May, 1949), p. 199.

23 John K. Folger, *Future School and College Enrollments in the Southern Region* (Atlanta: SREB, 1954), p. 13.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 6. Students of the South foresee a continuing educational load for perhaps another decade. A number of explanations have been offered for this growth. Not only does the South have more children to educate, but there has been an increase in school age population in the past few years. Also the region now graduates more young persons from high school in a larger proportion than at any other time. Scientific and technological development will likewise increase the need for college training. See the introduction in *Ibid.*

tide partly through collective strength raher than by individual effort.

The argument proved persuasive. The regional compact to establish SREB was to become effective after six or more of the signatory states gave legislative approval. By June, 1949, enough states had ratified the agreement. The Regional Council gave way to the new "Board" and what had once been a long envisioned dream was presently a reality which held out hope and promise for the future.[25] Shortly after approval of the compact, Benjamin Fine, noted education editor of the New York *Times* carefully weighed the significance of what had transpired. Said he:

> It is clear that the project is exceedingly significant. It can help the South build and develop a sound system of graduate and professional schools that will be the equal of any in the country. The implications not only for the South but for the rest of the country are far-reaching. A new pattern in higher education has appeared that will have a profound influence on colleges and universities everywhere.[26]

The Board's administrative structure differed little from that of the old council. In fact, the only major difference between the two was that one enjoyed legislative sanction, the other did not. The agency's financial base, however, was much more secure. By and large, the program was—and continues to be—supported by public funds. At the outset, each state appropriated $7,000 annually to defray operational cost. With increasing expansion of its activities, the Board raised the assessment to $13,000 in the early fifties; by 1962, each participant was contributing $25,000.[27] States which took part in special programs were charged an additional amount. Besides this, significant aid has come from philanthropic foundations including the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the General Education Board, the Automotive Safety Foundation, the Commonwealth Fund, and the W. K. Kellogg Foundation. Several federal departments have also made lucrative grants.[28]

In developing its program, SREB followed well-outlined procedures. With the advice and consent of its staff and experts in particular fields, regional problems in education were isolated and studied. The Board then appointed a commission to make a detailed survey of needs of the states, and of the available in-

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[25] Ivey, "Regional Education: It is Working," pp. 278-280; McGlothin, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[26] New York *Times*, July 24, 1949.

[27] "The Southern Regional Education Program," in *Book of the States*, 1952-53 (Chicago: Council of State Government). p. 263: *A Report on SREB 1960-1961* (Atlanta: SREB, 1962), p. 32. (The *Report* is issued annually).

[28] *Ibid.*, 1955-1956, p. 19.

stitutions in the South able to provide additional facilities for a given number of students. Following this complicated but necessary investigation, the commission proposed methods by which arrangements could be made, and gave an estimate of the amount of money requisite for schools admitting "regional students." SREB developed recommendations from the report and informed legislatures how much it would cost to initiate activity in a given discipline.

Once states had acted favorably, the Board prescribed machinery for sending students across state lines where they could pursue studies unavailable to them at home.[29] The process was rather simple. A student desirous of regional services applied for admittance at the school of his choice, and at the same time sent a copy of his application to the Board. That office then certified to the participating university or college that the applicant resided in the state which he had indicated. The institution involved, however, not SREB, was responsible for deciding upon entrance qualifications. On the other hand, the states themselves established their own procedures under which a person earned one of the "quota places" allotted them by the Board. After acceptance, the student's state paid directly to SREB a stipulated sum. Upon receipt of certificates from institutions showing the number of regional students, the Atlanta office advanced to the school its extra fee for its services.[30] Out-of-state tuition under the program, however, was waived.

Initially regional programs were limited to three critical professional fields: medicine, dentistry and veterinary science. The prevailing conditions throughout the region in one of those readily explained the Board's action. In 1948, despite its rural character, the South had only five veterinary schools located in four states. With low operating budgets, their staffs were often miserably inadequate, laboratories poor, and libraries often much worse. As a result, homestate enrollments had to be curtailed, while in many cases out-of-state students found admission to these schools difficult, if not impossible. Consequently, a great many aspiring and hopeful youths saw their ambitions sacrificed

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29 Gant, "Regional Education," p. 109; and John Ivey, "Regional Education: An Experiment in Democracy," *Phylon*, Vol. X (1949), p. 385. The idea of jointly owned schools envisioned by the founders gave way to voluntary cooperation among the states, institutions and Board.

30 John Ivey and William McGlothin, "South's Evolving Pattern of Regional Planning in Higher Education," *Higher Education*, Vol. VI (January, 1950), p. 101. One significant observation about the quota system should be noted here. When a state accepted a number of places at a given cost, a minimum of three-fourths of the amount had to be paid regardless of how many students finally enrolled. If a state failed to fill its quota, the remaining openings were offered to others. (Ref. *ibid* for a more extensive discussion).

on the altar of regional poverty. Over the years pressure had mounted increasingly for building more schools; but schools cost money, and money somehow always implied more taxes, and economically conservative southerners already had too little money and too many taxes—at least they believed this to be true.

SREB came to the rescue. If it could effect a "marriage of convenience" in which states having veterinary schools gave quotas to students in states which had none, much of the dilemma would be solved. This would not only mean that huge capital outlays could be avoided, but also that "receiving institutions" would have more money to strengthen and carry out their functions. With little loss in time, SREB contracted with schools to put theory into practice. The same was true with medicine and dentistry. Originally, Alabama Polytechnic, Tuskegee, the University of Georgia, and Oklahoma State University offered veterinary training. Seven schools handled regional medical and dental students: Vanderbilt, Tennessee, Tulane, Louisiana State, McHarry, Duke, Emory, and the Medical College of Virginia.[31]

Few things southern have escaped the impact of race. SREB proved no exception. From the very beginning regional education came under attack. When the compact was before Congress for ratification, liberals had suggested that it constituted a clever legal mechanism for maintaining segregation and discrimination. Indeed Governor Millard Caldwell, then Chairman of the Regional Council, had helped to sustain their worst fears in a reply to a question by a witness testifying against the compact before the Senate Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee. Caldwell had been asked very bluntly whether the Southern Governors' Conference contemplated segregated education based on race. The governor had commented that "the only thing . . . the regional compact can provide for is such types of education as are authorized by the constitutions of the several states . . ."[32] Caldwell's statement satisfied few who opposed segregation, for they were all too familiar with provisions of the "constitutions of the several states." A clash between opponents and advocates of the compact had only been evaded when the bill was balled up in committee a second time.

If some congressmen registered intense dissatisfaction with the regional set-up, so did Negroes. Their objection was not against regional cooperation, but to segregation. The most power-

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31 *Ibid.*, p. 100. At the commencement of the program states paid $1,500 for medical and dental students and $1,000 for those in veterinary science.

32 Charles Thompson, "Why Negroes Are Opposed to Segregated Regional Schools," *Journal of Negro Education*. Vol. XVIII (Winter, 1949) p. 7; Johnson, "Congress and Regional Education," p. 200.

ful of all Negro pressure groups at that time, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) maintained that the governors manufactured the plan as an answer to federal court decisions regarding equal educational opportunity.[33] John Ivey, first director of SREB, responded to this criticism by pointing out that his agency would do nothing to discourage Negroes from securing legal rights as defined by the courts. He added, however, that every effort would be expended to keep the race issue from obscuring the program's merits.[34] Colored people, nevertheless, could not comprehend why SREB sought on the one hand to lessen plant and personnel duplication, but at the same time actually encouraged it through aid to inferior regional Negro institutions. To some, it no doubt appeared that the Board was similar to a dying man—feverishly, but ignorantly, imbibing of poison to restore a semblance of life.

Negroes and their supporters completely rejected the theory that separate schools advanced their cause. "There is no intention on the part of the proponents of this plan to provide . . . equal educational opportunities," Charles Thompson editorialized in the *Journal of Negro Education*.[35] History, he said, attested to the South's inability to live up to its promises;[36] integration was the wave of the future and it amounted to a backward step to acquiesce in the evils which had damned the race in past years. Moreover, segregated regional education was undesirable for it would make more difficult a redress of grievances through the courts, and it would retard the assault upon discrimination.[37]

The subsequent history of SREB indicated its neutrality on the issue of racial segregation. That the Board was not a legalistic device to protect the status quo was notably demonstrated in the case of Esther McCready. A Negro citizen of Maryland, Miss McCready applied to that state's school of nursing in the absence

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33 Hugh Smythe, "The Southern Regional Universities" Plan; A Suggested Solution," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXI (March, 1950), p. 122.

34 *Ibid.*

35 Thompson, "Why Negroes Are Opposed," p. 5.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 7.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 4. The article by Charles Thompson vividly reflected prevailing Negro public opinion at that time. For example, he wrote that "Negroes are well aware . . . that the complete elimination of segregation in education in the South will take a long time." They were willing, he said "to cooperate with any gradual but progressive program of elimination." A beginning, however, was necessary preferably at the graduate level. Students of southern history since the fifties readily discern a change in attitude, no doubt prompted in great part by the 1954 *Brown* decision. Not only have many Negroes rejected "gradualism," but also the once current belief that colleges and universities should receive top priority in any integration plan since students at that level are likely to have acquired behavioral traits and prejudices more difficult to combat than those of younger persons in the lower grades.

of other available facilities. The University of Maryland refused admission and informed her that the training desired could be obtained at McHarry, an all-Negro medical college at Nashville, under the regional compact. Upon this denial, the applicant petitioned the Baltimore City Court, which upheld the university's position. The Maryland Court of Appeals reversed the decision. The United States Supreme Court declined to review the case.

SREB seized upon the McCready suit to enunciate its policy. Since the agency had absolutely nothing to do with entrance requirements of participating universities, it obviously could take a "hands-off" attitude. And that it did. Intervening as a friend of the court in the above litigation, the Board stated that: "[Our] position is that [SREB] shall make regional arrangements to supplement facilities within the states. It is not the purpose of the Board that the Regional Compact and contract-for-services thereunder shall serve any state as a legal defense for avoiding responsibilities established under existing state and Federal laws and court decisions."[38]

While the Board has steered clear of the explosive racial revolution, it has broadened its programs in conducting a variety of activities. By the fall of 1949, a total of 388 places had been set aside for regional students.[39] At the end of the second year of operation, that figure had more than doubled. And along with the inclusion of more fields covered by the compact went a proliferation in the number of students engaged in regional education. For the year 1951-52, SREB provided 850 places, including 300 in medicine, 265 in veterinary science, 250 in dentistry and 35 in social work.[40] By 1956, the South had produced under contractual arrangements a combined total of 739 physicians, dentists, veteranarians and social workers—representing nearly $4,000,000 invested by the states.[41] The cumulative number of spaces reserved for southern youth exceeded 11,000 by 1963. For the same period (1949-1963), institutions of higher learning took in $15,700,000.[42]

The Compact accomplished its objective in helping states economize. Louisiana State University, for example, estimated

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38 Gant, "Regional Education," p. 107; Harry Ashmore, *The Negro and the Schools* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1954), pp. 36-37.

39 William McGlothin, "Dream Into Reality: Regional Planning in Education in the South," *School and Society*, Vol. LXXIII (January, 1951), p. 9.

40 "Progress in Regional Education," *Higher Education*, Vol. VIII (February, 1952), p. 140.

41 Redding Sugg and John Folger, *A Factbook on Higher Education in the South.* (Atlanta: SREB, 1956), p. 11.

42 *A Report on SREB, 1962-1963*, p. 15.

that it would cost nearly $5,000,000 to build a school of veterinary medicine. Unfortunately, only $500,000 was available for this purpose. L.S.U. turned to the Board and arranged to send its future "vets" to neighboring campuses. Director John Ivey believed that in this professional field alone, SREB saved the ten southern states at least $30,000,000. McHarry Medical College in Tennessee probably would have folded completely had it not been for regionalism in education. Presently, with more than sixty per-cent of its students from out-of-state, its continued existence seems certain.[43]

A variety of programs were developed which transcended the mere placement of students. In every case, however, the emphasis was upon improved graduate, professional and technical education. Under the able and youthful leadership of sociologist John Ivey, SREB involved itself directly or indirectly in all aspects of higher education. Ivey visualized that with steady growth the project could become a sort of educational "NATO." "There is," he once complained, "nothing more isolationist than our colleges, and there is no greater barrier to sound development than the [idea] of institutional sovereignty."[44] While many of Dixie's statesmen dared not apply Ivey's implied premises to state government in general, few could deny the advantages of limited cooperation and centralization. Under the Board's unified command, regional programs by 1963 had been formulated in more than thirty fields, including such widely diverse disciplines or professions as marine science, city planning, government, nursing, public health, recreation, forestry, and many others.[45]

SREB has progressively improved its services. One of the most fruitful endeavors has been its research projects. Although limited by policy and available funds, a number of valuable studies have been made by its own staff. The Board has also encouraged colleges and universities to carry out independent investigations whenever economically feasible and to pass the results on to others in the region.[46]

Consultation and advising have absorbed much of the Board's energy. In 1961, The Ford Foundation granted $59,250 to provide advisory services to states in establishing plans for the joint use of educational television.[47] The Carnegie Foundation contributed over a half-million dollars for research and consultation on the problems of higher education, and for the preparation of

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43 "Big Southern Campus," p. 92; and "The Ivey League," *Time*, LXIX (April, 1957), p. 88. For the McHarry situation see *New York Times*, July 24, 1949.

44 "Ivey League," *op. cit.*, p. 88.

45 Gant, "Regional Education," p. 109; also "Ivey League," p. 89.

46 Sugg and Hamilton, SREB, pp. 152-56.

47 *A Report on SREB, 1960-1961*, p. 14.

teachers for work with bright and gifted children. There is every indication that in the years ahead SREB will place more attention upon consultant services.

The optimism shared by those who conceived the idea of interstate cooperation in education has been justified by the South's experience. Firm believers in the program hope that in time southern society will be altered by increasing intellectual enlightenment and by the enlargement of educational opportunities. As one observer so pointedly put it, "the South stands facing a future rich with promise," which could well catapult "the region to a place of leadership and accomplishment not yet imagined." But it would take "a system of higher learning dedicated to quality" which no single state could undertake. Regional action, he said, could help the South achieve its promise and potential.[48] Surely, the southern governors who fathered the Compact were not oblivious of its far-reaching possibilities for changing the entire social milieu.

The South has created a revolutionary idea fully pregnant with hope. Many problems, nevertheless, still remain. That SREB has helped in alleviating wasteful competition while saving millions for member states by permitting the flow of students across state lines cannot be denied. Yet it has been no panacea for the South's many educational ills. Governor Terry Sanford of North Carolina focused his attention on the question in 1963. It was disturbing to him that out of 3,000,000 college-age youths in the South (including Oklahoma), less than a third were enrolled in school. And the future suggested a more dismal picture. By 1970, Sanford estimated that fewer than four out of ten high school graduates would receive college training. Equally as disheartening was that despite low family incomes and strained budgets, only a fourth of the nation's scholarships went to the South's undergraduates. And beside this, gaps still existed in quality and quantity: "Even the best of our universities need to be better," wrote Sanford. The solution to the enigma had one major solution—more money. But the North Carolina statesman was confident that with determined effort these problems could be overcome.[49] John Ivey shared this optimism, but warned that "the South must work almost frantically . . . to catch the vision and challenge of a new [day]" or the "South that might be will . . . remain the South that is." SREB's aim has been to help a region glimpse that educational horizon which for years has seemed ever so fleeting.

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[48] *Ibid.*, 1961-1962, p. 20.

[49] For the complete statement see *ibid.*, 1962-1963, pp. 2-3; and a related comment by Governor Buford Ellington in *ibid.*, 1960-1961, p. 3.

## NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

### Recent Data on the Heavener Runestone

Letters and other data have been received showing renewed interest in the great rock with its runic inscription standing on the mountain near Heavener in Le Flore County, since Leslie A. McRill's notes "The Heavener Enigma: A Rune Stone" appeared in *The Chronicles* for summer, 1966 (Vol. XLIV, No. 2). It is certain that the great slab of rock with its old inscription is an antiquarian object worthy of note in Oklahoma. Proof of this has developed through eight years since the first report on the runestone appeared in *The Chronicles,* and the fine coverage given by the state press. Gloria Farley of Heavener, whose hobby has been to find out the origin of the runestone since her girlhood, has kept up her search for proof that the inscription was written by Norsemen or Vikings who may have visited America over 1,000 years ago.

The notes by Mr. McRill suggest, however, a more recent period, in which the rock, like a monument, was set up for a corner post or boundary marker when the French were establishing duchies (land grants) along the Arkansas River, beginning about 1720. It is believed that such a monument or corner post led the French to give the name *Poteau* to the mountain, the word *poteau* in French meaning "a post." And the branch of the Arkansas that rises in this mountain was also named the *Poteau River.*

Mr. McRill calls attention to Jean Bossu's report, *Travels through Louisiana* (London, 1771) that mentions some German colonists who came up the Arkansas to establish a duchy assigned to John Law by the French government, in 1720.[1] These colonists were under the leadership of a Swedish captain named "Arnstbourg" (*sic*) in the *Travels* (ed., 1771). John Law's colonization company failed in 1720. When the Germans on the Arkansas learned of this disaster sometime later, they returned down the Mississippi and formed a colony in present Louisiana where they became the providers for New Orleans.

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[1] Bossu's *Travels through Louisiana* is in two volumes, among the rare books found in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society: Vol. I, *Travels through that part of North America formerly called Louisiana.* By Mr. Bossu, Captain of the French Marines. Translated from the French by John Reinhold Forster, F.A.S.; and Vol. II. *A Systematic Catalogue of all the known Plants of English North-America.* or *A Flora Americae Septention-alis,* both volumes printed in London, 1771.

The University of Oklahoma Press published in 1962, twenty-two of the letters found in the edition of 1771, under the title *Jean-Bernard Bossu's Travels in the Interior of North America* translated and edited by Seymour Feiler. This is the first translation in modern English, and is one of the most important historical accounts of the French and the American Indians.

Interpretation of the ancient runes on the Heavener stone is given by Mr. McRill, from Monrad's manuscript out of Denmark (1963), in the Oklahoma Historical Society. Monrad holds that, with the exception of one of the runes, those on the Heavener inscription are of the ancient or "elder" class that were used by the Norsemen up to about 750 A.D. This one rune is in the form used in the 16th to the 18th centuries among the Swedes, a period when there was a revival in the study of the ancient runes in Scandinavia. Rune writing was tied in with that which was secret and mysterious, and was a mark of learning in this later time. According to this, the revival period in the use of the ancient runes seems to give a definite time for the writing of the Heavener inscription, and points to Bossu's report about the Swedish captain and the Germans on the Arkansas.

A recent translation by Mr. McRill from the French gives part of Penicaut's narration from Vol. 5 of Margry's history of Louisiana (*Descouvertes des Francais L' Amerique.* Pierre Margry. Pt. 5, 1683-1724), which tells of the feverish activity out of France in colonizing the Lower Mississippi Valley. Excerpts follow here from this translation (Margry, Vol. 5, p. 575):

There arrived at the beginning of this year [1722] at the isle of vessels opposite New Biloxi, seven vessels from France called *The Gironde, The Elephant, The Loire, The Seine, The Dromedary, The Traversier* and *The Venus.*

These vessels had brought on board more than 4,000 persons, as many French as Germans and Jews. There were also sixty girls from the General Hospital of France to be married into the country, and among all these persons there was a large number of concessions which were established from this year. Here are the names and the places where these were established: * * * That of M. Law, well known in France, directed by M. Elias with 100 men. It is established on the Arkansas River, 192 leagues farther up than New Orleans at the right bank of the mounting. They had such a large amount of merchandise and other effects that they filled with it thirty boats to travel up to their concession.

Interesting data that have bearing on the McRill notes in *The Chronicles* have come in the article "The Germans in Louisiana in the Eighteenth Century," published in the current issue of *Louisiana History,* winter 1967 (Vol. VIII, No. 1). This article is a translation from French, by Glenn R. Conrad of Louisiana State University, in which he gives the following introduction—"Translator's note":

For some time I have held the opinion that the history of the eighteenth-century German settlers of Louisiana has been either underrated or overlooked by many students of Louisiana history. Some have mentioned the German colonists, but few have seriously investigated the numerous documents found in the Parisian and French departmental archives.

Moreover, many historians in the past have depended on oral tradition in recounting the story of these German settlers. Hence, their accounts are rather vague . . . .

The following article by Rene Le Conte, published in the *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris,* [1924], does, however, indicate documentary sources and revises some heretofore erroneous impressions about the German settlers in Louisiana. M. Le Conte also contributed to the history of the early German emigrants to Louisiana in an article entitled "Colonization et emigration allemands en Amerique" which appeared in volume fourteen (1922) of the new series of the *Journal de la Societe des Americanistes de Paris* . . .

Mr. Conrad's annotations add much to his translation of the Le Conte article (1924), giving valuable observations with many references on the subject of German colonization in Louisiana. Le Conte gives the names of the ships and the number of emigrants from Europe, with the names of many of these that arrived on the coast near New Orleans from 1720 to 1721. The arrival of the Swedish captain, described by Le Conte as a "soldier of fortune" is mentioned: "Finally, *Le Portefaix* dropped anchor at Biloxi on June 4, 1721. It had taken aboard 330 passengers at Le Havre. The majority of these were German. Among them was the celebrated Chevalier D'Arensbourg." He is the same as "Arntsbourg" mentioned in Bossu's *Travels,* and was a notable figure in Louisiana for many years, remaining the leader of the Germans near New Orleans when they came back from the Arkansas. The results of more research in the original documents in Paris and other European centers may reveal that the activities and adventures of the Louisiana colonists during the 1700's had a part in the planting of the Heavener runestone on Poteau Mountain.

Inquiries have come in from some interested in visiting the Heavener runestone, wanting to know how to reach its location in Le Flore County. Three main highways lead into Heavener: U.S. #59 from the north out of Poteau; U.S. #259 and #59 from the south, out of Big Cedar; and U.S. #270 from the west, out of Wilburton. State Highway 128 also comes into Heavener from the state line east, out of Bates, Arkansas.

Arriving in Heavener, drive east to east Avenue B, then east to Seventh Street or Morris Creek Road, then left (north) one mile to the pasture gate on the right. Nearly three-quarters of a mile east of the gate, the runestone stands on a 50-acre tract located on a rocky ledge of Poteau Mountain. This tract is now being developed and made accessible by the State Park Department, under provisions of the 30th State Legislature (1965). A new road has been constructed east from the gate, more than half way up the mountain where a turn-around for parking cars has been made and a caretaker's house has been built. From here, a pathway through the woods has been marked on up the mountainside to the great stone.

—(M.H.W.)

## Recent Accessions to the Library

The following list gives the titles of books accessioned and catalogued in the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society, by Mrs. Aline Simpson, Librarian, from July 1, 1965 to July 1, 1966:

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Cross Timbers: Memories of a North Texas Boyhood.* By Edward Everett Dale. (University of Texas Press, Austin and London. 1966. Pp. 186. $4.75)

Tenderly told, the memories of Dr. Dale reveal a pattern of life in rural America now gone forever. Except for some minor variations, it is largely the life story of a vast number of other boys who lived on a woodland farm in the period from 1882 to 1892. He tells of his home, its furnishing and the food served there, as well as friends and neighbors and relatives who came to visit.

After presenting a brief introduction to the members of the Dale family and the plant, animal, and the bird life of the lower Cross Timbers countryside, the author describes his boyhood of three quarters of a century ago.

Growing up on a farm in the Cross Timbers of North Texas in the 1880's seems especially distant today. The present generation would find it hard to believe that a sixteen mile journey took the better part of a day and was considered to be a major undertaking.

Pioneer life demanded much hard work, but not to the exclusion of a diverting social life, which the author so graphically recalls. The fact that most persons worked hard made periods of leisure more dear. School, church, socials, play parties, literary societies, visiting with friends and neighbors, and picnics or fishing trips were all a part of the social life of the community.

This important contribution to social history is the most recent publication in Personal Narratives of the West series. One of the foremost historians of the Southwest, Dr. Dale is Research Professor of History, Emeritus, at the University of Oklahoma.

*Buckskin Joe: The Memoirs of Edward Jonathan Hoyt.* Edited by Glenn Shirley. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1966. Pp. 194. $5.50.)

To fully explain what this book is all about, one should use the description as written on the jacket: "Being the unique and vivid memoirs of Edward Jonathan Hoyt, hunter-trapper, scout, soldier showman, frontiersman and friend of the Indians 1840-1918." Buckskin Joe Hoyt was all of these things and more. He had enough adventures to last the average man several lifetimes.

Hoyt, born in Canada, fought as a Union soldier in the Civil War, and his extensive notes and subsequent adventures makes

two of the more interesting chapters of the book. When the war ended, he came west to fight Indians.

He was one of the first men to settle in southern Kansas on the present site of Arkansas City, and the next twenty years made the town headquarters for his many expeditions into Indian Territory and the Rockies. The Buckskin Band, made up of members of Hoyt's family, was widely known throughout the area.

During the silver strikes of 1879, he went to Leadville, Colorado, where he sank twenty-two mining shafts, survived several brushes with claim jumpers, and served as a trouble shooter for Horace A. W. "Haw" Tabor, Colorado's "Silver King."

In 1888, he entered show business with Pawnee Bill, and the next year made the "land rush" into Oklahoma. From 1890 to 1891, he served as deputy United States marshal for the District of Kansas and Oklahoma Territory.

His last and greatest expedition was into the jungles of Honduras, where he worked an old Spanish mine for four years before being caught up in a revolution and forced to flee the country, badly wounded and leaving behind valuable discoveries from which others profited.

Glen Shirley has done a fine job of editing the extensive notes and documents. He wisely chose to retain the frontier flavor of the author's writing. The result is a fresh, salty insight into the past.

—Arthur Shoemaker

*Hominy, Oklahoma*

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*The Arapaho Way: A Memoir of Indian Boyhood.* By Althea Bass. (Clarkson N. Potter, Publisher, New York, 1966. Pp. x, 78. Ills. $5.95.)

This is the story of an Arapaho: his boyhood, manhood and later years. Carl Sweezy was proud of his American Indian ancestry, and retained his Indian way of life from childhood even as an old man living among the white people and their culture. He is remembered by many who saw him as he walked the streets of our Oklahoma cities with his portfolio of paintings that he had come to sell. There is no list of his paintings now nor where or to whom he sold them. Many of his paintings are in Oklahoma, and a few are in places outside the state. Color reproductions of some of his paintings make *The Arapaho Way* a beautiful little book.

Carl Sweezy's story is written from interviews which Mrs. Bass had with him. He did not know the date of his birth. He

never had a birthday party like the white children yet he knew that the Indian parents loved their children.

The interviews cover the periods of Carl Sweezy's childhood: his life as a child in a tipi on the reservation, his schooling in mission schools, his memories of the Indian agents who were sent to work among the Cheyenne and the Arapaho. There are parts that tell of the transition from life in the tipi to that along the "corn road"; and of the change from a life of hunting to one of gardening and some farming. Through all the story, there is no bitterness, only a beautiful and nostalgic remembrance of an Indian who adjusted to changes which life brought him and his people.

Carl Sweezy attended school at Chilocco. He played baseball. He observed the religious ceremonies and rites of his people. He knew and visited with Frank Frantz, the last governor of Oklahoma Territory. He told about Hamlin Garland's visit to the Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, and how Mr. Garland wanted the Indians to improve the system of names so that there might be family continuity in this.

The paintings selected for reproduction in *The Arapaho Way* are typical of the work of this American Indian. These do credit to his ability and to his honesty in painting the object or the event as he saw it. Every Oklahoman will want to read this story of Carl Sweezy as told to Mrs. Bass.

—Eula E. Fullerton

*Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

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*The Treaty of Medicine Lodge.* By Douglas C. Jones. (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1966. Pp. 237. Illus. $5.95.)

After the close of the Civil War, encouraged by the Homestead Act, the immigration of settlers into the High Plains increased. Cattle were driven in large droves from Texas, the buffalo were being slaughtered by the thousands by white hunters, and railroad construction was underway.

The Sand Creek massacre of many of Black Kettle's band of Cheyennes by the Colorado Militia in 1864, inflamed the Cheyennes into retaliatory violence. and joined by associated tribes they waged a bloody war, Indian style, by sporadic raids and depredations against the intruding whites. United States troops, some of which were withdrawn from forces engaged in the Civil War were used against the Indians but by the spring of 1867 the hostiles had not been subdued and the Central Plains were still unsafe for the white people.

There was a nationwide impatience and anxiety for peace, but a diversity of opinion as to the way to attain it. In the East, far from the actual conflict, sentiment inclined to the soft dealing appeasement policy of the Indian Bureau. In the West the view of the War Department prevailed, seeing little hope for peace until the Indians were throughly conquered by force.

The policy to win over the Indians to permanent peace by conciliation and negotiation was followed by Congress, and a Peace Commission was created in the Henderson bill which authorized not only the attempt to bring peace but to establish a system for civilizing the Indians. The bill was signed by President Andrew Johnson, July 30, 1867, and pursuant to its requirements, the great Medicine Lodge Council followed in the fall.

The story of the gathering of about 5,000 Indians and the councils of their leaders with the Peace Commissioners on the banks of Medicine Lodge Creek 70 miles southwest of Wichita, Kansas, and not many miles north of the Indian Territory boundary line, is told by the author largely from the eyewitness accounts of reporters sent to the scene by some of the largest newspapers of the country.

This press corps, respected by author Jones as a professional, qualified group, included Henry M. Stanley, who became famous for his African exploring exploits, and the author makes the reader acquainted with each one of the corps. Besides the Indians and their chiefs and the events in the course of the treaty negotiations, there was interesting material for the writers to work on, and there emerged from their reports personalities taken from the assembly of ranking United States officials, well known army men, and civilians of various types.

The joint treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and the Plains Apache, was completed and signed a week before the Cheyennes came to the conference from their camps on the Cimarron River some distance from the Medicine Lodge Treaty headquarters. As days passed and they did not come in, apprehension and fear grew from rumors afloat that if the Cheyennes came in at all, it would be in their war paint. Tension was relieved when they finally came to meet the Peace Commission in a conciliatory mood, and with their closely associated Arapahoes, together they signed the treaty.

With the treaties accepted and signed by the several tribes, apparently the great council had ended successfully, and the Indians departed with their ponies loaded down with presents. The correspondents were glad to be on their way back to the cities and civilization. Then, Jones's story of the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, through their eyes, comes to an end.

If some of them had suspicions that the Indians attended the council for the food and presents and were not ready for lasting peace or did not intend to keep it, they kept these views to themselves. That these Indians would remain troublesome and the Government's serious problem for years to come, until finally thoroughly conquered by force of arms and compelled to remain on reservations assigned to them in the Indian Territory, is another story.

Douglas C. Jones is to be commended for his extensive research and for converting it into an interesting story and a historical record of an important event. Credit is due to the Oklahoma University Press for adding this volume to its outstanding publications relevant to Oklahoma and its history.

—Frank F. Finney, Sr.

*Oklahoma City, Oklahoma*

# NECROLOGY

## Lewis Edwin Neff
## 1892-1966

Lewis Edwin Neff was born on May 29, 1892 on a farm near Downsville, New York, in the beautiful foothills of the Catskills. He was four months old when his father died leaving a library of ancient and modern history and classical books. At the age of five he walked two miles to attend the rural school.

When Lewis was six years old, his mother sold the 400 acre farm and moved with her children to Walton where the best school in the county was located. Before he was eight years old he had read the Bible completely through twice and remembered what he read. At that age, he was baptized a member of the Methodist church. He began reading history and classics from the home library and from the public library. His photographic memory retained the knowledge which he gained and remained with him through life. He learned to enjoy poetry as he heard his mother recite poems she had learned in school.

Before graduating from high school, Lewis Edwin began working for a farmer during the summer vacation to make money for his college expenses. At the age of fifteen he earned tuition to enter Cornell University by passing two separate stiff examinations for scholarships, competing with older boys. With the help of his mother, who moved to Ithaca to provide him a home there, he graduated.

He became a member of the debating team, joined Delta Sigma Rho debating fraternity. As a debater he never lost a contest. In his junior year, he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa scholastic society and the next year received his A. B. degree cum laude. He then completed his law studies while serving as assistant instructor in Economics to help with expenses.

Lewis Edwin Neff was admitted to the practice of law in Oklahoma in 1913. He settled in Muskogee where his older brother William was practising law and they formed the firm of Neff and Neff. They made a speciality of land titles. Verdicts which the firm won on appeal of law suits to the Supreme Court became the law in the new state.

While Mr. Neff evaluated evidence of heirship in litigation involving oil leases on valuable Indian property, he became proficient in tracing family lines. The work was very exacting but he had a natural talent for it dating from boyhood, when he recorded data given by family relatives. An efficient linguist, he soon learned enough Indian dialects to know if an interpreter was translating questions and answers correctly. He could converse with simple words in Indian language.

When he registered as a candidate for the state legislature from Muskogee County, he was regarded as a mere boy with no chance of election. Not long out of college and without funds for a campaign, the boy walked over the county, met the voters in their homes and places of business, discussed their problems with them. He became the youngest member ever elected to the state legislature, up to that time and for a considerable time afterwards. During the two terms he served, 1915 to 1919, he authored a bill creating a City Court for Muskogee, a Free State Fair for Muskogee County and was responsible for the usury laws which were badly needed and are still in force.

LEWIS EDWIN NEFF

Mr. Neff always had a strong interest in government and politics. He could give the name and date of service of men who had been elected or nominated for office at the national level from the beginning of our nation and of some mayors.

In late 1925 the firm of Neff and Neff moved to Tulsa, and their sister, Lucinda B. Neff joined them as private secretary and office manager.

Lewis had a great desire for travel to see new places and visited every state in the Union at a time when transportation was slow, uncertain and often lacking in comfort. Then he visited every country in North America and the British Isles. Finally he made a trip around the world and traveled to every continent.

He acquired a ranch in the Deep Fork bottoms of over 4,000 acres where he made a hobby of raising horses, cattle and grafted pecans.

During the boom in the East Texas oil field, Mr. Neff opened a branch law office at Longview, Texas, and later one at Wewoka near the Seminole oil field while keeping his main office in Tulsa.

After the death of his older brother William from pneumonia in 1936, the law partnership ended and Lewis took less interest in trial law. Soon after his mother died in 1944, he decided to renew his youthful hobby of searching for family ancestors. He did research in Scotland on a branch of his mother's family and in Switzerland on the Neff ancestry and collected a great amount of data from related families over the country, one having the name of Nave in Tennessee was of the Neff family. He discovered he was descended from William Brewster, Ruling Elder of the Mayflower Pilgrims who came to America to escape religious persecution in England.

Gradually Mr. Neff let his interest in Mayflower history take precedence over his desire to complete and publish a Neff Family History. He often expressed regret over the delay and expected to finish the work later, but it was not completed.

In 1947 Lewis organized the Society of Mayflower Descendants in the State of Oklahoma. After serving two terms as governor of the Society, he became historian and began compiling a book which gave the line of descent of all who joined the Oklahoma Mayflower Descendants. At the same time he worked out lineages for people who did not know they had Mayflower ancestry.

After his appointment as chairman of the General Mayflower Membership Committee in 1954, Mr. Neff spent much time in the next two years organizing Mayflower Societies in seven large western states and later completed organization in the three remaining states making a truly national group. He brought in many new members with new lines of descent. He worked without compensation as he solved many difficult genealogical problems and aroused great interest in the Pilgrim migration to America.

In 1957 Mr. Neff was elected Counsellor General of the national society, the first general officer to be chosen from west of the Mississippi. He was given a standing ovation which lasted for several minutes. Late in 1958 Mr. Neff was called to fill a vacancy in the office of Historian General and took up residence in Boston. In addition to the work of the office he started to compile a new Mayflower Index which would list the names of everyone who had proved descent from a Mayflower passenger,

together with all names of ancestors and spouses in the line of descent. It was a monumental task that took him well over a year. [1]

Lewis Edwin Neff was elected Governor General of the National Society in 1960. His first official act was to move the files and records of the Mayflower Society from Boston to the Mayflower Society House in Plymouth on property owned by the General Society. He then had a fireproof vault constructed on the rear of the teahouse which was remodeled for an office. He contributed generously toward the cost. In 1963 this building was dedicated as the *Lewis Edwin Neff Cottage* after an impressive dedicatory oration given by the Honorable Maurice H. Thatcher, the only living member of the original Panama Canal Commission.

During his administration Mr. Neff published much genealogical material in the *Mayflower Quarterly*, the official publication of the organization. Much of this he had discovered by research in England and Holland. He looked upon the Mayflower migration as having great historical significance. In this he was in agreement with the early British authors who state that but for the success of the Pilgrim settlement at Plymouth in 1620, America would have been settled by the French and Spanish and never would have become an English speaking nation. Mr. Neff wanted a Society that would be historical in its purpose and an everlasting credit to the able men who had organized it. He also wanted members to be worthy of the organizers and a Society that a man would be proud to have served as Governor General.

He was a member of the Society of Genealogists, London, England, the Swiss Historical Society, the New England Historical and Genealogical Society, the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, the Oklahoma Historical Society, the East Tennessee Historical Society, the Filson Club and the New Jersey Historical Society.

Mr. Neff accumulated a library of thousands of books, mostly history and read all of them. He also had collected a vast amount of material for his Five Generation Project which would bring all descendants of all Mayflower passengers who left descendants, down to about the time of the Revolution. He made several trips to England and Holland and, while there, made many new discoveries regarding the early Pilgrim families and their ancestry. He learned that Brewster and Winslow were descended from royalty and that probably Standish was, and that possibly others were also. He found great satisfaction in making a new discovery.

Ancestral societies interested Mr. Neff from a historical viewpoint. He was Chancellor of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, a Baron in the Baronial Order of the Magna Charta, a member of the Order of the Three Crusades, 1096-1192, Sons of Cincinnati, Huguenot Society and of the Sons of the American Revolution.

Mr. Neff served in the Coast Artillery in World War I. He was a member of the American Legion and a member of the Tulsa County, the Oklahoma State and the American Bar associations.

He had a subtle sense of humor, was kind and sympathetic, generous in his charities, especially to destitute families. He had a strong determination that held steadfast in a decision, a methodical approach to a question. Other attorneys valued his opinion on points of law and his

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[1] Copies of the three volume set of the *Mayflower Index and Mayflower Descendants in the State of Oklahoma*, books which were compiled by Mr. Neff, are in libraries all over the country and in the British Museum.

ability to recognize when a law suit was involved in a question. His legal training was of great help to him in his genealogical research.

Lewis Edwin Neff passed away on May 23, 1966 from heart failure. He had plane reservation for another trip to England to start the following day. Surviving him are his sister Lucinda B. Neff of the home who had been closely associated with him in his legal and genealogical work; a nephew, the Reverend William Neff, Jr., pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian church, Tulsa, and several other nieces and nephews. Interment was in Memorial Park, Tulsa. Telegrams, telephone calls and floral tributes came from across the nation and from England to honor an able man who asked nothing for himself but was always ready to help others.

*Tulsa, Oklahoma* —Lucinda B. Neff

## MINUTES OF THE QUARTERLY MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OKLAHOMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

October 27, 1966

Due to construction work and lack of heat in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building, the regular quarterly meeting of the Board of Directors of the Society was held at the 89'er Inn of Oklahoma City at 11:00 a.m., Thursday, October 27, 1966.

Vice President H. Milt Phillips, presided over the meeting in the absence of President George Shirk, who was in New York City attending a sale of archival materials for the Society. Mr. Phillips called upon Dr. E. E. Dale to give the invocation.

The roll was called by Administrative Secretary Elmer Fraker. Members present were: Henry B. Bass, Mrs. George Bowman, Q. B. Boydstun, J. G. Clift, Joe W. Curtis, E. E. Dale, W. D. Finney, Bob Foresman, Morton R. Harrison, LeRoy H. Fischer, Joe W. McBride, W. E. McIntosh, R. G. Miller, James D. Morrison, R. M. Mountcastle, Fisher Muldrow, H. Milt Phillips, Earl Boyd Pierce, and Genevieve Seger. Absent members were: Lou Allard, B. B. Chapman, Emma Estill-Harbour, Robert A. Hefner, John E. Kirkpatrick and George H. Shirk. Mr. Mountcastle moved that those who were absent from the meeting be excused. Miss Seger seconded the motion, which was carried unanimously.

Elmer Fraker, Administrative Secretary, began his report by saying there was one new life member and thirteen new annual members to be accepted. A motion was made by Mr. McIntosh, seconded by Mrs. Bowman, that these new members be approved. Such motion, when put, was unanimously adopted. There were also many gifts to be approved, and Mr. Harrison moved they be accepted. Mr. Pierce seconded the motion, which was passed when put.

Mr. Fraker further reported progress was rapidly being made on the Oil Museum project and there had been an accumulation of many new pieces of equipment. He said that due to the fact Mr. Millard Neptune had resigned his position with the Apco Oil Corporation and was moving to another state he had also resigned as Chairman of the Oil Museum Committee. Mr. Travis Brown of the Geolograph Service Corporation, had been named to succeed Mr. Neptune in this capacity.

An invitation was given to the members of the Board by Mr. Fraker to attend the dedication services of the monument to former President of the United States, John F. Kennedy, at Big Cedar, Sunday, October 30th, at 2:00 p.m. This marker and site is being deeded at that time to the Society by the Knights of Columbus. Dedication ceremonies were held on Labor Day for the General Douglas Cooper monument at Fort Washita with Society President Shirk as speaker. Administrative Secretary Fraker, in concluding his report, said a Green Corn Dance monolith marker was to be erected near Checotah within the next few weeks.

Mrs. Bowman gave mimeographed copies of the financial report for the past quarter to the members of the Board. In making the Treasurer's report it was shown that all accounts are in sound financial condition for the first three month's period of the new fiscal year. Mr. Harrison moved and Mr. Mountcastle seconded a motion that the Treasurer's report be accepted. The motion was unanimously adopted.

Historical Sites Committee Chairman, Mr. McIntosh, reported that

several new turnpike speed markers had been set in the past few months and that more were planned for the near future.

Announcement of a film regarding the journey of the Five Tribes over the Trail of Tears to be shown on a Tulsa television station was made by Mr. McIntosh. He said this film had been given national awards for having been the best film produced during the year. He urged every member of the Board to see the film while it was being shown on television. Mr. Muldrow moved that Mr. Leake of Tulsa be contacted to see if it were possible to get a copy of this film for the Library of the Oklahoma Historical Society. The motion was seconded by Miss Seger. However, Mr. Pierce asked that the motion be amended to read the Mr. Leake be invited to make a personal showing of the picture to the board, and then be requested for a copy of same. Mr. Muldrow asked that his motion be withdrawn to be substituted by the motion made by Mr. Pierce. Upon passage of the motion, Vice President Phillips appointed Mr. Harrison to contact Mr. Leake regarding the film and the possibility of a copy being given to the Society.

It was reported by Mr. Bass that the Chisholm Trail Commission is making progress on its formulation of plans for the Chisholm Trail Centennial next year. He has been working with representatives from Texas and Kansas in planning for the Centennial, and said a more detailed report would be given at the January meeting of the Board.

Mr. Bass asked that a letter of congratulations be sent to Mr. Jack Conn who was recently elected to the office as President of the American Bankers Association. Mr. Conn is a long-time resident of the state of Oklahoma.

Dr. Morrison stated that Mr. Merrick of Ardmore is still donating $1,200 a month toward the restoration of Fort Washita.

A report for the Microfilming Committee was given by Mr. Phillips. He said that films were being bought and made into negative so that films may be reproduced and so provide films to those who desire to buy them.

Mr. McBride presented copies of a resolution to the Board relating to the Oklahoma Memorial Association becoming an affiliate of the Historical Society. The resolution had been adopted at a joint meeting of Executive Committees of the Oklahoma Historical Society and the Oklahoma Memorial Association held August 11, 1966. The original copy of this resolution is attached hereto and made an official part of these minutes. Considerable discussion was held and numerous questions asked about the feasibility of such an affiliation. Mr. McBride moved the resolution be adopted, and Mr. McIntosh seconded such motion. A vote was taken by the raising of hands, and the motion was unanimously adopted.

A book entitled *History of the Perry Land Office* was presented to the Society by Dr. Fischer on behalf of Dr. Chapman. Dr. Fischer made a motion that a letter of appreciation for this gift be written and sent to Dr. Chapman which was seconded by Mr. Mountcastle, and passed by the Board. Mr. McIntosh then moved that Dr. Chapman be granted an excuse from attendance at Board Meetings during the academic term as he is teaching at Florida State University. A second to the motion was made by Mr. Bass. The motion carried.

Upon hearing of the illness of Dr. Harbour, it was moved by Miss Seger that a get-well letter be sent to her on behalf of the Board. Mr.

Mountcastle seconded the motion of Miss Seger, and the motion was adopted.

Mr. Pierce introduced his guest, Mr. Ben Choate of the Oklahoma State Equalization Board. Mr. Choate invited the members of the Board to the National Convention of Indian Tribes to be held November 14-18 at the Sheraton Hotel in Oklahoma City.

It being determined that no further business was to come before the Board, the meeting was adjourned.

H. MILT PHILLIPS
Vice President

ELMER L. FRAKER
Administrative Secretary

## A RESOLUTION

WHEREAS, it is agreed by this joint meeting of Executive Committees of the Oklahoma Historical Society and Oklahoma Memorial Association that space should be found in the Oklahoma Historical Society Building to provide an office for Oklahoma Memorial Association, and

WHEREAS, there are programs for practical and historical purposes in which both Oklahoma Historical Society and Oklahoma Memorial Association are each interested and to which each can make major contributions.

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that it is recommended to each organization's Board of Directors that a joint committee of three members each be created to serve as an Oklahoma Historical Society — Oklahoma Memorial Association Cooperative Committee to study areas of cooperative effort, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that cooperative efforts in any area of activity shall be determined upon recommendation of this joint committee and upon approval of the Board of Directors of both organizations.

Unanimously approved this *11th* day of *August, 1966*, upon motion of Judge Robert A. Hefner, and seconded by Fisher Muldrow.

George H. Shirk, Co-Chairman
Joe W. McBride, Co-Chairman

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## GIFTS RECEIVED IN THIRD QUARTER, 1966

*LIBRARY:*

Historical Map of Oklahoma, 1966 by the Oklahoma Natural Gas Company, Oklahoma City.
Donor: E. G. Ty Dahlgren, 715 N.W. 49th, Oklahoma City.

*Spiro Studies*, Vol. 1—Description of the Mound Group; First Part of the Second Annual Report of Caddoan Archaeology—Spiro Focus Research, 1966, by James A. Brown.
Donor: University of Oklahoma Research Institute, 1808 Newton Drive, Norman.

*Alumni Directory 59th Anniversary Edition*—Tecumseh High School Alumni Association, May 1, 1962.
Donor: John D. Klapp, 218 E. Jefferson, Tecumseh, Oklahoma.

Tape Recordings: Kiowa Veterans Day, November 11, 1965 in Anadarko, Oklahoma—Final Song Composed and Sung by Jimmy Anquoe, Noted Kiowa Indian Singer and Composer. Four Native Kiowa Songs done by Homer Buffalo and Granddaughter, both Kiowa-Comanche of Anadarko, Oklahoma and Recorded April 2, 1966.
Donor: Dee Worster, Norman, Oklahoma.

*Family Chart of John Hamilton and Rebecca Rice Pritchard, His Wife,* compiled by Vice Admiral Walter Stratton Anderson, 1065 Lexington Avenue, New York.
Donor: Oklahoma State Library, Capitol Building, Oklahoma City.

*International Finders,* March 1966.
Donor: Mabel T. Harris, 1008 N.W. 42nd, Oklahoma City.

*Guides to Outdoor Recreation Areas and Facilities,* 1966 of the U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Outdoor Recreation, Washington, D.C.
*Indian Education,* 1966 of U. S. Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.
*Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts of Alaska,* 1966 of U. S. Dept. of Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs.
*Directory of Services, Muskogee Area Office,* Bureau of Indian Affairs, Muskogee, Oklahoma, June 10, 1966.
*Indian and Eskimo Children,* U. S. Government Publication, Washington, D. C.
*Answers to Questions About American Indians,* U. S. Dept. of Interior.
*American Indians and the Federal Government,* U. S. Dept. of Interior, Washington, D. C.
*The Right to be Indian* by E. Schusky.
"The Seneca Indians Go Modern and Like It", Bureau of Indian Affairs News Release, August 7, 1966.
*Indians of New Mexico,* U. S. Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs booklet.
*Indians of Montana and Wyoming.* Bureau of Indian Affairs booklet.
*Indians of the Northwest,* Bureau of Indian Affairs booklet.
*Indians of the Dakotas,* Bureau of Indian Affairs booklet.
*Indians of the Gulf Coast States,* Bureau of Indian Affairs booklet.
*Indians of Oklahoma,* Bureau of Indians Affairs booklet.
Donor: Judge N. B. Johnson, Oklahoma City.

*Many Smokes*—National Indian Magazine, Vol. I, No. 3.
Donor: *Many Smokes,* Box 5895, Reno, Nevada.

*The Smith-Spilman Lineage* by Malcolm L. Melville.
Oklahoma State Library, Capitol Building.
*A History of The Society of Mayflower Descendants in North Carolina 1924-1966* by Sturgis E. Leavitt.
Donor: Society of Mayflower Descendants of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N.C.

*The Gentleman from Colorado*—A Memoir, by Edward Keating.
Donor: The Edward J. Keating family by Colorado University Library.

Map: West-Southwest Showing some Roads, Rails, Forts, Towns and Trails 1800 and After by Perry C. Van Arsdale.
Donor: Perry C. Van Arsdale, Tijeras, New Mexico.

*Wholesome Chucklers* by Gerald M. Vandyke.
Donor: Gerald M. Vandyke, Cordell, Oklahoma.

*The Peace Officer* and *The Oklahoma Sheriff and Peace Officer Magazine*—22 back issues.
*Rock Island Magazine*, May 1929.
*Sermons on Several Occasions*, Vol. I, 1839 by the Rev. John Wesley, A.M.
*A Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, 1833 by the Rev. John Brown.
Donor: O. K. Bivins, Oklahoma City.

*Abraham J. Seay, Governor—The Territory of Oklahoma*—bound Xeroxed copy of official Diary during term of office recorded by Territorial Gov. A. J. Seay.
Donor: Miss Virginia A. Sigler, great-niece of Gov. Seay, Tucson, Arizona.

Thesis: *A Historical Study of the Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station* by Francis Richard Gilmore, Stillwater.
Donor: Francis Richard Gilmore, 282 Clay Street, Clarksburg, West Virginia.

*Will Rogers—His Wife's Story* by Betty Blake Rogers.
*Ether and Me*, Memorial Edition by Will Rogers.
*Rogers-Isms, The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference* by Will Rogers.
Donor: Richard L. Hanley, Indianapolis, Indiana.

"The Run of '89"—an original copy of NBC Red Network Documentary from radio Station WKY in Oklahoma City, Saturday, April 22, 1939.
Donor: Daryl McAllister, NBC, 3000 West Alameda Avenue, Burbank, California.

*The Schrimsher Family of the Delaware District, Cherokee Nation*, compiled by J. T. Alexander.
Donor: J. T. Alexander, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Sapulpa and Creek County Directories, 1920, 1928, 1930 and 1934.
Donor: Charley Hallum, Box 564 Apache, Oklahoma.

Oklahoma Territory Homestead Certificate No. 6547, Application No. 6632 from Oklahoma Land Office Registrar to John D. White, April 17, 1903.
Donor: Orange County Genealogical Society, Buena Park, California.

*The Genealogy of Several Allied Families*, by Charles Owen Johnson.
Donor: Charles Owen Johnson, Washington, D. C.

*Some Descendants of Captain John Wiggins* by Kathryn Wiggins.
Donor: Wiggins Family, Camarillo, California.

Collection of 13 Historical Scrapbooks and Notebooks of the late Mrs. Alfred L. King, Jefferson, Arkansas, mother of J. Berry King of Oklahoma City.
*Cherokee Testament*, 1860; printed in Cherokee type. The original owner was the late J. Berry King.
Donor: Mrs. J. Berry King, 400 N.W. 21st, Oklahoma City.

*Old West Magazine*, Fall, 1966; containing "Friend to No Man" Ben Cravens, Oklahoma Outlaw by F. Horace Hughes.
Donor: F. Horace Hughes, Modesto, California.

Collection of Scrapbooks, booklets and magazines.
Donor: Jesse D. Biggers, Rochelle, Illinois by Miss Helen Biggers, Oklahoma City.

*Roster of State and County Officers of Oklahoma, 1962.*
Donor: Ray Asplin, Oklahoma City.

*Oilwell Supply Company—Illustrated Price List Catalogue,* August 1894, Pittsburgh, Bradford and Oil City, Pa. and New York.
Donor: W. C. Morris, Russell, Kansas.

Collection of Pictures—Papers and History of Post #35 Horn Pipers' Kiltie Band.
Donor: Captain Fry, organizer, Oklahoma City.

*Sir William Johnson Papers*—Vol. XIV—*General Index.*
Donor: University of the State of New York, Albany.

*Early Days in Ada, Indian Territory, 1890-1900* by Lillie Reed Smith.
Donor: Lillie Reed Smith, Denton, Texas by Boone Jones, Ada, Oklahoma.

Historical Collection of Newspaper Clippings on Oklahoma.
Donor: Mrs. Lura Cole, Bristow, Oklahoma.

*George Washington Julian—Radical Republican,* Vol. XLV, Indiana Historical Collections, by P. W. Riddleberger.
Donor: Indiana State Library, Indianapolis.

Collection of Genealogical Newspaper Clippings from the *Shreveport Journal.*
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*Oklahoma Statehouse Reporter,* Vol. 32, No. 2, Sept.-Oct. 1965.
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Collection of Oklahoma History—News clippings and periodicals.
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*The Patterson and Pattison Family Association:* Record Book No. 1—1963; Record Book No. 2—1964 and Record Book No. 3—1965.
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Historical Program Booklet: *Shortgrass Saga—50th Anniversary of Kiowa County, 1901-51,* Hobart, Oklahoma, August 2-6, 1951.
Donor: Mrs. Edna Lauer, Lone Wolf, Oklahoma.

*Index of Surnames of Genealogical Pedigrees of Church of Christ of Latter Day Saints, Indianapolis, Marion, Indiana, First Ward.* Compiled by Genealogy Workshop, July 1, 1966.
Donor: F. Nadeen W. Atkinson, Indianapolis.

A Historic Sketch of the Life of Nelson Franklin Carr, 1844-1925 by his son, Frank M. Carr.
Historical Program Booklet: "The Carr-Bartles Mill" from Washington County Historical Society Observance, October 21, 1966.
Donor: Harold R. Farrar, Bartlesville, Oklahoma.

Extensive Oklahoma Historical Collection of Books, Documents, Microfilm, Papers, and News Clippings and Items.
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Extensive Oklahoma City and Oklahoma Collection.
Donor: Mayor George H. Shirk.

*INDIAN ARCHIVES DIVISION*

Cherokee Nation vs. U.S., before Indian Claims Commission, Docket No.

173 (Cherokee Outlet case): Claimant's Brief, Petitioner's Reply Brief, Defendant's Requested Findings of Fact, Objections to Petitioner's requested Findings and Brief, Findings of Fact, and Opinion of the Commission.
Correspondence between B. B. Chapman and Earl Boyd Pierce and Paul Niebell in re Chapman's testifying in Cherokee cases before Claims Commission.
Cherokee Nation, et al, vs. U.S., before U.S. Court of Claims, Appeal No. 6-64: Motion for Rehearing before U.S. Court of Claims.
"The Cherokee Neutral Lands Controversy" by Lula Lemmon Brown, thesis Kansas State Teachers College, 1923, published 1931. 47 pp.
"The removal of the Cherokee Nation Manifest Destiny or National Dishonor?" published by D. C. Heath & Company. 113 pp.
"How the Cherokees Acquired and Disposed of the Outlet" by B. B. Chapman in *The Chronicles of Oklahoma*, Vol. 16, pp. 36-51.
3 newspaper articles in *The Fort Worth Press*, March 1, 2 and 3, 1955, in re Cherokee claim against Texas for lands once held by Cheorkees in Texas.
"The Claim of Texas to Greer County," by Berlin B. Chapman, in *The Southwest Historical Quarterly*, July and October 1949 and April 1950.
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Cherokee Nation vs. U. S. No——, before Indian Claims Commission. Petition.
"The Otoes and Missourias" by Berlin Basil Chapman, published 1965.
5 loose leaf binders containing rough draft of manucsript of "The Otoes and Missourias" by B. B. Chapman.
Otoe & Missouria Tribes vs. U.S., in U.S. Court of Claims, No. Appeal 1-54: Brief of Appellant, Opinion.
Otoe & Missourias Tribe vs. U.S., before Indian Claims Commission No. 11:
Petition
Defendant's Objections to Plaintiff's requested Findings of Fact, Request for Findings of Fact, and Brief
Brief of Plaintiff
Findings of Fact
Opinion of the Commission
Interlocutory Order
Order on motions for rehearing and to amend findings and requesting the certifying of law questions to the court of claims.
Plaintiff's proposed findings of fact.
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Defendant's Request for Findings of Fact, Brief and Objections to Plaintiff's proposed findings of fact.
Objections and Reply of Sac and Fox petitioners in Docket 138 to findings and brief of Otoe & Missourias petitioners in Docket 11-a
Report of Claims Attorney dated Jan. 1964 to Otoe & Missouria tribe on proposed settlement of claims in Docket 11A.
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"The Barnes Family of Barneston" by B. B. Chapman, in *Nebraska History*, Vol. 47, No. 1.
"The Prehistoric and Historic Habitat of the Missouria and Otoe Indians" (mimeographed) 3 pp.
Notes and correspondence to and from B. B. Chapman in re "Otoes and Missourias" by B. B. Chapman.
Parts of Chapters 17 and 36, manuscript "Otoes and Missourias" by Chapman.

Letters and documents in re extending the life of the Indian Claims Commission.
Letter of 4/20/54 from Ralph A. Barney to B. B. Chapman re "Final certificate and patent in relation to public lands.
Rough draft manuscript of "Barclay White" by B. B. Chapman, appearing in *Tulsa Sunday World Magazine.* 5/10/53.
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*Prairie Lore,* July and Oct. 1965 and April 1966.
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"The Land Run of 1893, as seen at Kiowa" by B. B. Chapman, in *Kansas Historical Quarterly,* Vol. XXXI: No. 1.
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"The Cherokee Commission 1889-93," by B. B. Chapman, in *Indiana Magazine of History,* Vol. XLII: No. 2 June 1946.
"The Cherokee Commission at Kickapoo Village," edited by B. B. Chapman in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XVII: 63-74.
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"Oklahoma's State Tree and Floral Emblem," by H. I. Featherly, (printed) 21 pp.
"Sequoyah" (printed).
"See and Know Oklahoma," prepared by R. G. Miller, editor, Smoking Room
Historical Map of Oklahoma, by Oklahoma Natural Gas Co., 1931.
"The 1883 Pension List of Indian Territory," (typewritten)
"Oklahoma Yesterday, Oklahoma Today", published by Okla. Dept. of Commerce and Industry (printed).
Manuscript, "Dissolution of the Wichita Reservation," by B. B. Chapman, in *Chronicles of Oklahoma,* Vol. XXII: 192-209, 300-314.
Poem, "The Sculptor from Tennessee" by Mrs. Nell A. Snider, edited by B. B. Chapman.
Six photostats relative to the Nez Perces and Chief Joseph.
Typewritten manuscripts:

Chapter 3, Central & Southern Reservations
Chapter 4, Sac & Fox
Chapter 5, Potawatomi and Absentee Shawnee
Chapter 6, Kiowa, Comanche, Apache Reservation, Establishment
Chapter 7, Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservation, establishment
Chapter 10, Kickapoo Reservation, establishment
Chapter 13, Kaw Reservation, establishment
Chapter 14, Pawnee Reservation, establishment
Chapter 15, Ponca Reservation, establishment
Chapter 16, Nez Perces & Tonkawas Reservation, establishment
Chapter 20, Creeks, Extinguishing titles of 5 Civilized Tribes
Chapter 21-22, Seminoles

Chapter 25, Sac & Fox allotment
Chapter 27, Cheyenne & Arapaho allotment
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Chapter 30, Kiowa, Comanche & Apache allotment
Chapter 31, Tonkawa allotment
Chapter 32, Pawnee allotment
Chapter 33, Cherokee allotments in Outlet
Chapter 35, Ponca allotment
Chapter 37, Osage Dissolution
Chapter 39, Oklahoma District, opening
Chapter 40, Public Land Strip, opening
Chapter 41, Iowa, Sac & Fox, Potawatomi and Ab. Shawnee Reservations, openings
Chapter 42, Cheyenne & Arapaho Reservations, opening
Chapter 43, Cherokee Outlet, opening
Chapter 44, Kickapoo Reservation, opening
Chapter 46, Wichita, Kiowa, Comanche & Apache Reservation opening
Chapter 46, Big Pasture, opening
Chapter 47, State Lands
Donor: Dr. Berlin B. Chapman

*Oklahoma Genealogical Society Quarterly*, Vol. X, No. 4, Dec. 1965
Donor: Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Oklahoma City, Okla.

*Indian Voices*, June 1966 and July 1966.
Donor: Robert K. Thomas

*Texas Libraries*, Vol. 28, No. 2
Donor: Texas State Library.

*The Amerindian*, Vol. 14, No. 6.
Donor: Judge N. R. Johnson, Oklahoma City, Okla.

"Early Mission Schools in Indian Territory," Gilcrease Historical Leaflet #9.
"Frontier Forts," Gilcrease Historical Leaflet #10.
Donor: Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.

List of headstones in burial grounds of the Kaw Indians, at Washunga, near Kaw City, Oklahoma, soon to be inundated when the new Kaw Dam and Reservoir are constructed. Original copy was made by Mrs. Dorothy Hankins and published by Oklahoma Genealogical Society.
Donor: Mrs. Dorothy Wilkinson, Editor, Oklahoma Genealogical Society, Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation.

Message of Hon. C. J. Harris vetoing Financial Agent Bill, undated.
Donor: Mrs. J. Berry King, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Summary report of meeting of the Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes held at Fountainhead Lodge, July 13, 1966.
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PICTURES:
Interstate Oil Compact Commission Dedication of Monument (5 photographs)
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Oil Portrait of Mac Q. Williamson
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John H. Barnes
Colonel Edward Hatch
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Wm. L. Couch
Amon W. Swope
Stillwater, April 22, 1890
Garnett Burks
Anna B. Korn
Monument at Camp Site on Washington Irving Tour (dedication)
B. B. Chapman at Dedication of Monument at Camp Site
Frank Mater
Mr. and Mrs. Frank J. Wickoff
Governor William H. Murray (2 photographs)
First Rural School Building in Payne County
Frank B. Eaton
Senator J. Ingalls
Group, Ingalls Activity Club
B. B. Chapman and J. Luther Fisher
W. E. (Dode) McIntosh
Tepees, skin and canvas
Will Rogers
Cattle Chute
Frank Eaton and B. B. Chapman
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Albert Rumsey
A. W. Rumsey Grandchildren
Arthur W. Rumsey and wife
Arthur Rumsey, Jr.
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Sod School House, Sunny View District 153, Cherokee Strip.
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Lawton (Rag Town) August 8, 1901.
Main Street in Lawton, August 8, 1901.
Street Scene in Lawton, Goo Goo Avenue, August 8, 1901.
Comanche Indians playing a Gambling Game.
Donor: Mrs. Lois H. Brown, Arcadia, California

May View School, south of Yukon.
Donor: Myrtle Lucille Brown

Six Group Pictures of Oklahoma City Post Office Employees 1902-1938
C. A. Richardson and the First Mail Pickup in Oklahoma City
Motor Cycle Mail Pickup in Oklahoma City 1938
Oklahoma City April 1889
Group at First Ball Field in Oklahoma City 1889
Boomer Team and Hack
Kickapoo "Pow Wow" July 4, 1889

Scene on North Canadian River 1889 (two pictures)
The Way They Settled Disputes. Two Men with Guns
Indian Chiefs on Way to Washington, D.C.
Issue Day, Running Down the Cattle
Issue Day, Loading Beef to Return to Camp
Grocery Store in Tent, Oklahoma City, April 22, 1889
Oklahoma City, May 22, 1889
Sod House Near Oklahoma City April 1889
Sod House and Two Story Residence, Oklahoma City, 1889
Street Scene Oklahoma City
Donor: Mazie Richardson Lollar, Riverside, California

A. M. DeBolt Lumber and Coal Company Building (2 photographs)
A. M. DeBolt's Cotton Gin at Edmond
A. M. DeBolt's Cotton Gin (3 photographs)
Cord Wood and Posts for Sale at Wanette, Oklahoma
North Canadian River near East Reno, Oklahoma City 1890
A. M. DeBolt's First Home in Oklahoma City, a Dug Out on East Reno, 10/27/1899.
A. M. DeBolt's Mansion. 17th and Hudson, Oklahoma City (2 views)
Opening 1893, Waiting for the Signal on the South Line of the Strip
A. M. DeBolt's Lumber and Coal Company, 9th and Santa Fe, 1907 (2 pictures)
Albert Maywood DeBolt and his Dug Out Home on East Reno, 1889
A. M. DeBolt's Home in Oklahoma City, 17th and Hudson, 1923
Donor: A. M. DeBolt, Oklahoma City

Alex Posey as a Child (tin type)
Seminole, Early Day shows Muddy Streets
Seminole Enclosed Oil Derrick
Seminole Oil Field, Wagons and Teams
Seminole Oil Field, Bowlegs Pool, Sinclair Company Gasoline Plant
Seminole Oil Field, Bowlegs Pool, I.T.I.O. Number 1, Livingston
Seminole Oil Field, Men, Horses and Derrick
Seminole Oil Field, Sinclair Company Well
B. D. Landers and J. M. Allen moving "Pot" over Seminole's difficult Roads
Earlsboro, Early Day
Standing Rock in the North Canadian River near Eufaula
Creek Indian Grave Houses
Alex Posey Teaching School Boys to Cut Wood
Alex Posey and his Children, Aynema and Yahola
Horse Round-up at Posey Ranch
Mrs. Nancy Posey, Mother of Alex Posey
Posey Family Picnic atop Bald Hill near Eufaula
Alex Posey and his son Yahola
Alex Posey's Muskogee Home
Alex Posey and Children
Bald Hill Ranch Home where Alex Posey was reared
Mrs. J. R. Hall
Richard, a Negro Servant
Oklahutchee from a Point in Talledegar
Wedding of Jim Thorpe and Ida Miller
Foot-ball Team, Jim Thorpe in Group
Donor: Wymena Posey Blaine, Phoenix, Arizona

John E. Kirkpatrick
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Elizabeth Hayden Foreman, Mother of Grant Foreman

Huey Ramey, Speaker of the House of Representatives
Jose Ramon Gattegos, Costa Rica
United States Senator W. E. Mason, Illinois
Catalina Island (2 views)
Dedication of Pioneer Woman Monument. Governor Leon Phillips in group, also Grant Foreman
Group, Judge John R. Thomas, Grant Foreman and Others
Dr. A. W. Foreman and Family, White Hall, Illinois
Henry Starr
Mrs. Sara Combs, Choctaw
Dedication of Union Mission, Dr. Grant Foreman Speaking
C. W. (Bud) and Ed Erwin
Mrs. Susue Beck Chandler and Carolyn Foreman 1935
Mrs. Clara Case Porter and Carolyn Foreman
Leonard A. Busby and Mrs. H. E. J. Boardman
Group including Judge John R. Thomas and Carolyn Thomas Foreman
Russ Evans, Belle Townsend, Carolyn Thomas riding Horse-back
Mrs. Carolyn Foreman at Bean's Salt Works in 1927
Summer Home of Potaway, Comanche
Tippecanic and Son Tip, Comanches
Henry Farris
Aldine Square, Chicago in the 90's
Belle Randle
Group at Fort Gibson June 1936
Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman riding a Camel in Egypt
S. Bailey Spring, James Usery, Solomon Hotema, Indians
Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman riding an Elephant in Amber, India, 1922
Arbor at the Foreman Home in Muskogee
Scene in Wisconsin 1902
Monticello Seminary, Godfrey, Illinois (2 views)
Mouth of Arkansas River 1946.
Group at Dedication of "Three Forks Monument"
General Sheridan's Tomb
Ed, Frank and Bill Erwin
Group of Tennis Players at the University of Michigan
Steamboat "The R. C. Gunter" July 26, 1900
Turner Falls 1899
Group at Tullahassee, including Rev. and Mrs. Wm. S. Robertson
Group, including Judge John R. Thomas and Carolyn Thomas (Foreman)
Deyo Mission Church, Comanche (First Church Built)
Deyo Mission Cemetery
Miss Lucy Sanson
Deyo Mission Church (New Building)
Mary Belle
Susanne Bell and Merabel Jerrems
Twenty-one pictures of Dr. and Mrs. Grant Foreman (various dates)
Twenty-eight pictures of Dr. Grant Foreman (different ages)
Eleven pictures of Carolyn Thomas Foreman

Donor: Carolyn T. Foreman, Muskogee, Oklahoma

World War I Poster
Souvenir Book of Pictures (Niagara Falls) old
Book, Panorama of St. Lawrence River (old)
Book of Pictures "The Skirmisher"
Brochure, "The Pioneer Woman" Souvenir Program, April 22, 1930
"The Pioneer Woman" Unveiling Ceremony, Ponca City, April 22, 1930
Letter from Governor William J. Holloway to J. Berry King

Donor: Mrs. J. Berry King, Oklahoma City

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Letter from Mrs. Martha Fowler Cunningham Maxfield to Emma Garriott
Donor: Mrs. Kester Richards, Crescent, Oklahoma

Gavel, made from piece of walnut base-board from a building at Ft. Gibson
Donor: E. E. Dale, Norman, Oklahoma

Skillet—Steel Skillet used by Confederate Soldier in the War Between the States
Donor: Mrs. Virginia Dunn Williams Estate, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Gloves—Corn Husking Gloves
Two old coin purses, black leather
Bill Fold, old, black leather
Two old black leather hand-bags
Box—Small paper sewing box
Donor: Joe S. McGuire, Pawhuska, Oklahoma

Dress—Net over Pink Satin for Woman
Dress—Child's pink Crepe de Chine
Dress—Child's pink lawn with violets
Donor: Julia Margaret Roberts, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

Button Collection 1889-1915
Suit—Man's Red trimmed with Yellow Braid worn by C. A. Richardson
Handkerchief—Red Cotton with Picture of Teddy Roosevelt in the border
Donor: Maize Richardson Lollar, Riverside, California

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The Oklahoma Historical Society was organized by a group of Oklahoma Territory newspaper men interested in the history of Oklahoma who assembled in Kingfisher, May 27, 1893.

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*COVER:* This is an engraving on a Dutch poster advertising two plays based on John Law's scheme of colonizing the Mississippi Valley to retrieve the fortunes of France, dated 1720. See the article in this number of *The Chronicles*, "The Heavener Enigma: A Rune Stone," *Appendix*. The English translation of the caption under the engraving is "King and Queen of the Mississippi."

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*COVER:* View of the Rock Bluff (or cut bank) at the bend of Red River where the old Rock Bluff Ferry operated in the Chickasaw Nation before the Civil War. The photo was taken in 1930 (by M.H.W.), within a few miles of Preston, Texas, looking due south along Red River and showing a portion of the Coffee Bend country (left) on the opposite side in Oklahoma. The cut bank of Red River and the Oklahoma *vs.* Texas boundary case (1921) are discussed in this issue of *The Chronicles.*

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*COVER:* This picture of "The Oklahoma Run, 1889" is from the painting by Robert Lindneux, in the College of Education, the University of Oklahoma.

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